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## ERRATA

P. 76, l. 35, for "five hundred marks" read "five thousand marks." P. 93, l. 17, for "John Trenereke" read "Robert Trenereke." P. 128, l. 7, for "vol. xxiv" read "vol. xxxiv." P. 177, l. 21, *dele* "probably." P. 202, note 5, for "Nathfield" read "Northfield." P. 259, l. 5, for "parti" read "parte"; *ib.*, l. 10, for "vicarii" read "vicarii"; *ib.* l. 19, for "vicarii" read "vicarii." P. 293, l. 22 and 30, for "Prince" read "King;" *ib.*, l. 37, for "1643," read "1644." P. 452, l. 8, for "Excavations" read "Inscriptions."

*Note.*—To Mr. Freeman's paper on the Collegiate Church of Arundel (p. 244-270), the following extract, for which we are indebted to Mr. R. S. Ferguson, may be added:—

Extract from Jefferson's *History of Carlisle*, p. 157 (published 1838), being a foot note. In 1356 "John de Caldesmyth, chaplain, makes his will; and amongst other legacies bequeaths *Lumincoribus beato Marie, Karl. infra choram et extra in ecclesia parochiali equaliter iis, iijd.*"—Bp. Welton's *Register*. "Which," says Bishop Nicholson in his MSS., "plainly intimates that ye body of ye church, as at this day, was designed to the parishioners, who had nothing to do in the Quire."

## ERRATA TO VOL. XXXVI.

P. 411, l. 3, Mr. Dymond's Notes are on the Norton Fitz Warren Earthworks (see p. 415); *ib.*, l. 20, for "There are considerable differences of level in various parts of the work estimated by the eye; the crest of the hill," &c., read "There are considerable differences of level in various parts of the work: estimated by the eye the crest of the hill," &c. P. 413, l. 26, for "so a fountain just outside the green, in the market place, part of the design," &c., read "so just outside the green, in the market place, a further part of the design," &c. P. 415, l. 22, for "Roman part" read "rampart." P. 416, note 2, for "Gan ditches" read "Gaer ditches."

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MARCH, 1880.

## THE ANTIQUITIES OF TARRAGONA.

By BUNNELL LEWIS, M.A., F.S.A.

More than a hundred years ago Dr. Johnson recommended Boswell to perambulate Spain, because no country was less known to the rest of Europe.<sup>1</sup> Notwithstanding all the changes that have occurred since these words were spoken, they are still, to a great extent, true; and, as far as our own countrymen are concerned, they apply to the north rather than to the south of Spain, and to the Classical rather than to the Gothic antiquities. The neglect with which the former branches of the subject have been treated renders them attractive to the enquirer, who, if he cannot make discoveries, may at least invite attention to facts not generally known.

As the traveller continues his weary journey from the Bay of Biscay to the Mediterranean, he sees little to remind him that of all the countries included in the Roman Empire none was more thoroughly incorporated with it than Hispania.<sup>2</sup> Though Pamplona is named after Cæsar's rival, Pompey the Great;<sup>3</sup> though Zaragoza is only the modern form of Cæsaraugusta;<sup>4</sup> though

<sup>1</sup> Boswell's Life of Johnson, edited by Croker, in 1 volume, pp. 124, 139, 155.

<sup>2</sup> Tacitus, Annals, lib. iv, c. 5, describing the stations of the Roman fleets and legions in the reign of Tiberius, says, Hispanie, recens perdomitæ, tribus habebantur (legionibus), where the force of the preposition in *perdomitæ* should be observed. The same word is used with reference to Spain by Livy, xxviii, 12.

<sup>3</sup> According to Hubner, Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum, vol. ii, p. 101, the correct form of the ancient name is Pom-pælo, as Πομπάϊλον occurs in the best MSS. of Ptolemy, ii, 6, 67, and in inscriptions at Tarragona and Barcelona. On the other hand, Strabo has Πομπέλαν, and remarks that it is equivalent to

Πομπηόπολις, just as Graccurris in the same district is derived from Gracchus. "The Moors corrupted the Roman name into Baubilonah, hence its present appellation." Ford, Handbook for Spain, edit. 1878, p. 532.

<sup>4</sup> The importance of Cæsaraugusta is proved by its having been the centre from which many roads radiated, and by the number of its imperial coins, in which it surpasses most Spanish cities. Smith's Dictionary of Classical Geography, s. v.; Akerman, Ancient Coins of Spain, Gaul and Britain, pp. 70-76, plate viii; Florez, Medallas de España; Heiss, Description Générale des Monnaies Antiques de l'Espagne, pp. 197-210, plates xxiii-xxvi.

Lérída was a most important military station; <sup>1</sup> these cities contain scarcely any remains that bear witness to a religion and a polity that have passed away for ever. But when the arid plains of northern Spain have been crossed and the shores of Cataluña reached at last, Roman walls, built on Cyclopean foundations, are seen crowning the hill of Tarragona, while Latin inscriptions on every side proclaim, as with an audible voice, that in the olden time there was here not a provincial town, but a great metropolis. <sup>2</sup> Tarraco was the capital of Hispania Tarraconensis; and even now, after the ravages of Germans and Visigoths, the siege of the Moslems, and the injuries recently inflicted by the French, it still offers to the archæologist more objects of interest than any other place in this region. <sup>3</sup>

If we consult Spanish authorities concerning the origin of Tarragona, we shall, in some cases, be amused rather than instructed; the hebraists among them ascribe it to Tubal, grandson of Noah, and the mythologists to Hercules returning from his Indian expedition. <sup>4</sup> Others, with more plausibility, confer the honour of its foundation

<sup>1</sup> Constituunt (Afranius et Petreius) communi consilio bellum ad Ilerdam, propter ipsius loci opportunitatem, gerere. Cesar, *De Bello Civili*, lib. i, c. 38. Ford Handbook for Spain, p. 493, refers to Horace, *Epistles*, i, xx, 13, *Aut fugies Uticam, aut vinetus mitteris Ilerdam*, and hence derives the statement, "that the recusant youth of Rome were threatened to be rusticated there." No such inference can be drawn from the words of Horace, who in this epistle is jocosely addressing his own book. Some information concerning the history and antiquities of Lérída will be found in the *Guía-Cicerone de la Ciudad de Lérída* por José Pleyan de Porta, 1877, pp. 180, with engravings.

<sup>2</sup> Strabo, lib. iii, c. iv, s. 7, p. 159, "Ἔστιν ὡς περ μητρόπολις ὅν τῆς ἐντὸς Ἰβήρος μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ἐκτὸς τῆς πολλῆς.

<sup>3</sup> The following are some of the chief authorities for this subject:—

Florez, *España Sagrada*, tom. xxiv and xxv.

Laborde, *Voyage Pittoresque et Historique de l'Espagne*, fol., Paris, 1808, vol. i, pp. 24-35, Plates xxxix-lxiv.

El *Indicador Arqueológico de Tarragona*, por D. B. H. S. y D. J. M. de T., 1867.

Parcerisa, *Recuerdos y Bellezas de España, Cataluña*, tom. i, pp. 199-204, with engravings. Cean-Bernúdez, *Antiguedades Romanas de España*, pp. 6-12, Madrid, 1832.

Emil Hüblner in the German periodical *Hermes*, vol. i, pp. 77-127, and in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, vol. ii, pp. 538-545, Berlin, 1860.

Murallas de Tarragona, *Documentos dirigidos á evitar la enagenacion y destruccion de aquellos monumentos*, Tarragona, 1871.

Aloiss Heiss, *Description Générale des monnaies antiques de l'Espagne*, 4to., pp. 115-118.

Street's *Gothic Architecture of Spain*.

<sup>4</sup> Pons de Yeart, *Libro de las grandezas y cosas memorables de la metropolitana insigne y famosa ciudad de Tarragona, Lérída*, 1572, affords a good example of Spanish prolixity. He begins with the division of the world made after the Deluge, and in his ninth chapter at last arrives at the conclusion that Tubal founded Tarragona!

The discovery of a tomb at Tarragona, said to be that of the Tyrian Hercules, has been used as an argument for deducing the origin of the city from him.

on the Egyptians, Phœnicians, or Etruscans. The Egyptian theory seems based on the accident that a king of this country bore the same name as the city; and a similar coincidence has led to the conclusion that it was built by Tarchon, brother of Tyrrhenus.<sup>1</sup> It would be easy to argue in favour of a Phœnician origin, as this nation is well known to have carried on commercial intercourse with Spain for a long period, and especially to have worked the mines, of which some tunnellings may still be seen. But this general statement will, of course, be insufficient to prove that they colonized the locality we are considering. On the other hand, Hübner remarks that there was here no port to attract them, as Strabo, more accurate than Livy, expressly informs us;<sup>2</sup> that the name of the place is not Punic; and lastly, that no coins with Punic legends have been discovered.<sup>3</sup> The worship of the Tyrian Europa prevailing at Tarraco might be adduced in favour of the Phœnician hypothesis: however the cultus seems to have been imported into Spain from Greece and Italy, so that no inference as to Oriental descent can be reasonably drawn from it.

Wherever the Greeks traded and colonized, they left behind them permanent memorials in their coinage, as varied as beautiful. These are altogether wanting at Tarragona; hence we cannot ascribe its origin to the enterprise that founded the neighbouring towns, Emporiæ and Rhoda.<sup>4</sup>

Others again have attempted to solve the problem without carrying their researches so far. The primitive

<sup>1</sup> Dennis, *Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*, vol. i, p. lvii, Note 6, first edition. The Etruscans founded colonies . . . even on the coast of Spain, where Tarraco, now Tarragona (in whose name we recognize that of Tarchon) appears to have been one of their settlements (Ansonius, *epist.* xxiv, 88). *Conf. ib.*, p. 372, Note 1. According to Bochart, quoted by Florez, *Medallas de España*, Tarraco is derived from a Syrian word Tarcon, which means a fortress or palace.

<sup>2</sup> Strabo, *loc. cit.* 'Αλίμενος μὲν, ἐν κόλπῳ δὲ ἰδρυμένον.

<sup>3</sup> Florez, *Medallas de España*, vol. ii, p. 579, says incorrectly, Tarragona . . . conocida de los Phenicios.

<sup>4</sup> For the coins of Emporiæ see

Akerman, *ubi supra*, pp. 86, 87, Pl. ix, Nos. 6, 7, 8. The device on the reverse, No. 6, Pegasus, with the head formed by a human figure crouching, is perhaps unique. Heiss gives many illustrations of this type. For Rhoda, compare with Akerman, *ib.*, p. 101, Pl. x, No. 11, De Saulcy, *Lettres à M. A. de Longpérier sur la Numismatique Gauloise*, xxv, pp. 275-300, Pl. I. Strabo states that Rhoda was a colony of Rhodes, and accordingly we see a rose on the coins of both, but with considerable variation. It is also interesting to trace the Gallic imitations; beginning with the full blown rose of Rhoda, we come at last to a cross with crescents between its arms, in which the original type can hardly be recognized.

name of the city is Cose ; it is seen inscribed on coins in Iberian characters, and it reappears in Cosetani, the tribe who inhabited the adjoining district. While Greek and Punic medals are absent, those of the Celtiberians have been found abundantly, a thousand at once in the year 1850. Moreover no less than eighteen different types are known, and these show progress from barbarous rudeness to an advanced stage of refinement.<sup>1</sup> This evidence is corroborated by the discovery of the same characters on the Cylopean walls. They occur in other parts of the ancient fortification, but a particularly good example may be seen between the bastion of Santa Barbara and the gate of the Rosario ; the letters are of large size, and deeply cut on each stone ; they do not form words, and are repeated, alternated, or inverted ; at present they are unintelligible, and perhaps they never afforded any connected meaning.<sup>2</sup> If we looked only to the inscriptions, we might be disposed to infer that the people called Cosetani by Ptolemy and Cessetani by Pliny have the best claim to be regarded as the builders of these gigantic walls, which so powerfully excite our admiration and curiosity. But a strong argument in favour of the Etruscans may be derived from the oldest masonry here, which closely resembles the primitive style, as seen at Cortona, Perugia, and other cities.<sup>3</sup> The presence of Iberian characters on the walls does not necessarily prove that that people erected them, for they may have inscribed their own letters, as a sign of conquest

<sup>1</sup> The Celtiberian letters in many cases resemble the Archaic Greek ; see the comparative tables given by Key on the Alphabet, pp. 30, 31, Plate I Alphabets from right to left, Plate II Greek Alphabets. They are generally composed of straight lines, and therefore can be easily distinguished from the Phœnician, which are curvilinear ; Heiss, p. 21, Tableau comparé des Alphabets Judaïques, Phœniciens, Grecs Archaiques et Celtibériens ; Akerman, pp. 6-8, Celtiberian Alphabets. Heiss, Plates li, lii, exhibits Punic characters on the coins of Gades ; compare Gesenius *Scripturæ lingueque Phœnicæ monumenta quotquot supersunt*, tab. 40, vol. i, 304.

<sup>2</sup> *Indicador de Tarragona*, p. 126. Heiss (*History of Tarragona*, pp. 115-118, prefixed to his account of the coins) thinks that these signs indicate the place

each stone was to occupy on the right, on the left, in the middle, in the first storey ; they would thus correspond to builders' marks used in other countries. At Tarragona we have two instances of bilingual inscriptions, *i.e.* Iberian and Latin, Hübner, Nos. 4318 and 4424 ; compare the bilingual money of Saguntum.

<sup>3</sup> Dennis, *Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria* ; Cortona, vol. ii, 435-437, Notes 2-6 ; Perugia, *ib.*, 459, Note 6 ; see also the woodcut, p. 432, at the head of chap. lvi. Micali, *L'Italia avanti il dominio dei Romani*, i, 125-128, and notes, Tav. ix, x, xi, showing the walls of Volterra, Populonia, Roselle, Cossa and Fiesole. The plates in Micali's work should be consulted, as they are of folio size, and very superior to those in Mr. Dennis's 8vo. volumes.



and possession, upon fortifications which previous inhabitants had constructed. Again, the pretensions of the Iberians will be weakened, if we bear in mind that there is no other instance of their having distinguished themselves as megalithic architects.

Descending from primæval times, and entering the domain of history, we find that the age of the Scipios is the first epoch in the annals of Tarragona. Cneius and Publius Scipio made it their head quarters; here the Roman armies disembarked, and hither they returned after their campaigns in the interior.<sup>1</sup> For military purposes the advantages of the site were unrivalled, as it was easily accessible from Italy, near the frontier of the Ebro, and sufficiently elevated to command the adjacent plains. So when the future conqueror of Hannibal took the command in Spain, he landed at Tarragona, stayed there to mature his plans, and gave audience to deputies from all parts of the province.<sup>2</sup> The Romans now built largely, and improved the inheritance which they transmitted; hence Pliny informs us that Tarraco was as truly the work of the Scipios, as New Carthage of the nation whose name it bore.<sup>3</sup>

The next epoch is the age of Julius and Augustus Cæsar. As soon as the former had gained some advantages over Afranius and Petreius, Tarraco joined with the people of Osca and Calagurris in following his fortunes, and a little later, after the defeat of Varro, received within her walls the ambassadors of various tribes, whom the conqueror liberally rewarded.<sup>4</sup> It seems most probable that at this time the city became a Roman colony, as inscriptions of the second century exhibit the letters

<sup>1</sup> Livy, xxi, 61, Tarraconem in hiberna reditum est; xxi, 22, ibi milite exposito, profectus Scipio fratri se conjungit. These passages in Livy correspond with the statements of Strabo and Polybius; the former says of Tarragona, loc. cit. πρὸς τὰς τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἐπιδησίας ἐνφυῶς ἔχει; comp. Polyb., x, 34, Πόλις ὁ τῶν Ῥωμαίων στρατηγὸς ποιοῦμενος τὴν παραχειμασίαν ἐν Ταρράκωνι.

<sup>2</sup> Livy, xxvi, 19, 20. Tarraconem profectus conventum omnium sociorum..... habuit. Tarraco is again mentioned by Livy as an important station in his account

of the war carried on by Gracchus, father of the celebrated tribunes.

<sup>3</sup> Pliny, Nat. Hist., iii, 3, 21, Colonia Tarracon, Scipionum opus, sicut Carthago Poenorum. Of this republican period only a single inscription survives, No. 4371 in Hubner's collection; its contents are insignificant, but its early date is proved by the forms of the letters and the archaism COER; i.e. curavit.

<sup>4</sup> Cæsar, De Bello Civili, i, 60, 2; ii, 21, 4, Tarraconem paucis diebus pervenit. Ibi totius fere ceterioris provincie legationes Cæsaris adventum expectabant,

COL. I. V. T., i.e., Colonia Julia Victrix Triumphalis.<sup>1</sup> We may remark that the city never had the title of Augusta, like Cæsaraugusta and Augusta Emerita, whence it may be inferred that Augustus neither founded a colony here, nor sent additional settlers to one which his predecessors had planted. Tarraco henceforth reproduced in Spain the political constitution of Rome. She had her duumvirs and decurions, corresponding to consuls and senators;<sup>2</sup> and as at Rome so here, the edileship was a stepping-stone to the higher offices of the state.

Augustus conducted in person the campaign against the Cantabrians, but he encountered a guerilla warfare so obstinate and harassing, that it caused him a serious illness.<sup>3</sup> On this account he retired to Tarragona, and remained there for several months.<sup>4</sup> To this accident we may partly attribute the expansion of the city, as well as the magnificence of the public buildings with which it was adorned. It had previously copied the Roman form of government, it now began to imitate the capital in architectural splendour. A circus and amphitheatre were constructed for the amusement of the citizens, and soon afterwards a temple to Augustus arose on the Acropolis, which might remind the colonist of Capitoline Jove, who was adored on a similar site; while at the same time it symbolized the fact that the worship of one deity, the Emperor, was being substituted for an effete polytheism.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Various interpretations of the letter T in the inscriptions have been suggested; Augustinus, the very learned Archbishop of Tarragona, who flourished in the sixteenth century, supposed it to mean *Togata*; but a fragment of Florus recently discovered, in which the words "Triumphos unde nomen accepit" occur, and the analogy of Isturgi in Bætica support the explanation given above: Hübner, *ubi supra*, pp. 538, 539. For Isturgi municipium triumphale, *v.* Hübner, p. 297.

<sup>2</sup> There were also duumviri quinquenales, resembling the censors in their functions and in the duration of their office.

<sup>3</sup> Dio Cassius, liii, 25, relates this war in terms that would not inaccurately describe the resistance of the Spaniards to Napoleon's Marshals; he says that the natives would not risk a general engagement, but by occupying strong positions on heights, and by ambuscades in glens

or woods, gave Augustus much trouble whenever he attempted to advance. Cf. Horace, Odes, ii, 6, 2, Cantabrum in-doctum juga ferre nostra; *ib.*, iii, 8, 22, Cantaber sera domitus catena.

<sup>4</sup> During this residence, Augustus received embassies from India and Scythia, so that Orosius compares him with Alexander the Great, to whom envoys came from Gaul and Spain: Oros. vi, 21.

<sup>5</sup> Augustus was worshipped in Gaul also, Merivale, *History of the Romans under the Empire*, 8vo. ed., iv, 103; an altar was erected to him at Lugdunum (Lyons), *ib.*, 223, 224. One empire now embraced the whole civilized world; one sovereign, acknowledged as a divinity, ruled that vast dominion. This state of things prepared men to receive the idea of divine unity, a fundamental doctrine in the Jewish and Christian religions. Dr. Kinkel, in his lectures on "Ancient Art at South Kensington," justly observed

The writings of Strabo, who flourished under Tiberius, prove that in his time the importance of Tarragona had not declined; during part of the year it was the residence of the provincial governor, who administered justice there, and had three lieutenants under his orders, commanding three legions.<sup>1</sup> From other sources we learn that the city contained a large Roman population included in various tribes, of which the Galerian occurs most frequently. Their organization, both civil and military, was very complete, as the long list of functionaries mentioned in the inscriptions sufficiently testifies. Of these the one most closely connected with our subject is the *Præfectus Murorum*, the officer in charge of the walls, which I shall now attempt to describe.<sup>2</sup>

I. These monuments excite deeper interest the more closely they are examined, for it is not too much to say that they are unique in the world, presenting in one panorama the greatest variety of styles from Cyclopean to Gothic. With respect to the origin of the former, we find it much easier to state what they are not than what they are. One thing at least is certain, viz., that we may assign them to a very remote antiquity, as they consist of large stones, rudely cut, and not cemented.<sup>3</sup> It is specially worthy of notice that there were several towers here of this construction, though they were not erected at Tiryns and Mycenæ, which are otherwise analogous, and that these towers were uniformly placed near gates so as to protect "the confluence issuing forth and entering in."<sup>4</sup> One of these gates, near the modern

that these ideas of unity and universality are well illustrated by the architecture of the Pantheon, where the interior is lighted by one circular aperture at the top of the cupola.

<sup>1</sup> Strabo iii 4, 28, Ἰπὸ τῷ υπατικῷ ἡγεμῶν . . . αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ ἡγεμὼν διαχειρίζει μὲν ἐν τοῖς ἐπιθαλατταίοις μέρεσι, καὶ μάλιστα τῇ Καρχηδονί καὶ τῇ Ταρράκωνι δικαωδοτῶν.

<sup>2</sup> Hübner, Corp. Inscr. Lat., vol. ii, p. 565, No. 4202, C. Calpurnio P. f. Quir. Flacco, flam. p. H. e., curatori templi, præf. murorum, col. Tarr. ex. d. d. &c.

<sup>3</sup> Petit-Radel, Recherches sur les monuments Cyclopéens ou Pelasgiques, pp. 306-309, No. lxxv. Mur et tour de Tarraco. One of the stones in the gates is 4.20 mètres long and 2.60 broad. See Hirt, Die Geschichte der Baukunst bei

den Alten, erster Band, Die Geschichte der Baukunst bei den Griechen und den Völkern des mittlern Italiens - Zweiter Abschnitt, s. 7-12. Taf. vii, ix, x.

<sup>4</sup> In this respect we may compare Tarragona with Troy. The great tower of Ilion mentioned by Homer was beside the Scæan gate, according to Dr. Schliemann; Troy and its Remains, chap. xii, pl. viii, p. 200; Iliad, vi, 386, Ἄλλ' ἐπὶ πύργον ἔβη μέγαν Ἴλιου. On the other hand, it should be observed that the walls of Troy were built of stones joined with earth, and therefore not Cyclopean.

Does the construction of these towers at Tarragona supply any evidence to prove that they belonged to a later period than the adjoining walls? I beg leave to suggest this enquiry to future explorers.

entrance called Rosario, is not unreasonably supposed to be the oldest in Spain; it has the appearance of a corridor, and reminds us of the covered passage leading to a dolmen. The dimensions are as follows: height, 2·46 mètres; width, 1·45; length, 6·11, which is the thickness of the wall. Hence it appears that the gate, appropriately called in Spanish La Portella, is so low, that a man on horseback can hardly ride through it. This mode of construction was doubtless adopted to enable the besieged to close the entrance more quickly, which seems to have been effected by means of stones or trunks of trees, as no vestiges of a more artificial fastening are visible. The passage is formed by eleven great stones on the right, twelve on the left, and four at the top, composing the roof. Lastly, we have here a striking example of the Roman masonry in juxtaposition with Mediæval beside it and Cyclopean below.<sup>1</sup>

These walls, so many parts of which exhibit great unhewn blocks underlying dressed stones of a later period, contribute a refutation to Mr. Fergusson's supposition, that the rude monuments, usually considered to be prehistoric, should be brought down to post-Roman times; for who could imagine that the lower part of these fortifications was built after the upper? Even the stones in the wall cry out against a theory so unfounded.<sup>2</sup>

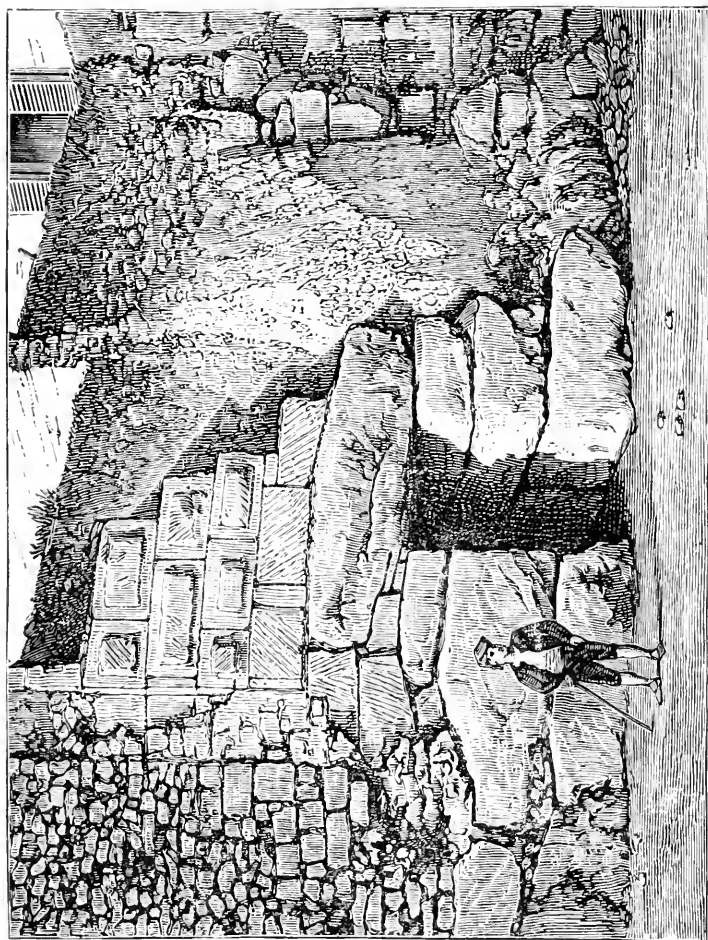
For the classical antiquary the north-eastern side of this citadel has special attractions, as it contains within a few minutes' walk three kinds of Roman masonry easily distinguishable. In the tower of San Magin we have the work of the Scipios, between this tower and the Puerta del Socorro that of Augustus, and from this gate to the bastion San Antonio that of Hadrian.<sup>3</sup> The Romans of the first period built with large stones of which only the edges were dressed, while the remainder was slightly raised, or, to use the Spanish term, *almohadillado*; in the second they used stones that were longer, with higher relief in the central part, and carelessly united; in the

<sup>1</sup> A parallel example of this mixture of styles — Cyclopean, Roman and Mediæval — occurs at Ferentinum; Petit-Radel, *ib.* p. 172, where several references to classical authors are given.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Fergusson's theory is controverted in my Paper on Brittany, *Archæol.*

*Journ.*, vol. xxxiii, p. 286. One instance of his singular chronology will suffice here; he assigns the well known Alignements at Carnac to the Arthurian age *i.e.* 380 — 550 — A.D.!

<sup>3</sup> *Indicador de Tarragona*, p. 122.



La Portella Rosaria, Larragona.



third they show an improved style of masonry, and the joints are so fine that a pen-knife can hardly be inserted. In fact the difference between the second and third epochs resembles that observable between earlier and later Norman architecture.<sup>1</sup>

But these monuments, in their mute abridgment of history, comprise the annals of the Middle Ages also; the tower of Capiscot, with its breastwork, turrets, loopholes, and mud wall, records the domination of the Arabs; and the Archbishop's tower, so called from his palace adjoining, by its Gothic machicolations of the twelfth century bears witness to their final overthrow.

For the following plan and description I am indebted to a pamphlet printed at Tarragona in 1871, and entitled *Murallas de Tarragona, &c.*<sup>2</sup>

#### PLAN OF THE MONUMENTAL PART OF THE CITY OF TARRAGONA.

- A From A to B, modern houses abutting on the wall.
- B Gate of the city called Rosario. From B to C, street adjoining the Iberian wall.
- C Small square of St. John.
- D Bastion of Sta. Barbara, commonly called Fuerte Negro.
- E Garden of the archiepiscopal palace.
- F Archiepiscopal palace.
- G Cyclopeo-Roman tower; the upper part is of the period of the Restoration.
- H Orchard and garden belonging to the house of the Archdeacon.

<sup>1</sup> J. H. Parker, Introduction to the Study of Gothic Architecture, pp. 34, 49, "The one is called 'wide-jointed masonry' the other 'fine-jointed masonry,' and this is the best and safest distinction between early and late Norman work, or generally between the eleventh and twelfth centuries."

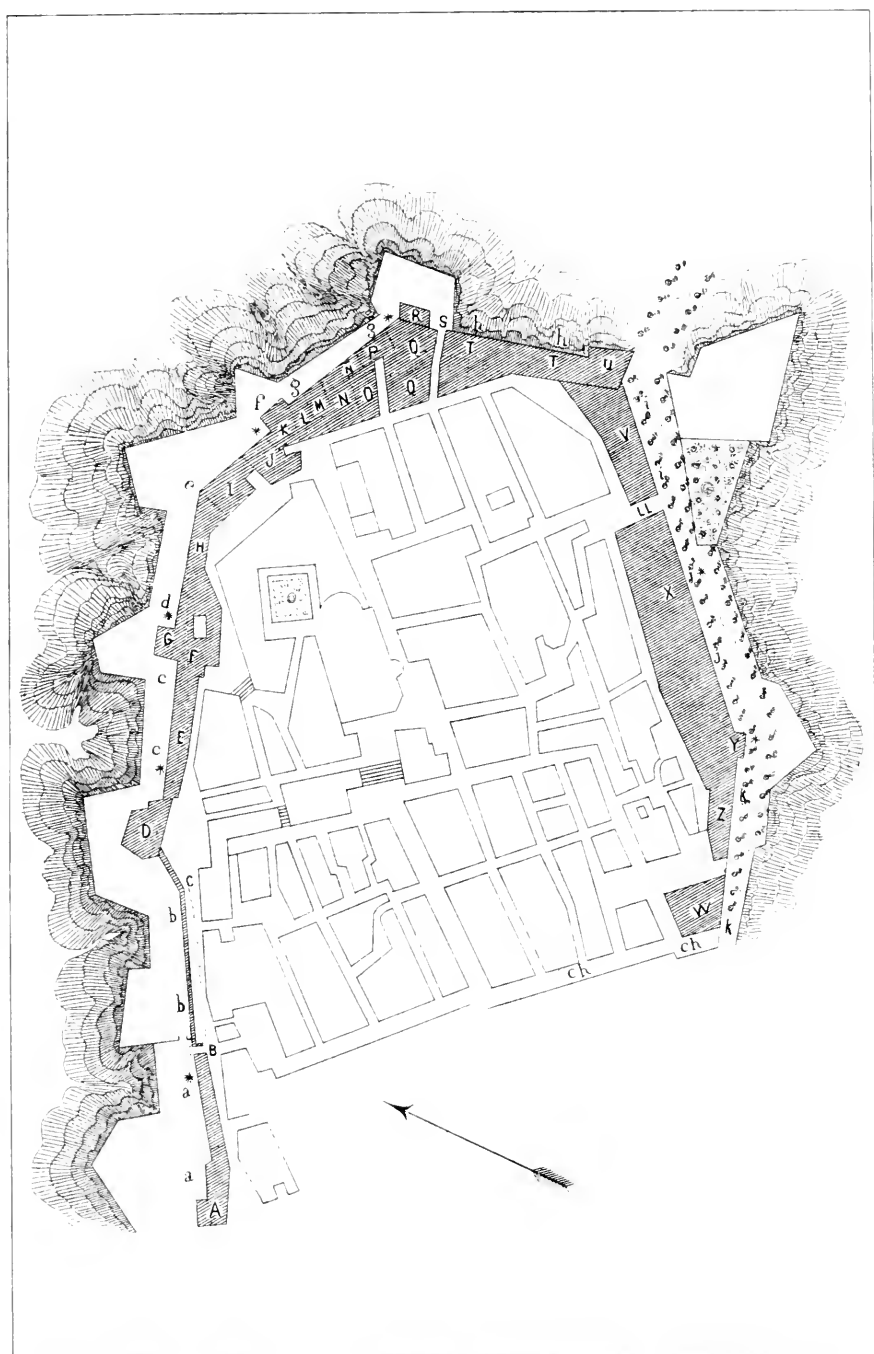
<sup>2</sup> A view of the walls of Tarragona calls to mind the terms in which Pausanias describes those of Tiryns; he says that they were the work of the Cyclops and made of unhewn stones (*ἀργῶν λίθων*), each stone being so large that even the smallest of them could not be moved at all by a yoke of mules, lib. ii, c. 25, s. 8, edit. Schubart and Walz.

The deep well, whose entrance is in the Plaza de la Fuente, was constructed at the same period as the Cyclopean walls. Its history is very remarkable. Remains of Roman masonry prove that that people

used it during the earlier period of their occupation; but they afterwards filled it up in order to construct the area of the Circus. This state of things continued till the year 1438, A.D., when the consuls of the city and the archbishop Don Domingo Ramos re-opened the well on account of a scarcity of water, which then prevailed. The inhabitants availed themselves of it for centuries, and it was only superseded by the construction of the aqueduct, which at present supplies Tarragona. In 1808 the authorities, fearing that the water from the channel would be intercepted by the French, again had recourse to the well, but abandoned it as soon as the danger had passed away. Lastly, in 1859 it was opened by the Commission of Monuments, but only for inspection as an object of antiquarian curiosity. *Indicador de Tarragona*, pp. 15-18.



- I House of the Archdeacon.  
 J House of D. N. Llorach.  
 K House of the widow Torrell, of which the Cyclopeo-Roman tower called Capiscot forms a part.  
 L House of Doña Dolores Suelves de Barcells.  
 M Garden of the same house.  
 N Ruined court.  
 ÑO Houses of workmen.  
 P Church of San Magin.  
 Q House and garden of Don José Maria de Alemany.  
 R Cyclopeo-Roman tower of San Magin.  
 S Roman gate called the sally-port.  
 T Slaughter-house and sheep-folds of the Corporation.  
 U Bastion of San Antonio.  
 V Private houses abutting on wall of the year 1210 A.D.  
 LL Gate of the city called San Antonio.  
 X Private houses abutting on the modern wall.  
 Y Ancient fort of Cadenas, in which is a Cyclopean gate.  
 Z An unimportant terrace on the modern wall.  
 W Castle of Pilate.  
*ch* Roman vault of the circus, now a dépôt of engineers.  
*aa* Public road of communication between the gate of San Francisco and that of Rosario, with a magnificent Cyclopean gate at asterisk (\*) of the plan, open to the public.  
*bb* At this point the falsa-braga commences, and all this curtain of wall composed of large stones in its entire height is Iberian until it reaches the Fuerte Negro, D. In the middle of this curtain is a breach made by a battering-ram.  
*cc* In this curtain, from D to the tower of the archbishop G, exists a considerable portion of the wall, Cyclopean in its entire height, and in good preservation; it has an elevation of from seven to eight mètres. The tower G has a Cyclopean base, is partly Roman, and terminates at a considerable height with a Mediæval construction, A.D. 1118, and all the defences of the period.  
*d e* From *d* to *e* is a curtain of Ibero-Roman wall; this is of the time of Augustus, who made use of the Iberian stones already there. At *e* the wall forms a projecting obtuse angle, and the Roman wall of Augustus extends to the tower *f*.  
*f* This tower, whose base, like that of all the wall which we have examined and which remains to be examined, is Cyclopean, has the same construction for more than half its height, and terminates with remains of the period of the Scipios and restoration of the time of Augustus.  
*g* Next this tower is seen a piece of wall, Cyclopean in all its height, as in *cc*; there is another considerable portion in *g* P.  
 R Tower of San Magin. The base is also Cyclopean; in one of the blocks which form the tower a human head is rudely sculptured, apparently a woman's, of Asiatic type; and in another block exist two out of three heads, which were formerly united by the trunk, representing the Trinity of the Orientals. The upper part of this tower like the preceding one (but with more details), is of the period of the Scipios with modern restorations.



*From Murallas de Tarragona.*

PLAN OF TARRAGONA.



In S there is a Roman gate of the time of Hadrian; the wall, which is of considerable length and height and in a perfect state of preservation, occupies all the curtain *hh* as far as the bastion, U, of San Antonio. The gate above-mentioned is a circular arch composed of large curved stones, and springs from the Cyclopean construction; two discharging arches are placed over it. The portion of wall from this gate S to the tower R is a large fragment of the Augustan period in all its integrity. At this point the *falsa-braga* ends.

ii This curtain of large stones is attributed to San Olegario, who obtained possession of Tarragona in A.D. 1118; at its foot begins the public promenade of San Antonio.

jj This long curtain is of modern construction, and rests on the Cyclopean wall; it is pierced with the balconies and windows of the houses abutting on it. The promenade of San Antonio is continued at its base.

In demolishing the tower Y, called Cadenas, another Cyclopean gate was discovered in the best preservation. The seven asterisks in the plan denote Cyclopean gates.

kk The curtain of wall from the tower Y to the castle of Pilate W is modern, and offers nothing worthy of remark.

II. The inscriptions of Tarragona take precedence over all others in Spain on account of their number and importance; hence it has become almost a proverb that the stones here talk Latin. In Hübner's edition they occupy fifty closely printed folio pages, 480 being given at length, with references and explanations where necessary. Though Cartagena, Mérida, Cordova, Cadiz and Seville were flourishing cities under the Romans, in the matter of extant inscriptions they are now left far behind.<sup>1</sup> The great value of these historical documents is at once apparent, if we only look at the titles of the fourteen sections in which Hübner has arranged them. They relate to various subjects—deities, emperors and members of the imperial family, senatorial and equestrian magistrates, military officers and soldiers, slaves of state, flamens and benefactors of the province, magistrates and priests of the municipality, public and private buildings, professions and occupations.

From these inscribed stones we learn that besides Jupiter, Juno, Minerva, and the divinities usually worshipped at Rome, others also received honour from the

<sup>1</sup> The following are approximate numbers of the inscriptions that have been preserved: Carthago Nova 114,

Augusta Emerita 144, Corduba 131, Gades 99, Hispalis 91.

Tarragonese. Like our own pagan ancestors, the Spaniards had their local gods, and imported strange rites from the remote East. The magnificent river that marked the boundary of provinces and fertilized their thirsty plains was naturally deified; and we may still see, carved in legible letters, the words *FLVMEN HIBERVVS* on the pedestal of a statue, of which nothing now remains but the right foot, with water flowing from an urn as an attribute.<sup>1</sup> Of the inscription to Mithras only a very small fragment is extant, but it suffices to show that, as in Britain, he was adored with the title of Invincible, *invicto Mithræ*.<sup>2</sup> Posada has given us here a specimen of ignorance and rashness unfortunately too common in Spanish antiquaries; he interprets *CTO MITR* as meaning *victo Mithridate*! Tarragona contains but one inscription in honour of Isis.<sup>3</sup> Though its contents are insignificant, it possesses a certain historical interest, because it harmonizes with our information from other sources concerning the Emperor Hadrian. He is known to have paid great attention to the antiquities and religion of Egypt, and we learn from Spartianus that he resided for some time in this city, where he promulgated decrees for military enlistment, restored the temple of Augustus, and improved the fortifications.<sup>4</sup>

But the inscriptions show us that these gods, whether local or foreign, were fading like stars before daylight, and giving place to the idea of universal dominion, which attracted men's minds more and more. Nowhere do we find such ample evidence of the religious change as in

<sup>1</sup> Hübner, *Inscr. Hisp.*, No. 4075. We find this word in the feminine gender, *Hibera*, as the name of a town near the mouth of the Ebro, which was probably the same as *Dertosa*, for on the coins of the latter the legend *M.H.I.* occurs, i.e. *municipium Hibera Julia*; Heiss, s.v. *Dertosa*, *Monnaies Antiques de l'Espagne*; Eckhel, *Doctrina Numorum Veterum*, i, 51; Akerman, *Coins of Spain, Gaul, and Britain*, p. 91.

<sup>2</sup> Hübner, *Inscr.* No. 4036. "*Deo soli invicto Mithræ*" is a common expression in votive tablets. Dr. Bruce, *Lapidarium Septentrionale*, Introduction, p. xvi, understands *soli* to mean *alone*, and founds an argument on this translation; but I think we have here an identification of Mithras with the Sun as might be ex-

pected from the Oriental origin of his worship; v. *Lapidar. Septentr.* Nos. 188—192, pp. 96—102. For a full description of the Mithraic tablet found at York, see Wellbeloved's "*Eburacum*," pp. 79—86, pl. ix, fig. 1 opposite p. 75, or Yorkshire Philosophical Society, *Catalogue of Antiquities*," pp. 110—112.

<sup>3</sup> Hübner, *Inscr.* No. 4080, the first words of which are *Isidi Aug. sacrum*, but there seems to be some doubt whether the goddess is meant here.

<sup>4</sup> Spartian., *Hadriani Vita*, c. 12, *Tarracone hiemavit, ubi sumptu suo aedem Augusti restituit, omnibus Hispanis Tarraconem in conventum vocatis*. Merivale, *History of the Romans under the Empire*, vii, 439, 440.

this kind of remains. Rome and the deified emperors were worshipped in a magnificent temple by three classes of priests—the flamens of the province, those of the colony, and the Augustales. It should also be borne in mind that the position of flamen was regarded as a dignity crowning an official career, and that in his honour a statue was frequently erected.<sup>1</sup>

Turning to civil government, we have dedications to a long line of emperors, which begins with Augustus and ends with Anthemius. The rulers of Hispania Tarracensis are mentioned under various titles, at first as legates with the rank of pro-prætor; at the close of the third century as presidents; after Diocletian and Constantine as deputies of prætorian præfects. Inferior magistrates frequently occur; *e.g.*, procurators, quæstors, tabularii (registrars), arcarii (treasurers), commentarienses (secretaries). These records supply the best materials for investigating the constitution of the colony as a body politic, which has been briefly indicated above. Nor are they less instructive with regard to the garrison that protected it. We find mention of the prætorium (head-quarters), the place set apart for military exercises,<sup>2</sup> the names of officers in every rank—*e.g.*, tribunes, centurions, frumentarii (commissaries)—standard-bearers and private soldiers, the last chiefly of the seventh legion.

But to us, as English antiquaries, the inscriptions of Tarragona are interesting on another account. Some of them have found a resting place in our own country. One, comparatively unimportant, may be seen at Exeter, and has been repeatedly described;<sup>3</sup> but thirteen were brought to England by General Stanhope, and they are still in the possession of his descendant, Earl Stanhope,

<sup>1</sup> Archaeological Journal, vol. xxxvi, pp. 14, 15, where some account is given of an inscription on the pedestal of a statue of Caius Antistius Severus, a Flamen, and passages are quoted to show that this dignity was highly valued. Compare "Congrès Scientifique de France," xxxix<sup>e</sup> Session, tome ii, 175-178, Planche II.

<sup>2</sup> This is proved by the inscription, No. 4083, where the words *Marti campestri*

occur, meaning Mars who presided over the place of exercise. We meet with a similar phrase, *Nemese sanctæ campestri*, in Orelli, *Collectio Inscriptionum Latinarum*, No. 1790. The *Corpus Inscr.* has No. 1290, through a typographical error.

<sup>3</sup> Bristol Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, a. 1851, p. lxviii.

at Chevening.<sup>1</sup> Two of them stand out prominently among the rest. The inscription in honour of Candidus may be classed with that on the Arch of Sura mentioned below, inasmuch as it commemorates a great general, but it belongs to a later period. Candidus, as we are here informed, served with distinction in the second war of Aurelius against the Marcomanni, in the civil wars between Severus and his rivals, and in the Oriental campaigns of the latter emperor, so that in his long career he had traversed most parts of the Roman world, and sometimes had even passed far beyond it, for he contributed much to the victories that won for Severus the titles Arabicus and Parthicus.<sup>2</sup> The other inscription is sepulchral, and resembles one preserved in the courtyard (Patio) of the Archbishop's palace at Tarragona.<sup>3</sup> Its subject is a charioteer successful in the games of the circus, but not otherwise remarkable. The composition consists of twenty-six lines; twenty-three are hexameter verses, two pentameters, and the last is Greek. One of the hexameters ends with the words *bene amantes*, where we have a false quantity and a hiatus, indicating provincial ignorance or declining Latinity.

Lastly, I beg to call attention to an inscription which English writers have scarcely noticed. It occurs on the only important monument, which the Arabs have left in Tarragona.<sup>4</sup> Attached to the south wall of the cloisters

<sup>1</sup> The late Earl Stanhope wrote a short memoir, which I have been unable to find; it is entitled "An Account of a Roman Inscription upon a Marble Monument brought from Tarragona and preserved at Chevening."

<sup>2</sup> These titles are still visible on the arches of Severus in the Forum Romanum and the Forum Boarium - Parthico Arabico et Parthico Adiabenico; several other examples of them are given by Gruter, pp. cclxii-cclxvi. For the inscription in honour of Candidus see Orelli, No. 798, with Henzen's remarks. The monument to which it belongs was erected by the equerry of Candidus, *strator*. From this and other inscriptions we learn that consuls and pretors, as well as emperors, had their *stratores*; Dictionary of Antiquities, and Rich, Companion to the Latin Dictionary, s.v. The latter has an illustration from Trajan's column.

<sup>3</sup> Hübner, No. 4315, publishes this

inscription, with some variations from Burmann's edition of it, Antholog. Veter. Latinor. Epigramm. et Poemat., lib. iv, ep. ccccxl. According to Hübner, Earl Stanhope only copied from Burmann's book the inscription which was in his own possession! The inscription at the Archbishop's palace has a figure of a charioteer, holding a palm branch as a sign of victory, in the centre of the first three lines; like the one at Chevening, it is written in verse. This palace occupies the site of the Roman *Ara* and the Moorish *Alcazaba*, where the Wali, or Governor of the Province, resided. Similarly the Cathedral has taken the place of the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, and the church of Sta. Tecla is supposed to have been built where the mosque of Abd-el-Rahman III formerly stood.

<sup>4</sup> The Arab occupation of Tarragona lasted nearly four hundred years. After many sanguinary assaults it was taken by the Moors in A.D. 719, and held by



of the cathedral is a doorway, which is supposed to have been an entrance to the Mihrab or inner sanctuary of the mosque. This fragment, though small in size, deserves consideration, because its proportions are elegant, its details harmonious, and its preservation almost entire. Two pillars rise from bases that project slightly beyond the shafts; the imposts, richly carved, support on their salient points a horse-shoe arch, covered with foliated ornaments.<sup>1</sup> The rest of the design is rectangular; three sides of a square enclose the arch, and upon them are inscribed Arabic characters corresponding so well with the other members that one might at first sight take them for leaves conventionally treated.<sup>2</sup> Their meaning is as follows:—"In the name of God; the blessing of God be on Abdala Abderrahman, Prince of the Faithful; may God prolong his life; he ordered this work to be done by the hands of Giafar, his favourite and freedman, in the year 349 (A.D. 960)." At this time the Christian frontiers were invaded by the Wali of Tarragona, acting under orders from Abderrahman III, King of Cordova, and it seems highly probable that the archway was erected to commemorate their successes. Rich arabesque patterns cover the triangular spaces between the lines of letters and the curve. A broad band, decorated with scrolls and flowers purposely disguised so that they cannot be identified with any plant, originally served as a frame for the whole composition, but the lowest of the four sides has been broken off.<sup>3</sup> Above this band are interlacings quite different from the patterns already mentioned, and resembling a series of Runic knots. Parcerisa describes them as Grecian frets, a term inapplicable here. Besides its intrinsic merit, this Arabic work should be regarded as a link in the historical sequence of art, for it seems to have supplied the model followed by many architects, who erected façades in the Byzantine and Gothic styles.

them with little interruption, till it was recovered by Don Ranon Berenguer III the Great, who made a donation of the city and adjoining territory in 1116 to Bishop Olagner of Barcelona; Parcerisa, *Cataluña*, i, 212-215.

<sup>1</sup> The horse-shoe arch occurs also in the Alhambra and at Cordova; Owen Jones, *Alhambra Court of the Crystal Palace*, p. 180; Lacroix and Seré, *Le Moyen Age et la Renaissance*, tome v;

*Planches, Extérieur de la Cathédrale de Cordoue, Mosquée de Cordoue.*

<sup>2</sup> This is a good example of "the peculiarly Saracenic custom of elaborating inscriptions into their designs," Wornum, *Analysis of Ornament*, p. 72.

<sup>3</sup> "The conditions of the new Mohammedan law were stringent, in endless designs in mosaic, marquetry, or in stucco, there was to be no image of a living thing, vegetable or animal," Wornum, *ib.*, p. 71.

The churches of San Pablo and Santa Tecla in Tarragona are examples of this imitation.<sup>1</sup>

III. We come now to a class of remains which are very minute; but they are not on that account less instructive. The coins tell the same story as the inscriptions and the fragmentary notices by ancient writers. Of the Celtiberian money struck here Heiss gives fifty varieties; the usual types are a beardless head, a horseman with a cloak floating behind his shoulders and a palm-branch in his hand, a horse bridled, trotting or galloping; different symbols are often added; *e.g.*, a star, crescent, caduceus, &c.<sup>2</sup> Among the Latin coins those of Augustus are the most remarkable; a large brass has on its obverse his head radiated, and on its reverse an altar, decorated with ox-heads and festoons, out of which a palm-tree rises. The legend of the reverse is C.V.T.T., which Eckhel explains as Colonia Victrix Togata Tarraconensis, referring to Virgil, *Æneid*, i, 286,

“Romanos rerum dominos gentemque togatum;”

and to a passage in Strabo, lib. iii, p. 225, where he speaks of some Spanish tribes, who had adopted the customs and dress of the Romans.<sup>3</sup> The device on this sestertius illustrates Quintilian, *Institutes of Oratory*, lib. vi, c. 3, De risu, who gives many examples of facetious sayings; and mentions that when the Tarraconenses informed Augustus that a palm-tree had grown out of his altar, he replied, “It is evident how often you burn sacrifices upon it,” intimating, of course, that no victims had been offered.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Laborde, Voyage Pittoresque, has an engraving of this doorway, but it conveys a very imperfect idea of the beautiful details; they appear to much greater advantage in the photograph by Laurent of the Rue Richelieu, Paris; thus exhibited they look more like a natural growth than a work of “art and man’s device.”

San Pablo and Sta Tecla are the oldest churches in Tarragona, having been erected during the Arabian domination or immediately after it; Parecisa, *ib.*, p. 214, note; Indicador, pp. 72, 76.

<sup>2</sup> Cose, the most ancient name of Tarragona, appears on these coins in Celtiberian characters, the vowel O being omitted, according to the analogy of the

Hebrew, Phœnician, and other Oriental languages. The symbols are supposed to indicate different issues.

<sup>3</sup> Some have conjectured that T stands for *Tyrhænica*, and explain it as referring to the Etruscan origin of the city; Ford, Handbook for Spain, p. 462, reads it *turrita*, which is still more improbable.

Strabo, lib. iii, cap. iv, s. 20, ὡς ἂν εἰρηλικῶν καὶ εἰς τὸ ἡμερον καὶ τὸν Ἰταλικὸν τύπον μετακειμένων ἐν τῇ τηβεννικῇ ἐσθῆτι.

<sup>4</sup> Quintilian, p. 554, edit. Burmann: Et Augustus, nuntiantibus Tarraconensibus palmam in ara ejus enatam, apparet, inquit, quam sæpe accendatis; compare the notes of Turnebus and other commentators.

Another coin of the same emperor shows the peculiar manner in which he was worshipped, and represents the temple erected in his honour, of which some fragments have been preserved.<sup>1</sup> On the obverse, Augustus appears seated, the upper part of his body undraped, in his right hand a patera or a figure of Victory, and in his left a spear. The attitude is that of a deity, and calls to mind the statue of Jupiter by Phidias, or the reproduction of it in miniature on the coins of Antiochus IV.<sup>2</sup> This design harmonizes well with the flattery of the poets, who described Cæsar as reigning upon earth, a universal monarch, vicegerent of Olympian Jove.<sup>3</sup> The reverse has for its device a temple with eight columns, and bears the legend *ÆTERNITATIS AVGVSTÆ*. We may compare with it the tetrastyle temple on the coins of Emerita, which doubtless indicates that Augustus was worshipped there also.

IV. If we leave the city and explore its immediate neighbourhood, the Aqueduct arrests our attention, and exhibits to us, as it were embodied in a permanent form, those high qualities which made the Romans pre-eminent among the nations. It was constructed to bring into the city the waters of the river Gaya, from a place about twelve miles distant, in the mountains of Bufragaña, near a village called Pont de Armentara. In order to preserve the same level, the water was carried over the crests of a

<sup>1</sup> In the cloister of the cathedral, near the Arabic doorway, a portion of the frieze of this temple has been preserved; it bears some resemblance to the altar mentioned above, as the design consists of a flamen's cap (apex), an ox-head (bucranium), and a whisk used for sprinkling lustral water (aspergillum), with festoons of oak-leaves. Similar subjects appear on the frieze of the temple of Vespasian at Rome, formerly assigned to Jupiter Tonans, but in this case additional details are given—the aquimarium, culter, patera, malleus and dolabra: Desgodetz, *Rome in its Grandeur*, Temple of Jupiter the Thunderer, Plate ii.

<sup>2</sup> Pausanias, lib. v, cap. xi, s. l, commences his account of the Chryselephantine statue of Jupiter at Olympia by saying that the god was seated on a throne, holding a Victory in his right hand and a sceptre in his left. A copy of

this figure on a colossal scale was placed by Antiochus IV. in the temple of Apollo at Daphne, and is exhibited on his silver coins. The reverse is thus described by Eckhel, *Doct. Num. Vet.*, vol. iv, p. 224:—Jupiter seminudus sedens, d. Victoriolan s. hastam: comp. C. O. Müller, *Denkmäler der Alten Kunst*, taf. xlix, No. 220 k.

<sup>3</sup> Horace, *Odes*, i, 12, 51.

. . . . . tu secundo  
Cæsare regnes

No better illustration can be given of the worship of Augustus than is supplied by a magnificent First Brass of Caligula, on the reverse of which that emperor is seen sacrificing, in front of a hexastyle temple, at an altar to which the victimarius leads a bull. The obverse has a figure of Piety veiled and seated, showing the devotion of the great-grandson (pronepos) to the memory of his ancestor.

I think we may trace in the legends

series of hills, sometimes on the surface of the rock, sometimes through passages like our modern tunnels.<sup>1</sup> About three miles north-west of the city an obstacle presented itself. A deep valley was to be crossed, and the Roman engineers united its opposite sides by a bridge that will last for ever. The situation is remarkably wild and lonely, remote from the dwellings of men and even from the high road, so that to obtain a good view it must be approached on foot. There are here neither features of natural scenery nor works of human hands to distract the thoughts of the spectator. Mr. Fergusson says that the effect is "marred by houses;" a mistake that seems to arise from confounding this aqueduct with that at Segovia.<sup>2</sup>

The modern names are Puente del Diablo or de las Ferreras. The former need not surprise us, as the vulgar have always been inclined to ascribe to supernatural agency any phenomenon they could not easily account for; so the Roman wall that connected the Rhine with the Danube was supposed to have been built by demons, and still bears the name Teufelsmauer.<sup>3</sup> There are eleven arches in the lower row and twenty-five in the upper, their altitude varying with the surface of the soil. It should be observed that the former are higher and narrower than the latter, and that the increased width in the upper series is produced by the diminished thick-

the progress of cult, for while in some of them Augustus is associated with Rome or the deified Julius: ROM ET AVG. DIVI F, in others he stands alone, DIVVS AVGVSTVS.

<sup>1</sup> Though the Greeks did not build vast structures like the Roman aqueducts, we have at Samos a very early example of a subterranean passage hewn through the rock for the purpose of supplying the city with water, Herodotus, iii, 60. C. O. Müller assigns it to the second period of Greek art, Ol, 30-50, and conjectures that it was executed by the tyrant Polycrates, "Archæolog. d. Kunst," s. 81, note 1. Eupalinus of Megara was the architect employed upon it. At Megara also there was an aqueduct (κρήνη), built by the tyrant Theagenes, which Pausanias says was worth seeing on account of its size and beauty and the number of its piers; Hirt, Die Geschichte der Baukunst, band iii, abschnitt ix, s. 12.

<sup>2</sup> History of Architecture, i, 345,

346, woodcuts 239, 240. Ford, Handbook for Spain, p. 90, says that the aqueduct at Segovia overtops the pigmy town, and Laborde, Voyage en Espagne, tome ii, has four engravings, in which modern houses and a church may be seen intercepting the view of the arches.

<sup>3</sup> Gibbon ends his account of the wall of Probus with these words, "Its scattered ruins, universally ascribed to the power of the Daemon, now serve only to excite the wonder of the Swabian peasant." Decline and Fall, chap. xii, vol. ii, p. 47, edit. Dr. W. Smith. These remains are fully described by Eduard Paulus, "Der Römische Grenzwall (Limes transrhænanus) von Hohenstaufen bis an den Main," 1863. The aqueduct at Segovia, as well as that at Tarragona, is called the Devil's Bridge. Les Diablerets in Switzerland, and the Devil's Punch Bowl at Mangerton, in Ireland, are familiar examples that show how widely this superstitious tendency prevails among the uneducated,

ness of the piers, which taper as they ascend, and have less weight to sustain. If we compare this specimen of Roman masonry with similar fabrics in Spain and other countries, we shall only find new reasons for admiration. Its rival at Segovia is disfigured by offsets from the pillars, which break the outlines and fritter away the length in details, like the meretricious ornaments of Gothic decadence.<sup>1</sup> In the Pont du Gard we have greater length and height than at Tarragona, and the row of small arches at the top takes the place of a decorative cornice, but the dimensions of the central and lower arches are the same, which causes a want of due proportion in the parts.<sup>2</sup> At Metz the water-course was carried over 118 arches, of which five are still standing on the left bank of the Moselle and seventeen on the right, but they are only seventy feet high and the row is single, so that the structure fails in variety.<sup>3</sup> This last observation applies with still greater force to the Aqua Claudia that bestrides the Campagna of Rome; there the eye is wearied by the monotony of the same form repeated for miles. All these defects are avoided in the aqueduct near Tarragona; it combines lightness and elegance with solidity; its members are in perfect harmony with each other; its majestic simplicity, appropriate to a useful purpose, produces an impression of grandeur and power which any attempt at ornament would only have impaired.<sup>4</sup>

When this water-course arrived at the hill Olivo, it divided into two branches, one supplying the upper and the other the lower town. The former was again subdivided into three channels, of which some vestiges remain, and of the latter there are still to be seen vaults sufficiently high for a man to walk through them. That these vaults belonged to the aqueduct is proved by the

<sup>1</sup> Laborde's *Plano Geometral del Acueducto de Segovia* shows four projections from each pier which take away the effect of height.

<sup>2</sup> Montfaucon says that the Pont du Gard served both as a bridge and as an aqueduct, *Antiquité Expliquée*, tome iv, p. 188, plate cxvi.

<sup>3</sup> Montfaucon, *ib.*, pl. cxxxii, *Aqueduc à Joui sur la Moselle proche de Metz*, with which compare the Supplement,

tome iv, p. 105, chap. vi. Description de l' Aqueduc de Metz avec ses arches représentées en grand, pl. xlv. His engraving, pl. xliii, *ib.*, of the aqueduct of Segovia cannot be relied on.

<sup>4</sup> Parcerisa's lithograph, *Cataluña*, vol. i, opposite p. 209, is taken from a more favourable point of view than Laurent's photograph, and shows the proportions much better.

calcareous sediment deposited by the water in its passage and now converted into stone.<sup>1</sup>

The dimensions of the aqueduct are as follows :—Span of the lower arches 5·7 mètres, their greatest height 13·65 ; length of the row 73 ; span of the upper arches 6·72 : total height from the ground to the cornice 23·7 ; length of the upper storey 217.

Early in the present century the fabric had suffered so much from dilapidation that it even threatened to fall down ; but it has been restored by the Central Commission of Monuments, and is now in an admirable state of preservation.

V. About one league from Tarragona, and at a little distance from the high road to Barcelona, stands a Roman monument, the Spanish name of which is *La Torre de los Scipiones*.<sup>2</sup> This is a double misnomer, for the structure cannot properly be called a tower, and its connection with the famous Scipios cannot be substantiated.<sup>3</sup> But, however incorrect the popular appellation may be, we can readily explain its origin. As Cneius and Publius Scipio often resided and conducted military operations in this neighbourhood, and two figures in front of the tomb closely resemble each other, it was natural for the common people to suppose that they represented brothers, and to identify them with the heroes whose exploits were most familiar to them. Other mistakes less plausible have been made by the learned ; Bassianus says that Cardinal Salviato removed to Rome an inscription between the statues, and Pons de Icart brings a similar accusation against Cardinal Ximenez.<sup>4</sup> Both assertions seem to have no other foundation than idle reports among the natives. At a later period the same mendacious spirit

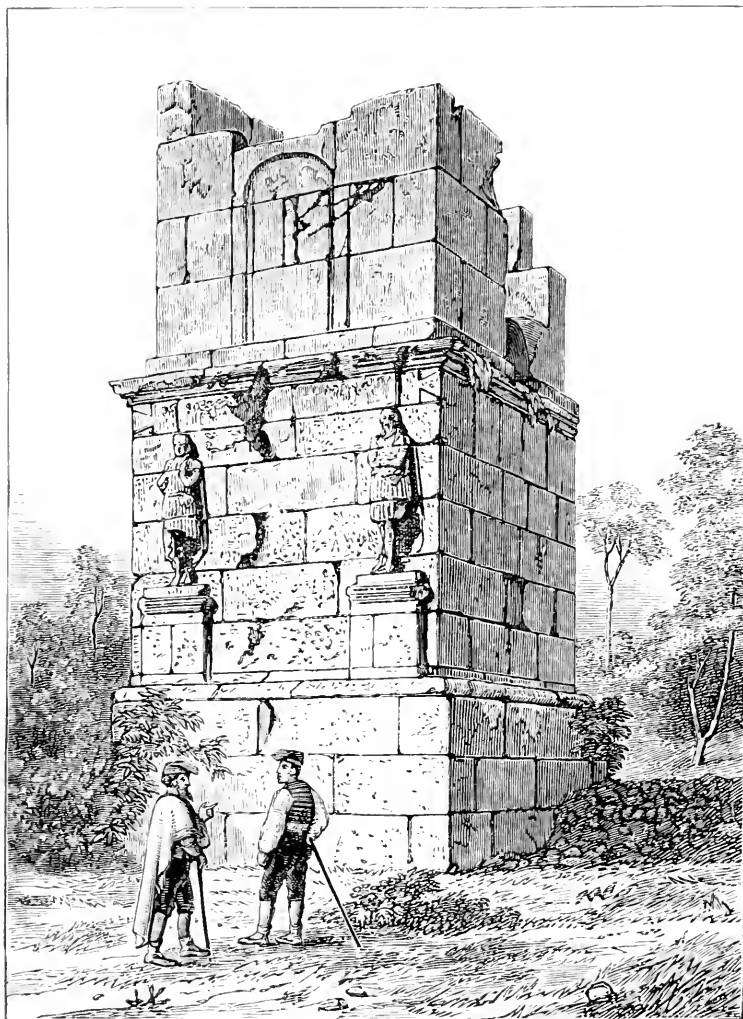
<sup>1</sup> Indicador de Tarragona, pp. 150-154.

<sup>2</sup> This tomb surpasses in magnitude, but resembles in form that which bears the name of Theron at Agrigentum (Girgenti ; the latter is assigned by some to Greek Decadence, and considered by others to be Roman. For engravings and description of it, see the *Antichità di Sicilia* by the Duca di Serradifalco, vol. iii, which is devoted to the antiquities of Agrigentum, tav. xxviii-xxxi, pp. 70-74.

<sup>3</sup> The family burial place of the Scipios was near the Porta San Sebastiano on the Appian Way. Cicero alludes to it in a

well known passage, *Tusculan Disputations*, i, 7, *An tu egressus porta Capena, cum Calatini, Scipionum, Serviliorum, Metellorum sepulcra vides, miseros putas illos?* Compare the fine plate in Labruzzi, *Via Appia Illustrata*, No. 7, *Ingresso al sepolcro della Famiglia dei Scipioni scoperto l'anno 1780 col Sarcofago, Inscrizioni e Busti ivi trovati*.

<sup>4</sup> Pons de Icart is indignant at this theft, and exclaims, *Dios se lo perdona, porque sin duda aquella escritura dava verdadera noticia de lo que aquella torre era ;* Pons quoted by Hübner, *Inscr. Hisp.*, No. 4283.



UTTING

La Torre de los Scipiones, near Tarragona.





imputed to General Stanhope the crime of stealing inscriptions, statues, and works of arts, which the authorities of Tarragona had presented to him.<sup>1</sup>

The edifice consists of three storeys, the lowest of which is a simple basement, built up with large rectangular stones, and varying in height with the inequality of the ground on which it stands. The two statues of life size, and in very high relief, adorn the second storey; they are placed on pedestals surmounted by a cornice; each of the figures supports his head with his hand, and their general attitude is mournful, so that there can be no doubt that the sculptor intended to represent them as lamenting the person in whose honour the tomb was erected. The absence of ornaments or attributes and their barbarous costume show that they were slaves or captives, not distinguished Romans or mythological characters. Unfortunately the marine air has corroded the stone to such an extent that the delicacy of the contours and the expression of the countenances can with difficulty be traced. Immediately above the figures an inscription, now nearly illegible, extends across the front of the building. According to Hübner, whose account does not differ materially from that of Pons de Icart, the letters still visible are the following:

ORNIEEAHIV.....ENSERBVS.....NEGL  
NVNVIII IVBI PERPETVOREMANE

Notwithstanding the mutilated condition of this sentence, we may derive some information from it. The first word was probably Cornelius, which may be partly inferred from the letters still remaining, partly from comparison with an inscription extant on a similar memorial near Cartagena, No. 3462, *Corp. Inscr. Hisp.*

T. DIDI . P . F  
COR 2

Only four letters are required to complete the last word, which will then become *remanent*, and the concluding

<sup>1</sup> Hübner, *ib.*, p. 545, says that the Spaniards in this matter only followed their usual practice, "ut solent vera inredibilibus miscere."

<sup>2</sup> The sepulchre of Didius is a conspicuous object, though not mentioned by Ford, now called *La Torre ciega*, about half a league from Carthago Nova (Cartagena) on the road to Ilici (Elche). The

part now remaining is 14 feet high, and the whole was formerly about 30 feet high. It was supposed by the vulgar to be the tomb of Scipio Africanus; and, in accordance with this mistaken notion, Cascas explained the abbreviations as meaning *tumulus dicatus divo, Publii filio, Cornelio*; but we ought to read *T. Didius P. filius, Cornelia, i.e. tribu.*

phrase resembles the expression "Perpetuæ securitati et memoriæ," which occurs in an inscription at Ratisbon, Orelli, No. 4448; Gruter, 671, 12.<sup>1</sup> Hence it appears that this tomb was built for some member of the Cornelian family, and that it was intended to be a permanent resting-place for his remains.

Besides this inscription over the statues, there was probably one between them, which would then correspond in position with that in the monument at Cartagena and others still extant in Italy; *e.g.*, CÆCILÆ Q. CRETICIF. METELLÆ CRASSI, in the mausoleum of Caecilia Metella, near Rome.<sup>2</sup> Señor Hernandez says that a large wedge-shaped stone in the centre of this storey fits exactly into a cavity, and being moveable affords the only means of entrance. Though this structure as a whole is characterized by simplicity, it presents some ornamental features in architecture as well as in sculpture. The central compartment is surmounted by a cornice consisting of a single fillet, an inverted moulding, two fillets and a direct moulding; the lightness of the details contrasts well with the single massive torus below, and removes an appearance of heaviness which the uniformity of the style would otherwise produce. There can be little doubt that the third storey originally ended in a pyramid, as we know that the Etruscan tombs were often pyramidal or conical,<sup>3</sup> and that this form was frequently imitated by the Romans, as for instance, in the monument at Igel, of which the upper part has fortunately been preserved.<sup>4</sup>

I take the following dimensions from the *Indicador Arqueológico de Tarragona*. The base, at its greatest altitude, is 1·74 metres high, and each side is 4·72 long. The elevation of the second storey is 4·5, and the length of each side is 3·94. The third storey, now incomplete,

<sup>1</sup> I. O. M. et perpetuæ securitati et memoriæ dulcissimæ Aureliæ mater Aurelia et P. AEL. Juvianus conjugi incomparabili. This inscription, being also sepulchral, affords an exact parallel to that at Tarragona.

<sup>2</sup> This tablet is very well shown in the coloured plate in Rheinhard's *Album des Classischen Alterthums*, No. 28. Above the tablet is a frieze of ox-heads connected by festoons of fruit and flowers, somewhat like that in the temple at Tarragona mentioned above. Hence is derived

the modern name of the mausoleum, Capodi Bove.

<sup>3</sup> For the usual form of Etruscan tombs, see Mrs. Hamilton Gray, *Sepulchres of Etruria; Restoration of a Necropolis*, p. 158; *Grotta del Barone*, p. 168, &c.

<sup>4</sup> The monument at Igel is described in Wytttenbach's *Antiquities of Trèves*, edited by Dawson Turner, pp. 113-143, with plate and vignette; compare also Leonardy, *Panorama von Trier und dessen Umgebungen*, pp. 162-172.

has actually a height of 3·27, and each side is 3·36 long. Each of the statues is 1·76 high.<sup>1</sup>

As in the case of the Aqueduct, the situation of this tomb, amid pines and shrubs, on a hillock near the shores of the Mediterranean, harmonizes with the reflections which it is calculated to excite. The traveller is left alone with antiquity, while he meditates on the genius, achievements and fortunes of republican Rome, and of that distinguished family which bore a greater part than any other in the extension of her empire,<sup>2</sup> and which the tradition of many centuries has associated with the edifice he now surveys. I did not reach this spot till it was too late to examine the details as carefully as they deserved; but the fast falling shades of an autumnal evening seemed a natural emblem of the mysterious obscurity that gathers round the pile erected by unknown hands, in honour of a personage whose name the acutest criticism cannot decipher completely.

VI. The so-called Tomb of the Scipios carries back our thoughts to the time when the virtues of republican Rome were displayed in vigorous efflorescence; the Arch of Bara belongs to the golden age of imperial Rome, when the whole civilised world enjoyed the greatest happiness under the Spaniard Trajan, Optimus Princeps, the best of princes. This monument is called the Arch of Bara or Sura; the former name being derived from its locality, the latter from the person who built it. Torredembarra is a station on the railway from Tarragona to Barcelona, and about a league and a half distant from the Tomb of the Scipios. Sura does not figure conspicuously in ordinary compilations of history, but to the classical scholar he is something more than a *nominis umbra*.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Swinburne, Travels through Spain, p. 72, pl. iv, agreeing with Pons de Icart, states that the letters FL were legible in the second line of the inscription, and hence he infers that the monument was erected by some priest (flamen) for himself and his family. He also observed an appearance of figures in low relief and nearly effaced; these were under an arch and in the centre of the second storey. Swinburne compares the tomb of the Scipios with that of Theron, which he describes in his Travels through the Two Sicilies, vol. ii, p. 285, and includes in his View of the ruins of Agrigentum. This writer is a valuable authority on

account of his accuracy in details, as he "never took the liberty of adding or retrenching a single object."

<sup>2</sup> Cicero, pro Murena, c. xxviii, In imperio Populi Romani, quod illius opera tenebatur, with reference to Scipio Africanus the Younger, conqueror of Carthage and Numantia.

<sup>3</sup> Sura who built the arch is a different person from Sura on the coins of Saguntum; the former having Licinius, and the latter Valerius, for his *nomen gentile*; Heiss, Monnaies Antiques de l'Espagne, p. 219, pl. xxviii, Nos. 20, 21, 23; Akerman, Coins of Spain, Gaul and Britain, p. 103, pl. x, No. 14.

He was thrice consul, had great influence in raising Trajan and Hadrian to the throne, commanded as a general in the Dacian war, and was sent as ambassador to Decebalus. But his labours were not confined to military operations; he discharged the duties of secretary of state, and so fully enjoyed Trajan's confidence that he was allowed to draw up official documents at his own discretion. In return for these varied services, the highest honours were conferred upon him, triumphal ornaments, a public funeral, and a statue erected in the Forum by a decree of the senate.<sup>1</sup> Sura's accomplishments are attested by his social relations; he was a friend of Pliny the Younger, whose letters imply that learned and philosophical subjects were familiar to him.<sup>2</sup> But it belongs to our present purpose to notice the reasons for supposing that he was born in this part of Spain. At Barcelona, thirteen inscriptions have been found, recording the fact that Lucius Licinius Secundus acted as accensus, official attendant, to his patron Sura in his first, second and third consulship; in another inscription at the same place, Sura's statue at Rome is mentioned; and lastly, Martial addressing Licinianus, a Spaniard, speaks of Sura as connected with him.<sup>3</sup>

This arch stands on the Roman road, which was a continuation of the Via Aurelia, the great line of communication along the coast between Rome and Gaul. Both façades are adorned with four fluted pilasters, two on each side of a nearly semi-circular arch, having an

<sup>1</sup> Henzen, Supplement to Orelli's *Collectio Inscr. Lat.*, cap. ii, *Monumenta historica*, s. 15, Trajanus ejusque tempora, p. 81, "Ad clarissimos duces belli Dacici Licinium Suram, Glitium Agricolum, Minicium Natalem, Pompeium Falconem pertinent insec. seq." No. 5448, relates to Sura; in it these words occur, "huic Senatus auctore Imp. Trajano... triumphalia ornamenta, decrevit statuamque pecun. public. ponend. censuit." After the overthrow of the Commonwealth, only emperors and members of the imperial family triumphed; others received the triumphalia ornamenta or insignia, as Tacitus calls them, *Annals*, i, 72. For the honours paid to Sura compare Dion Cassius, lib. lxxviii, cap. 15, τῷ δὲ Σούρα τῇ Δικινίῳ καὶ ταφῇ δημοσίαν καὶ ἀνδριάντα ἔδωκε τελεντήσαντι.

<sup>2</sup> The Younger Pliny, *Epistles*, iv, 30, informs Sura that there is a fountain in his own neighbourhood, near the lake of Como, where the water rises and falls three times a day, with a regular increase and decrease. He asks his friend to investigate the cause of this remarkable phenomenon. Ib. vii, 27, he consults Sura again, and inquires whether apparitions are to be considered as having a real existence and emanating from the Deity, or as imaginary and the offspring of our own fears.

<sup>3</sup> Martial, *Epigrams*, i, 49, Ad Licinianum, de Hispaniæ locis, v. 40, Dum Sura landatur tuus. In the same epigram, vv. 19-22, Martial, himself also a Spaniard, mentions Tarragona as a pleasant retreat from the cold and storms of winter; *Aprica repetes Tarraconis litora*.

interval between them. The capitals are Corinthian, a favourite order with the Romans, and support an entablature consisting of architrave, frieze and cornice. As the width of the whole structure is nearly equal to its height, the proportion seems defective; but if the arch was originally surmounted by a statue or group of figures, this fault would have been to a great extent remedied. I am not aware that the upper part has been carefully examined with a view to ascertain whether any vestiges of fastenings can be traced; the supposition however is in itself by no means improbable. Montfauçon, in his *Antiquité Expliquée*, plate cxi, gives many examples of Arcs de Triomphe, on the top of which a quadriga, standard-bearers, Victory carrying a palm-branch and trophies are placed.<sup>1</sup> Sura, having distinguished himself in both the Dacian wars, would be very likely to build a triumphal arch, but as we have no direct evidence on the subject, another motive may be suggested; the arch might have been intended to record the construction, or more probably the restoration, of a public road. On this supposition it would be analogous in its design to similar edifices at Rimini, Susa and Pola.<sup>2</sup> The Spanish antiquaries think that Sura had no other object in view beyond the gratification of his vanity; but this opinion seems to rest only on a passage in which Dion Cassius describes him as ostentatious.<sup>3</sup> It is worthy of remark that there are here no side entrances for foot passeners; a circumstance which would assist us to determine the date, if the inscription were altogether unknown. In this respect it resembles the Arch of Titus at Rome and that of Trajan at Ancona.<sup>4</sup> The other arrangement, which is more con-

<sup>1</sup> Roman numismatics afford many illustrations: for the coins of Claudius, see Cohen, *Médailles Impériales*, vol. I, pl. x, Nos. 13, 80; for those of Galba, ib., pl. xiii, Nos. 179, 246; compare Admiral Smyth, *Descriptive Catalogue of a Cabinet of Roman Imperial Large Brass Medals*, p. 34, Reverse of Claudius, "Triumphal arch surmounted by a statue of Drusus on horseback, between two military trophies;" p. 44, Reverse of Nero, "Magnificent triumphal arch, with the victor in a quadrigated car upon the summit, preceded by two Victories."

<sup>2</sup> Fergusson, *History of Architect-*

ture, i, p. 311, with engraving of the Arch of Trajan at Beneventum, No. 206.

<sup>3</sup> Dio Cassius, lxxviii, 15, says Sura was so rich and ostentatious that he built a gymnasium for the Romans.

<sup>4</sup> Many examples of the single arch occur under the earlier emperors; e.g., of Augustus at Susa, of Drusus within the Porta San Sebastiano at Rome, of Claudius De Britannis, of Nero, of Trajan at Beneventum, and of Marcus Aurelius. All these exist or are known from coins. On the other hand, an *aureus* of Augustus shows three entrances; it was struck to commemorate the recovery of standards

ducive to architectural effect by a due subordination of parts, belongs to a later age. Sura's Arch wants the attic, which at Ancona is in harmony with the rest of the building,<sup>1</sup> while in that of Titus, as Mr. Fergusson observes, "it is overpoweringly high."

This monument has repeatedly suffered many things at the hands of injudicious restorers. They not only covered it with whitewash, thereby effacing the hues which time alone can impart, but destroyed the ancient inscription in the frieze on the west side and substituted another.<sup>2</sup> The original was as follows :

EX · TESTAMENTO · L · LICINI · L · F · SERG SVRAE · CONSACRATVM.

Consecrated according to the will of Lucius Licinius Sura, son of Lucius, of the Sergian tribe.<sup>3</sup> For *CONSACRATVM* others read *CONSTRUCTVM*. Unfortunately the stone employed as building material is particularly soft, so that the angles have become rounded, and the beautiful outlines of the leaves in the capitals have been broken.

The height of the arch is 10·14 metres, its span 4·87, and its depth 2·34; the height of the whole structure, from the base to the cornice, 12·28, and the total width 12.

Our subject has been special, and limited to Tarragona and its neighbourhood; but before concluding I beg leave to make one or two remarks of a more general nature. Spanish archæology is a vast, I might almost say a boundless, field; it suggests innumerable researches of various

from the Parthians, and represents the emperor in a quadriga on the summit between two Oriental figures: Dean Milman's *Horace*, p. 229, *Odes*, iv, 15; Cohen, "*Médailles Impériales*," i, p. 51, No. 84. However, the exception, if it really existed, only proves the rule. The arches of the later emperors, Severus, Gallienus, and Constantine are triple. Montfaucon gives twelve illustrations from coins, in which the various forms of the arches and the groups at the top of them may be well studied, "*Ant. Expl.*," tome iv, pl. cxi, opposite p. 172.

<sup>1</sup> Trajan's marble arch at Ancona deserves to be more frequently visited. Some have considered it to be the finest in the world; we may safely assert that for beauty of proportion it is not surpassed by any erected during the Empire, at Rome or elsewhere.

The first arches that commemorated a

Roman victory were built, about B.C. 196, by L. Stertinius out of the spoils taken from the *Spaniards*; but they were not, strictly speaking, triumphal, as Stertinius did not even claim a triumph. Two of them stood in the cattle-market (*Forum Boarium*), and one in the *Circus Maximus*: they were surmounted by gilt statues; *Livy*, xxxiii, 27, where, however, the reading is somewhat doubtful.

<sup>2</sup> These injuries were perpetrated on the occasion of Espartero's visit in 1845, when the arch was dedicated to him, *Parcerisa, Cataluña*, I, 211, note 102.

<sup>3</sup> As the *Sergian* tribe is mentioned here, this monument reminds us of the arch of the *Sergii* at Pola in Istria, which is still standing, and, if Hirt's restoration can be relied on, had originally three statues on the summit; *Hirt, Geschichte der Baukunst*, Tafel xxxi [xvi], fig. vi--a, ground-plan; b, elevation.

kinds, pre-historic, Iberian, Phœnician, Roman, Moorish and Gothic. It possesses, therefore, a fascination with which no country in central Europe can vie. On the other hand, these investigations are as laborious as they are interesting. The traveller has to contend with many difficulties physical, intellectual, and moral; he suffers from sudden changes of climate and fatiguing journeys; he exposes himself to risk from brigands,<sup>1</sup> and is often baffled by the incivility of the natives, who have a strange aversion to foreigners. Sometimes he is surrounded by total ignorance; and often the Spanish writers whom he consults are so rash and inaccurate that instead of assisting they only mislead. However, the English antiquary should be encouraged to persevere by the conviction that Spain contains rich treasures as yet unlocked, by the sympathy he will occasionally meet with even there from congenial spirits, and by the hope of being able, on his return, to communicate some information to those who have remained at home.

#### APPENDIX.

I add some miscellaneous notes, which, it is hoped, may prove useful to the student of Catalan antiquities.

The authorities chiefly followed in the preceding memoir are Hübner's "Spanish Inscriptions" and the "Indicador de Tarragona." Hübner, besides a detailed account of the inscriptions, gives a historical introduction and copious references to ancient and modern writers. The "Indicador" is useful for local information, but frequently inaccurate; the initials on the title page stand for Don Buenaventura Hernandez y Sanahuja and Don José Maria de Torres; I have reason to believe that Señor Hernander composed the greater part.

Amongst the earlier antiquaries Henrique Florez is facile princeps; his two great works are "España Sagrada" in forty-six vols., and "Medallas de las colonias, municipios, y pueblos antiguos de España," in three vols. The former contains an immense number of particulars relating to various subjects, which the title would not lead us to expect. Tome xxiv is devoted to the Antigüedades Tarraconenses; it contains a plan of the city, inscriptions, and many engravings, and shows several monuments that have now disappeared. The last chapter on the medals of the Gothic kings affords in the legends some examples of the changes by which Latin was barbarized. This volume is only preliminary to the

<sup>1</sup> A few months before my visit to Cataluña the train was stopped between Tarragona and Barcelona; and in the summer of the following year brigands

again infested the province, committing various outrages. They were at last dispersed by the gendarmerie, who killed six and wounded several others.

*Memorias Ecclesiasticas de la Santa Iglesia de Tarragona* in tomo xxv, which relates the history of Christianity in the city, with lists of councils, bishops and saints. Special honour is paid to San Maximo, Magin or Magi, who lived in a cave, and was beheaded in the Bufragaña mountains; this part of the work will abundantly satisfy a keen appetite for the marvellous. Moreover the volume also includes the hymn by Prudentius, *Peristephanon VI*, *In honorem beatissimorum martyrum Fructuosi Episcopi Ecclesie Tarraconensis et Augurii et Eulogii diaconorum*.

Nie Antonio, "*Bibliotheca Hispana Vetus*," ii, 463, mentions a Synod at Tarragona, A.D. 513, over which the metropolitan of that city presided, and at which the Bishop of Carthage, amongst others, was present.

Pierre Marca, well known as the historian of Béarn, also wrote a learned and curious work on the border provinces; it is entitled "*Marca Hispanica sive Limes Hispanicus; h.e. Descriptio Cataloniae, Ruscinonis*," etc.," ab anno 817 ad annum 1258. Though a Frenchman, Marca is infected with the taint of Spanish prolixity, and begins his narrative with the Tower of Babel, post tentatam a Noachidis temerariam illam turris Babylonicae molitionem. For Tarragona see especially chap. x, pp. 134-140; chap. xi, pp. 141-144. Marca had the best opportunities of studying his subject, as in 1660 he was sent to the frontiers, and was named Intendant of Cataluña by Louis XIII. This book has a copious index.

Swinburne's "*Picturesque Tour through Spain*," with twenty engravings, London, 1806, folio, must be distinguished from his "*Travels through Spain*;" the letter-press of the former work is comparatively unimportant.

Parcerisa only executed the illustrations for the book on Cataluña, which usually bears his name; the text was written by P. Piferrer and J. Pi y Margall.

Forl's *Handbook* is a meritorious performance, but he is too enthusiastic, and sees objects through the beautifying medium of his imagination; hence he often describes rather what he wishes than what actually exists.

Of all the persons connected by birth or residence with Tarragona, Ant. Angustinus is far the most learned. His *Dialogos de medallas, inscripciones y otras antigüedades*, have been translated into Latin and Italian. He was sent to England by Pope Julius III on the occasion of the marriage of Philip with Queen Mary. A good account of his life will be found in the "*Biographie Universelle*."

In ancient times Barcelona was insignificant, and Tarragona flourishing; now the situation is reversed. Accordingly, Heiss gives no coins of Barcino (Barcelona); the only example I have been able to find is that mentioned by Jo. Christoph. Rasche in his "*Lexicon Univ. Rei Numariae*," with the legend *COL BARCINO FAVENTIA*, numus Galbae in *Thesauro Golzii*. The Museum at Barcelona is inferior to that at Tarragona, and thus corresponds to the unimportant position of the former city under the Romans; however it contains many interesting antiquities; see the "*Catálogo de los objetos que la Comision de Monumentos historicos y artisticos de la Provincia de Barcelona tiene reunidos*." Nos. 814-830, 931-939, and 950 are, for the most part, Roman inscriptions.

It is unnecessary to enlarge on the importance of the Catalan dialect, as it has continued for many centuries almost without alteration, and is now spoken by a population amounting to five or six millions; Joh. Sturm, "*De Romanske Sprog og Folk*, Skildringer fra en studiereise med



offentligt stipendium," Kristiania, 1871, p. 62. Like the patois of Béarn, it has a very close affinity with Latin; according to Mr. Raynouard, it approaches nearer to the Roman than any other of the neo-Latin languages. The following list of words taken from three stanzas of a short poem quoted by Sturm will illustrate this remark:—

<i>Catalan.</i>	<i>Spanish.</i>	<i>Latin.</i>
lloch	plaza	locus
avis	abuelos	avi
jochs	juegos	joci
miel	miel	mel
escolta	escucho	auscultat

*Ab ell* is translated in Spanish by *con el*, where *ab*, which is the same in Provençal, comes from the Latin *apud*. Many similar instances will be found in the declension of pronouns and the degrees of comparison in adjectives, *e.g.* nosaltres, vosaltres; bo (bueno), millor, optim; gran (grande), major, maxim; mal (malo), pitjor, pessim: "Gramatica de la Lengua Catalana," por D. A. de Bofarull y D. A. Blanch. The Catalans retain the Latin F, which Spanish changes into H mute; so we have *fel* for *hiel*, and *fullas* for *hoyas*. Catalan often supplies a middle term between Latin and Spanish, assisting us to trace the derivation of the latter, *e.g.*, Lat. *uada*, Catal. *oua*, Sp. *ola*. Sturm, *ib.*, pp. 71, 72, prints in parallel columns four verses from the parable of the Prodigal Son (S. Luke, xv, 11-14) translated into Provençal, Catalan, Castilian and Portuguese. Professor Rubio y Ors, of the Barcelona University, informed me that there are many Greek words in Catalan; this testimony therefore concurs with the evidence from coins to which reference has been made above.

The English antiquary, if he happens to be imperfectly acquainted with Spanish, would do well to employ Latin as a means of communication with educated natives, but he must conform his pronunciation to the analogy of the vernacular. For instance, in such words as *genius* and *pagi* an aspirate should be substituted for G. The priests usually speak Latin, and in some cases in the Italian manner; many of them are able and willing to promote archæological researches.

Tarragona can be quickly reached from the South of France; the journey from Narbonne to Barcelona occupies about nine hours and a half by express train, and thence to Tarragona is a ride of rather less than four hours; see the "Guia Oficial de los ferro-carriles de España, Francia y Portugal."

The preceding memoir is the result of a journey through the northern provinces of Spain and a visit to Tarragona in the autumn of 1878; at this city I had the advantage of studying the monuments with the kind assistance of Señor Hernandez, the best local antiquary. No account is given here of the cathedral, because Mr. G. E. Street has already described it.

I desire to express my obligations to Mr. Percy Gardiner of the British Museum for some valuable remarks on Spanish coins.

## THE LAND OF MORGAN.

### PART IV.

By G. T. CLARK.

GILBERT de Clare, surnamed "the Red," "*quia rufus erat et pulcher aspectu*," 7th Earl of Gloucester and of Hertford, and 9th Earl of Clare, succeeded in July, 1262, 46 Henry III, being then nineteen years of age, married to Alice de la Marche or d'Angoulesme, and with one child, Isabel, born 10th March, 1262. Soon after his accession the Earl of Hereford, then custos, wrote to Walter de Merton, the chancellor, to say that the lands of the late earl are quiet, and the castles equipped. In 1263, William de Powyk was appointed to take depositions in a dispute between the Prior of Ewenny and the Abbot of Margam concerning tenements in Llanmeuthin, and 15th July, the king informed the barons, knights, and the lieges of Glamorgan that he had committed to Walter de Sully the lands and castles of which Humphrey, Earl of Hereford, had had charge, and required them to obey and aid him. The minority was a short one, for 3rd August the young earl did homage and had livery of the castles of Cardiff, Newburgh (Newport), and Llantrissant, and of the Welsh Lordship, of which Hereford was to give seizin; which cost the earl £1000. At the same time he entered upon his lands in England and Ireland, and also succeeded to the wardship of the lands of Peter of Savoy, and of Pembroke Castle, and of the lands of William de Valence in Pembroke: wardships, like other personal property, being heritable. Just before this, 8th February, 1263, the Bishop of Llandaff was informed that when he came to London he might lodge in the close of the king's hermitage at Charing Cross, without impediment from the royal officers.

The young earl, it is recorded, was impetuous and

much influenced by his mother, who led him to join the opposition party. "*Blanditiis allectum qui prius Regi devotus extiterat resilire coegit, et de fideli reddit infidelem.*" He was, however, probably influenced also by the example of his father, who, though moderate, was never a blind supporter of the king. It is moreover said that the earl had a special grievance against Prince Edward, whose attentions to his wife were unpleasant to him. From whatever cause, he at once, as early as February, 1263, threw himself into the party of De Montfort, at that time engaged in giving effect to the provisions of Oxford, by which aliens were excluded from the government of the royal castles ; and the central administration of justice, and an equitable collection of the revenue were provided for. In March he refused to include Prince Edward in his oath of allegiance, and, with De Montfort, took up arms. The king fled to the Tower, and the prince took post at Windsor, and towards the close of the year it was decided, against the earl's wish, to refer the matters in dispute to the French king. Henry seized the earl's castles of Kingston and Tonbridge, but allowed the countess, who was in the latter, to go free.

The French award was unfavourable to the barons who, at the Oxford Parliament in March, 1264, refused to accept it. 12th May, Henry addressed a defiance to De Montfort and the Earl of Gloucester, as chiefs of the barons' party, and in the military summonses to Worcester their adherents were omitted. On the 14th, the rival forces met at Lewes, and the appeal to arms, long threatened, actually occurred. The Earl accepted knight-hood on the battle field from De Montfort, and, young and unskilled as he was, was nevertheless recognized as, equally with De Montfort, a leader of the party, and to him was allotted the command of the second line. In the battle he distinguished himself by personal valour, and seems to have received the king's sword. He used his power to take a grant, 20th June, of the confiscated estates of Earl Warren, excepting Rygate and Lewes castles ; and one of the articles of the "*Mise of Lewes*" provides especially for his indemnity and that of De Montfort. The Earl, Earl Simon, and the Bishop of

Chichester were the three electors who were to nominate the new council of nine persons of those who were "most faithful, prudent, and most studious for the public weal," and who were to be the real governors of the kingdom. Gloucester was also one of the five earls summoned to the "Great Parliament" at Westminster, 20th January, 1265.

Victory speedily generated discontent between the victors, and especially between the two earls. Gloucester seems to have claimed from Earl Simon the custody of his own prisoners, and especially of the Earl of Cornwall, and to have been refused. He also demanded the Castle of Bristol, to which he had hereditary claims, and which was occupied by Earl Simon, and further, a tournament at which he proposed to take part against De Montfort's sons, was forbidden by the earl. These causes, or some of them, may have precipitated the rupture, but it was improbable that the two earls could long have continued in accord. De Montfort was a foreigner by birth and education, a much older man than Gloucester, and as far above him in personal weight as he was below him in hereditary position and territorial wealth. Each naturally looked upon the other with a jealous eye. Earl Gilbert, though without experience, stood at the head of the English baronage, and it was evident that however much circumstances might force him to oppose Henry, he did not wish permanently to overthrow the royal power. De Montfort, whose views were broader and probably far more patriotic than those of the earl, nevertheless desired personal aggrandisement. From the king he had long sought an augmentation of his wife's jointure, which included a third of the Mareschal estates, and he wished to obtain from the prince the earldom of Chester in exchange for that of Leicester, Chester being not only a richer, but from its position on the Marches a far more powerful earldom, and to bring about this change he took advantage of his possession of the prince's person. He was also bent upon strengthening his own power in the west, at the expense of that of Gloucester, holding Bristol, and giving encouragement to the South Welsh princes, hereditary foes to the lords of Glamorgan. Moreover his son, the younger Simon, was a pretender to the hand of Isabel, heiress of the great earldom of Devon,

and holding in dower a third of that of Albemarle. After Lewes he had actually pursued her with an armed force, and forced her to take refuge under the covert protection of the Earl of Gloucester, her kinsman. These sources of distrust led Gloucester at once to take up the interests of the king, who would thus become indebted to him for his kingdom.

His change of action was rapid and complete. In April, 1265, he opened a communication, through his brother Thomas, with Roger Mortimer, and came to a personal altercation with De Montfort, charging him with being an alien, "*manifeste ridiculum est quod hic alienigena totius regni dominium sibi præsumat subjugare.*" De Montfort, with the king and prince in his train, went to Hereford, while De Clare, in conjunction with John Giffard, a great soldier and a man of much personal influence in South Wales, collected a considerable force in the Forest of Dene. In May an arbitration was agreed to, probably to gain time, for in that month, by Thomas de Clare's agency, the prince effected his escape from the meads of Hereford, and rode to Wigmore, and thence to Ludlow, where he was joined by Gloucester, on the condition that he should swear to observe "the ancient and approved laws of the realm." De Montfort's rejoinder was the destruction of the Castle of Monmouth, whence he marched upon Newport, holding both banks of the Usk. He was followed by Prince Edward from the east, on which he broke down Newport bridge, and retired upon Glamorgan, which he laid waste in combination with Llewelyn. Meantime De Clare regained Bristol, and the prince fell back upon the Severn at Gloucester. While there he learned that the younger De Montfort was on his way from Pevensey towards Kenilworth. With a decision that indicated the future leader, the prince by a rapid march intercepted De Montfort near Kenilworth, routed him, 16th July, and thence turning back upon Worcester, held that city and broke down the bridge, 1st August, and on the 4th encountered and overthrew Earl Simon at Evesham.

In the battle De Clare, as at Lewes, led the second line, but on the king's behalf. His reward was a pardon, 49th Hen. III., for his brother Thomas, himself, and his

adherents, and the wardship of Abergavenny during the nonage of Maud, the child wife of the Earl of Hereford. He again did homage for his lands, and the king remitted £900 of fine as yet unpaid upon his livery, on the ground of his expenses in the royal cause.

De Montfort's death left Gloucester without a rival, and much tempted him to take a lead on the popular side. He does not seem to have aided at the siege of Kenilworth, and though one of those elected to sit as an arbitrator upon the terms of the Ban in October, 1266, he disapproved of, and opposed them. Early in that year William de Braose, Canon of Llandaff, was elected bishop, and Griffith ap Rhys, taken prisoner, was committed to Cardiff Castle, and thence, in 1267, sent to Kilkenny for greater security. Towards the close of 1266 Gloucester, himself discontented, seems to have met the "disinherited" party in the Isle of Ely, and thence, 8th April, 1267, to have led them to London, where they occupied the city, and summoned the Legate to surrender the Tower. They met publicly at St. Paul's, but meantime Henry had advanced from Windsor, and encamped at Stratford, whence, 5th May, he also entered London. On this Gloucester, through his brother Thomas, again made terms, and so in June he and his followers were admitted to the benefits of the Ban, and a safe conduct issued in favour of Gilbert de Clare, his household, and all who call themselves "exheredatos." This was to enable them to meet Henry at Stratford.

The Parliament at Marlborough, in November, conceded almost all the points in dispute, and although the earl remained at variance with Mortimer and the royal party, and declined an invitation to the king's great banquet, he gave no further trouble, and the king waived the conditions proposed by the Legate, that the earl should give either his daughter or his castle of Tonbridge, for three years, as a hostage for his conduct. Finally, at Midsummer, 1268, the earl assumed the cross with Prince Edward at Northampton, though this promise was not fulfilled.

The earl's amity was no doubt largely influenced by the king's action in South Wales. As early as 26th April, 1266, the king had questioned the correctness of

the earl's scutages, and had directed William de Powyk and the Abbot of Tintern to make a new survey, and 30th April, Humphrey, Earl of Hereford, was to take charge, but the issues were to be paid over to Matilda, Countess of Gloucester, and Gilbert de Clare, and the countess was to surrender Usk Castle. 5th May, Earl Humphrey was informed that the king will accommodate his niece, the wife of Gilbert de Clare, with the use of Usk Castle, which had belonged to Richard de Cardiff; Lawrence de Hameldon appears as Earl Gilbert's clerk. 1st August, the earl had a grant of the manor of Lydgate, and the seneschalship of Bury Abbey, taken from Henry de Hastings, the king's enemy. 20th August, he was also to have the lands of all the rebel Welsh that he could conquer.

In 1267 Henry laboured hard to give peace to South Wales; 14th March Roger de Somery and Hugh de Turberville, Glamorgan Barons, were commissioned to enquire into the causes of quarrel between Llewelyn ap Griffith and the Earl of Gloucester. Llewelyn's complaint was that the earl refused to restore the lands of his subjects, according to the terms agreed upon. The result was a compromise, agreed to at Michaelmas, 1268. The violence complained of had chiefly lain in the districts of Senghenydd, Glyn-Rhondda, and Miscoin, tracts of country too strong and too near Cardiff to be left in native hands. The compromise lasted but a short time, and the final result was the building of the great castle of Caerphilly, and the stronghold of Castel Coch. The earl was still bent upon the recovery of Bristol, and 31st October, 1268, he addressed the king, stating that he proposed, with Prince Edward's consent, to have his right to the castle and borough tried in course of law, and should he recover it, he promises to give due exchange. The suit seems to have been deferred till 1276, when, in the presence of the Archbishop of Canterbury and others, the castle and borough were adjudged to the king.

A year later, 15th October, 1269, the earl had a safe conduct to come to meet the king, Prince Edward, and Llewelyn, of which he does not seem to have availed himself; nor did he attend the parliament then held. He found it very inconvenient to accompany the

prince to the Holy Land, and he probably feared compulsion. The reason he assigned, whether true or false, was certainly sufficient. "*At Comes causatus est terris suis, quæ Walliæ contiguanur, et quæ tunc temporis a Wallensibus fortiter fuerunt impugnatae, depopulatis provinciis, et castris solo terrarum compeanatur periculum imminere, si vacuatis regni limitibus; ipsas . . . . . expositas relinquerunt indefensus.*" The King of the Romans seems to have mediated, and at Pentecost, 1270, Henry allowed the repayment of the earl's expenses at Evesham, and again gave him livery of his lands and castles. In return he undertook to follow the prince, who had left England in July, unless prevented by illness, war, or other sufficient causes. This he did not do, but as he gave no other cause of offence he and Henry lived on good terms for the rest of the reign. Meantime Caerphilly had been commenced, and was defensible, for the Bishops of Lichfield and Worcester were there when Llewelyn laid siege to it. A truce was agreed to, the castle to be held by the bishops till the Quindene (15th day after) of Midsummer, and there was to be a final settlement of the matter at the Fords of Montgomery, at the Quindene of the following Easter. The king no doubt saw the importance of the castle to the realm at large, for in Council 2nd February, 1271, in London, De Clare had leave to enditch it.

Llewelyn's attack is the subject of a letter from the Archbishop of York in London, dated 3rd November, 1271, to Mag<sup>r</sup> R. de Nedham, his proctor at Rome. It appeared that Prince Edward, on leaving England, had constituted the Archbishop, the king of the Romans, Philip Basset, R. de Mortimer, and R. Burnel, his deputies, and their attention was engaged upon affairs in South Wales. Llewelyn, the Primate says, had come down upon Caerphilly, and laid siege to it with a considerable force. The Earl of Gloucester is calling for aid which ought not to be withheld. But the king is ill, and the scarcity of the past year has left them without funds. He relates this that the cardinals may be content with less valuable presents than might have been expected. The favour of the new pope was, however, to be obtained by a handsome sum.



The King of the Romans died 2nd April, 1272, and that year, about six weeks before Henry's death, Earl Gilbert married his sister Margaret to Edmund, Richard's eldest surviving son, on which occasion, on St. Edmund's day, 20th November, Edmund was knighted and recognised as Earl of Cornwall, and on St. Nicholas' day following, 6th December, he gave a wedding feast of great splendour at Wallingford. Upon Henry's death Earl Gilbert was one of those whose names, 23rd November, 1272, are appended to the letter informing Prince Edward of that event, and the proclamation of the new king was signed by the Archbishop of York, Earl Gilbert, and Edmund Earl of Cornwall. He was also present at the proclamation at the New Temple, and on the new king's arrival in England he entertained him with great magnificence at Tonbridge Castle.

The state of Glamorgan during the reign of Henry III. was such as to cause great anxiety to its lord, its ecclesiastical magnates, its barons and knights, and its inhabitants generally, whether Welsh or English. The land was wasted, the houses burned, the cattle driven off, the borough towns and religious houses sorely bested. The clergy were in arrears with their tythes, the bishops and monastic bodies with their dues, and the landlords of all ranks with their rents and the produce of their demesnes. Treaties and truces between the English and the Welsh were of no avail. Each party broke them at pleasure. The king's writ did not run in the Marches, and would have been but little respected if it had had legal sanction, and the chief lords, though strong enough to be a thorn in the king's side, were often unable to preserve peace. It is true that the lower or seaboard division of the lordship, including the vale of Glamorgan, was studded with castles. Cardiff, Neath, and Swansea, and perhaps the tower of Lwchwr, were strong enough to defend the lower parts of the Taff, the Nedd, the Tawe and the Lwchwr rivers, but the other castles and strong houses, Kenfig, Llantrissant, Ogmere, Coyty, Dunraven, Talavan, Llanblethian, Bonvilleston, Fommon, Penmark, Sully, Barry, Wenvoe, Flimston and Dinas Powis, and a score of others, were intended to guard private domains, and did not command the main passes of the district. What

was wanted was some central stronghold of the first class, large enough to contain a numerous garrison, strong enough to resist a siege, and so placed as to stand in the way of any advance of the Welsh in force into England, and should they so advance to cut off their retreat. Earl Gilbert determined to supply this want in a manner worthy of his rank and wealth as chief of the Marcher lords, and suitable to the importance of the territory which it was his duty to protect. The place fixed upon for his fortress was the centre of a vast and, in part, marshy basin upon the Welsh bank of the Rhymny, and therefore between the Lordships of Gwent and Morgannwg, within the hill district, and not above six miles from Cardiff. This lay in the route by which the Welsh invaders usually advanced upon and retired from Gwent, and to close it would close the whole line of the Rhymny, from the Brecon mountains to the sea, Cardiff blocking the seaward plain, and Brecknock and Builth, the valley of the Usk, north of the mountains. The proposed castle was wholly new. A knoll of ground rising out of the morass was scarped and revetted and crowned with a double belt of walls and towers, while, as at Kenilworth and Ledes, an insignificant brook was barred by a strong and well-defended dam, and the depression about the castle converted into a deep and broad lake. Such was the origin and such the general disposition of the castle of Caerphilly, the most complete example in Britain of the concentric style of fortress, and in area and accommodation second only to Windsor. Unfortunately for its historic celebrity, the precautions which led to its construction were, within a very few years, rendered useless by the complete conquest of the Principality, though in that respect it only shared the fate of Conway, Caernarvon, Beaumaris, Harlech and Bere.

Earl Gilbert certainly did not take up the defence of his territory by halves. Besides Caerphilly, the small but strong fortress of Castell Coch was constructed to guard the lowest pass of the Taff; and upon the high ground near the head of the same river, near the old Roman way from Newport to Brecon, was constructed a few years later, Morlais, a castle small in area but strong, and guarded by a

ditch quarried with immense labour out of the limestone rock. The chain was completed by the construction of a circular tower, now destroyed, at Whitchurch, in the plain between Castell Coch and Cardiff. The age of Castell Coch can be determined only by reference to its architectual peculiarities, which, however, are sufficiently marked. Enough remained of Whitchurch a score of years ago also to declare its date ; but it is also mentioned in the reign of Edward II, when Llewelyn ap Griffith, representative of the celebrated Ivor Bach, and ancestor of the Lewis's of the Van and Llanishen, indigenous in those parts, claimed and was allowed the "Forcelettun" which stood upon his ground. Morlais, the site of which had been wrested from the same Llewelyn, was the subject of quarrel between the Lords of Brecknock and Glamorgan in the reign of Edward I, the full particulars of which are recorded upon the Rolls of Parliament. Caerphilly was certainly built in the closing years of the reign of Henry III, though largely altered and improved half a century later. Much of it bears evidence of having been built in haste, though the interior and more ornate parts are in good taste and of excellent workmanship. In a military point of view it is a very remarkable work.

Beneath the strong rule of Edward I, the part played by the Earl of Gloucester became politically insignificant, and on the subjugation of Wales in 1282 one source both of his power and of his weakness was extinguished. Henceforward, the most important events in his life were connected with his own estates. In 1276, Earl Gilbert joined in the decree declaring Llewelyn guilty of contumacy ; and, at the close of the year, he was summoned to the Welsh expedition. In this year also, Morgan of Avan, the son of Morgan Gam, and the principal Welshman holding of the earl, married the daughter and heiress of Walter de Sully, a knight of Norman descent, and united his estate to Avan. He died 6th August, 1288.

Soon afterwards, the dispute respecting Malvern Chase, settled about 1255, was re-opened, the earl claiming right of chase on Malvern hill, in Colwall and Estun, against the Bishop of Worcester, who gained the cause, which, however, reappeared a few years later. The Bishop of Hereford, who had also certain claims, came to an agreement with the earl.

In December, 1277, the earl was impleaded by certain merchants for debts incurred in aid of the Welsh war, in consideration of which a delay was allowed him. About the same time arose a dispute with the Bishop of Winchester about the Church of Portland, and John Pickard and Maurice de Lambeth represented the earl. In March, 1278, he seems to have escorted Alexander King of Scots to London, under a safe conduct from Edward, and at Michaelmas he was present at the homage rendered by the Scottish king.

10th January, 1279, Bishop Braose of Llandaff was summoned before the Exchequer for sums due on the wardship of a certain youth which he had obtained in satisfaction for 100 marks paid by him on behalf of Ralph Cross, the youth's father ; a kind of security then common. About this time Matilda Countess of Gloucester and Earl Gilbert her son were called to deliver to Roger Mortimer and Matilda his wife certain lands and rents in Usk, which had been assigned to the latter lady. They were cousins. Gilbert, 5th Earl of Gloucester, married Isabel Mareschal, and Eva her sister and coheir married Wm. de Braose. Isabel's son married Matilda de Lacy, and Usk was settled on her son, Gilbert, 7th earl. Eva de Braose also had a daughter, Matilda, who married Roger Mortimer. The matter was settled by the transfer of Aure Manor to Mortimer. 9th June, 1279, Earl Gilbert did homage to Archbishop Peckham, for Tonbridge. This took place at Lymynge in the presence of Sir John, son of Arnulph de Bosco, Richard de Teyden, Master Thos. de Pulesdon, and Richard de Londres, of the earl's household. It appears from an entry in the Pipe Roll of 9th Edward I, that when the earl undertook to accompany Prince Edward to Palestine he received 1000 marks, which sum he was then repaying.

About this time also the earl's marcher rights were questioned by one of the De Braose family who had been stopped with violence by Robert de Veal, the earl's bailiff, on the public highway. He proceeded against De Clare, who was summoned before the king's court at Michaelmas, 1281. The earl challenged the jurisdiction, and when his rights were made the subject of a "quo warranto" he declined to reply until he had consulted

with his brother peers and marchers. 24th May, 1282, he was summoned for the Welsh war, and took part in Edward's great and final effort which ended in the death of Llewelyn.

The earl seems to have been considerably burdened by his father's debts, incurred, as Edward was disposed, very liberally, to admit, in the royal service. He obtained more than one respite from the exchequer, and 12th Edward I, that department undertook to aid him in the recovery of monies due to his father's estate, and he was allowed £127 18s. 4d. for the farm of the Barton of Bristol for the 8th, 9th, and 10th years of the reign. After the North Wales campaign the king visited South Wales, and presented Abbot Adam, at Neath, with a very beautiful baudekin. In 1285 the Sheriff of Glamorgan, Robert de Neil (Veal), was again guilty of violence, seizing from the earl, unjustly, the lands of New Grange and of Terry, the property of Margam.

In 1287 one of the final struggles of the Welsh, now without any recognized leader, took place under Rhys ap Meredith, on which occasion the bailiff of St. Briavels was ordered to raise a force and place it under the Earl of Gloucester, who was to be supported by Mortimer and other Marchers. 11th June, Rhys had taken divers castles in the west, and was advancing upon Swansea, which, 27th June, he plundered and burnt; and then burnt Oystermouth Castle in Gower. The Welsh prisoners seem to have been fairly treated. Griffith ap Meredith was committed to Richard Tybetot at Nottingham Castle, where he stayed six years and thirty-two weeks. There appears a charge of 16s. per annum for robes for him, and £25 2s. "pro vadiis." Rees ap Maelgon and Conan ap Merdeith were first, 1286, sent to Bridgenorth and thence, 1289, moved to Bamburgh. Rees had a grant of 10 marcs per annum rent in Dalton juxta Drayenton in 1307.

When we read that one cause of the earls personal dislike to Prince Edward was his jealousy of his attention to his wife, it seems strange to find a marriage proposed between the earl and the daughter of the prince, become king; such however was the fact. There is much doubt as to why or when he was divorced from Alice of Angou-

lesme, one account stating positively that the divorce was pronounced at Norwich 18th July, 1271, while other and more probable accounts place it as 1282, and Pere Anselm fixes it in 1283, and says the cause was "*parcequ'elle étoit devenue hypocondre.*" What is recorded of Edward's intimacy with the lady, even if exaggerated, is scarcely consistent with a great affection between the husband and wife; and no doubt the desire for male heirs had great weight. But there does not appear to have been any scandal in the rupture. Alice was the appellant in the petition for divorce; and the earl, 25th May, 1282, settled upon her, as the Lady Alicia de Marchia, certain lands as a provision for her sustenance; their daughter Isabel was also provided for. The proceedings, however, seem, according to a deed in Rymer, not to have been completed until 16th May, 1285.

The object for which the divorce was brought about could have been no secret, for in May, 1283, is dated the "*Prælocutio*" between the king and the earl touching a contract of marriage between the latter and the king's daughter. The king and his council are satisfied that the earl will obtain from the church the dissolution of his marriage with Alice, who was his wife, and are aware that he has purchased a dispensation to marry the king's daughter, his kinswoman. The earl is to surrender all his lands in England, Ireland, and Wales, so that he and his wife may be enfeoffed therein to them and the heirs of their bodies. If there be no such heirs the lands go to the countess for life, with the remainder to the earl's right heirs, excepting "*deus mile marcheas de terre,*" to be selected to the satisfaction of the king and queen, and which the countess is to have in fee as her inheritance, together with any land that the earl may purchase after marriage. This seems a perfectly reasonable settlement, having regard to the rank of the lady; and the king's oath to observe it was given by Otto de Grandison, as proxy, the earl's in person.

Princess Joan was born at Acre in 1272, Edward's second daughter, and was then therefore, in 1283, but eleven years old. The consummation of the marriage was on this account postponed, and took place at Westminster, 2nd May, 1290, she being then eighteen years

old. Edward gave her no portion. The dispensation referred to in 1283, and given by Rymer, seems not to have been signed till 16th November, 1289; and it covered not only the relationship between Earl Gilbert and Joan, but that between Joan and Alice, the former wife. Matilda, the earl's mother, seems to have died about this time for, 10th March, 1289, her dower lands came into his possession.

About the same time, probably between the contract and the marriage, occurred the celebrated quarrel between the Earls of Gloucester and Hereford, which led to serious consequences to both, and enabled Edward to carry into effect a stroke of policy very important for the welfare of his kingdom. Hereford, 26th June, 1289, complained that Gloucester had built a castle on his territory, and had collected an armed force and broken the peace. It appeared upon enquiry that the Earl of Gloucester had built Morlais Castle, as he said, within his border; as the Earl of Hereford alleged, beyond it. Their dependents had met in arms with banners displayed, and had committed, as the king declared, a breach of *his* peace, or as Gloucester considered it, of *their own* peace as Marchers. Also the border had been harried, flocks and herds driven off, and a church despoiled, in which Gloucester's seneschal had been the main offender. The king ordered both parties to pause, and await his decision. This command they disobeyed, and continued their local warfare. 18th Edward I, January, 1290, the matter came before Parliament, and the king took it up in earnest. A commission was appointed, reported, and both earls were imprisoned. The proceedings are recorded at great length on the Rolls of Parliament, and was one of the "causes celebres" of the reign. Before sentence was given the Earl of Gloucester had married the king's daughter, but the Earl of Hereford was also connected with the royal family. In truth, the occasion was a good one to break down the power of the Marcher lords, and the king availed himself of it to the full. The lands of both parties were forfeited, and, 20th Edward I, 1291-2, Roger de Burghull had custody of the "royal liberty," then in the hands of the Earl of Gloucester in Glamorgan and of the Earl of Hereford in Brecknock, which liberties

were in the king's hands by reason of the contempt and disobedience of the said earls. The king thus asserted his right as over lord to "*totum regale in terris suis de Morgannon*" and "*totum regale libertatis sue de Brekenok*." Gloucester's lands were to remain in the king's hands "*tota vita ipsius comitis*," and for the other earl "*forisfacta de ipso Comite et heredibus suis in perpetuum*.' Hereford, however, was really least in fault, and this was admitted; "*Transgressio de qua convictus est non est ita carcans, nec tantam penam requirit quantum etc. de qua predictus Comes Glouc. convincitur*," and so, as Hereford had married the king's cousin, and his children were of kin to the king's children, his forfeiture also was limited to his life. Both were imprisoned, and Gloucester, besides paying £100 to Hereford for his losses, was fined 10,000 marcs to the king, and Hereford 1,000 marcs. Even the earl's officers, who only obeyed orders, were fined. The offence was, in fact, treated just as though it had been committed in any other part of the kingdom, and Edward was the first sovereign who could have ventured so to treat it. In Gloucester's case the reason given for the limitation of the forfeiture to his life was that he had a son, Gilbert, born 1291 at Winchcombe, begotten of the king's daughter, who was jointly enfeoffed of the estates with her husband. There is a good deal of obscurity as to the different steps, both of the marriage and the forfeiture. The earl's deed of surrender is dated 20th April, 1290, three weeks before his marriage, upon which was a re-settlement, much less favourable to him than that set forth in the "*Prælocutio*" of 1283, being to the husband and wife jointly for life, remainder to the heirs of their bodies, remainder over to *her* heirs, instead of, as before, to *his* heirs. The lands so re-settled lay in the counties of Berks, Bucks, Cambridge, Derby, Devon, Dorset, Essex, Gloucester, Hants, Herts, Hunts, Kent, Lincoln, Norfolk, Northampton, Notts, Oxford, Somerset, Suffolk, Surrey, Sussex, Wilts, Worcester, and in Wales, a prodigious estate. The Irish lands were included, but with remainder to *his* heirs.

In 1290 occurred a revival of the old dispute as to the custody of the temporalities of Llandaff, "*sede vacante*." It appeared that in 1240 when Bishop Elias died, King Henry put in Waleran Teutonicus to administer, and



he collated to one prebend Master William de Burgh, treasurer, and to another Alfred de Fescamp, sub-treasurer of the Wardrobe, and to the archdeaconry Thomas, the queen's mother's chaplain; and at the term of his custos-ship he accounted for the proceeds to the Exchequer. At that time the Chapter elected Archdeacon Maurice to the see, but the election was set aside by the king. William of Christchurch was then chosen, and appears on the roll of bishops from 1240 to 1244, when he resigned, no doubt because disapproved by the king, and William de Burgh, above mentioned, and then chaplain to the king, became bishop, and so remained till his death in 1253. The earl was at that time under age, and though a protest was entered against the king's interference, it was not pressed.

Bishop William de Braose died, it appears, 19th March, 1286-7, and then or soon afterwards the Marcher lords, under whom the lands of the see were holden, took possession of them. The Earl of Gloucester took Llandaff and Llancaider-Warden manors, Lord William de Braose took Bishopston in Gower, and the Earls of Hereford and Norfolk, and Edmund the king's brother, took others. 3rd November, 1290, the king's escheator, Malcolm de Harley, raised objection to this, and, the see being still vacant, claimed the custody of the manors for the crown. De Braose and the others gave way, but Gloucester stood up for his rights. He asserted the whole "*patria*" of Glamorgan to be "*dominio suo*" and all wardships, that of the see included, to belong to him, as they had always belonged to his ancestors, save when under age, and the lord had, on that account, been a ward to the king. He stated that his father Richard had, at his death, actually been in possession of the manors in question, the see being then vacant. The earl was no doubt in his right, but the king had him at a disadvantage, and his object was certainly for the good of the realm, so the earl had to give way, and did so in October, 1290; but to make the cession more palatable a special grant, 2nd November, 1292 (Ryley says October, 1290), of the privileges for their joint and several lives was made to the Earl and Countess Joan, with remainder to the king and his heirs for ever. This case was cited

in 1293 against John de Warenne, Earl of Surrey, who claimed the custody of the temporalities of St. Asaph. Of De Clare and the other lords it was then said, "*Nichil clamare poterunt, propter privilegium regium, et corone dignitatem, ad quam specialiter pertinet Episcopatum vacantium custodia.*" Warenne was non-suited. The whole transaction well exemplifies the mixture of firmness and moderation with which the great king carried out measures that affected the unity of his kingdom.

5th July, 1291, Richard de Tonsmere, chaplain, was instituted to the Church of High Anvolle (Highlight), on the presentation of David de Someri, its lord, by the archbishop, the see being vacant. 3rd September, 1294, John Gordon was custos of the temporalities of Llandaff, and the Abbot of Margam collector of the current subsidy. The dispute between the king and the earl will account for the uncertainty as to the occupancy of the see between 1287 and 1296, when John de Monmouth was appointed, but the king had to interfere to force the earl to give him seizin. On another occasion, 1291-2, the earl seems to have taken the law into his own hands in the case of a trespass committed by the Earl of Norfolk upon his tenants of Usk and Trilleck. Arbitrators were named who were to inspect the inquisitions as to the possessions of William Earl Mareshal from whom the manors were derived. About the same time the Malvern dispute was reopened. The earl and countess threw up an earthen bank along the crest of the ridge, to which Giffard Bishop of Worcester objected as an encroachment. This was settled by an agreement signed at Tewkesbury, October, 1291, by which the bishop, or in his absence the Prior and Chapter of Worcester, were to have annually from the earl two fat bucks and two fat does.

The king's determination to put an end to the privileges of the Marcher lords, no doubt, led others to contest them. Thus, the Prior of Goldcliff summoned the earl to appear at his court at Newport to answer for trespass. The earl neglected to appear, and stated that the king knew how he was engaged at the date of the first summons, and that as to the second, he knew not whether he had received it or not ; but, when pressed, he claimed time, on the plea that his wardrobe, no doubt containing,

or supposed to contain, the records of this chancery, was in the parts of Wales.

In 1294, notwithstanding the general subjugation of the Principality, the local troubles were considerable, especially in South Wales, where they were fomented by Conan ap Meredith and Maelgon ap Rhys. In the spring of 1295 was a general rising, when a certain Madoc, from the recesses of Snowdon, descended upon and burned Caernarvon, while another Madoc overran Pembroke and Caermarthen, and Morgan of Avan seems at one time to have gained complete mastery at Glamorgan. De Clare, never quite equal to a great emergency, was probably disabled by disease. In any case Edward would probably have himself taken the lead. As it was, he acted with his usual vigour. In November, 1294, he was at Aberconway, where he seems to have stayed till 1st April, 1295, when he had 140 war ships in the Menai Straits. He was next in Anglesea and, 7th May, at Bangor. On the 11th and 12th he was at Cymmer Abbey, by Dalgellau, and, on the 14th and 15th, on the moated mound of Talybont, just above Towyn. On the 17th he was at Llanpadarn Vawr; between the 20th and 23rd, at Aberystwith; and on the 29th, at Llandewibrevi,—moving, therefore, with immense rapidity, and with a considerable force, “amazement in his van, with flight combined,” though unaccompanied by any of the severities of war, for the terror of his name seemed to have reduced the rebels to order. On the 2nd and 3rd of June he was at Cardigan; on the 6th, at Dryslwyn Castle, whence he marched to Merthyr in Morganwg (Merthyr Tydvil), between the 12th and 15th, and whence, no doubt, he visited Morlais. Thence, having quieted the Principality, he returned northwards to Brecknock, 16th of June, and was at Bailth 17th, Clun 19th, Welshpool 22nd, Whitchurch 24th, and on the 1st of July he was again at Aberconway, whence soon after he moved to London. His transit across the Principality, rapid as it was, had the best effect, “Rex,” says the continuator of Florence, “Rex pene travit totam Walliam juxta castrum de Morlais. Omnes Wallenses de dominio comitis Gloucestræ rex suscepit ad pacem suam, contre voluntatem dicti Comitis. Et rex dedit eis custodem, videlicet, Dominum Walterum Hack-

lut." The earl must indeed have seen that his Marcher kingdom was at an end, and that, too, just when he had attained the highest object of a subject's ambition—a marriage with a daughter of a sovereign. At the close of this memorable year, 7th December, 1295, 24th Edw. I, he died, in the Castle of Monmouth, aged fifty two years, and having held the earldom thirty-three years. On the 22nd of the month he was laid at Tewkesbury, on the left hand of his father.

By Alice de la Marche he had a daughter, Isabel, born 10th March, 1261. She married Maurice Lord Berkeley, 1304-5. She seems to have been granted the custody of certain lands held by the king by reason of the non-age of Gilbert, son and heir of Gilbert Earl of Gloucester, etc. In 1314, Roger Mortimer of Wigmore admitted a debt due to her of 300 marcs. She also held lands contingent on her stepmother's death; for in 1315 Ralph de Monthermer, Countess Joan's husband, did service for certain lands which afterwards devolved on Isabella, Also in 1327-8, being Berkeley's widow, she petitioned, stating that her brother, Earl Gilbert, had granted her the manors of Shipton and Barford, for the restitution of which she prayed. She was to show her charters. Berkeley had been justiciary in South Wales, and custos of the castles there. Isabel seems to have died childless, 1338.

By his second wife, Joan of Acre, the earl had a son, Gilbert, born 1291, and three daughters, Eleanor, Elizabeth and Margaret, afterwards co-heiresses of the estate, to the exclusion of their half-sister Isabel, who was, no doubt, ousted by the surrender and settlement of the estates.

The earl's executors were Thomas Abbot of Tewkesbury, Robert le Veal of co. Somerset, Simon de Heyham, Adam de Blechingley, and William de Hameldon; and to them, on the earl's death, at Countess Joan's request, the king pardoned 10,000 marcs due to the exchequer. It appears that the whole debt was £7284 5s. 7½d., against which was a set off of £2262 12s. 3d. Joan did homage on her accession, 18th January, 1296. Her keeper of the wardrobe was John de Bruges, parson of Higherghed.

Among the allowances for the year is £79 6s. for the transport of fifty South Welsh hostages from Bristol to Salisbury Castle. Thirteen others were sent to Newcastle, and sixty to Bambrugh. Three prisoners taken by Roger de Knovil were pardoned for £40.

Joan married secretly and speedily in 1296 Ralph de Monthermer, a simple esquire, upon whom she seems already to have induced the king to confer knighthood. The precise date of the marriage is not preserved; but 16th March, 1297, it was unknown, for Edward assented to a proposal for marrying Joan to Amadeus Earl of Savoy. When the marriage was discovered, Edward was furious. He imprisoned Monthermer, and seized all his daughter's lands. 15th March, 1297, Maberton de Harley had her in custody, and was to provide her with reasonable sustenance. Edward's paternal love must have been strong, for before long, at the intercession of Bishop Bec, he gave way. Her answer to her father's remonstrances is said to have pleased him. "It is not," said she, "considered an ignominy for a powerful earl to marry 'pauperulam mulierem et tenuem;' neither therefore is it reprehensible in a countess 'Juvenem strenuum promovere.'" Joan was allowed to reside quietly at Marlborough, and after a short time the marriage was recognized: and 26 Edward I, 1297-8, Monthermer had livery of the estates, and was summoned as Earl of Gloucester and Hertford by the tenure of fifty knights' fees. He proved a gallant soldier, rose high in the king's favour, and after some delay seems to have been allowed to administer the lordship of Glamorgan till the majority of the young earl.

Meantime the king, administering as guardian, had issued writs to Morgan the son of Meredith, and David le Grant, to levy and send forward Welsh troops to Gascony; and another writ with Morgan couples Henry de Penbruge. 9th May, 1297, the custos was to hear the complaints, according to the local custom, of Simon de Ralege and Joanna his wife, and James de Bonneville and Amabilia his wife. These probably related to Wrenchester, the Ralegh estate in Glamorgan. 3rd July, 1297, writs were issued to postpone a payment of 100 marcs, which the men of Tyrarth (Tir-y-jarll) had fined, with Countess

Joan, to be secured in their ancient customs, and of a similar payment of 500 marcs from the men of Miscin and Glynrothny, and 100 marcs from the commonalty of Senghennith ; and 15th July, Walter de Hacklut, Custos, was ordered to complete the gate of the Castle of Llanrissant, which he had begun. 18th July, at the prayer of the Archbishop, the king restored to the Bishop of Llandaff his lands which had been held by the barons of the exchequer ; also the Countess Joan, in the exercise of her rights, sold the wardship for ten years of John le Sor to Lovetot, who sold it to a Sienna merchant for 260½ marcs. Le Sor was a Glamorgan land holder.

In 1301, Tonbridge Castle was restored to the earl and countess, with estates in Kent, Surrey, Sussex, and the Isle of Portland. In Marc de Harley's accounts for the Honour of Tonbridge is a charge for "vadia" for a Welsh hostage there kept. The royal accounts extend from 2nd May, 1298, to 16th November, 1301, when the restoration took place. In 1301, Monthermer signed the barons' letter to the Pope as "R. de Monthermer Com. Gloucestriae." The archbishop wrote to him about restoring the goods of Earl Gilbert to his executors, and cites Robert de St. Fagan, treasurer of the church of Llandaff, to reply concerning them. This was Robert le Veal who was Lord of St. Fagan's. In 1304-5, a subsidy was levied upon Wales for the war. North Wales paid £1,333 6s. 8d. ; West Wales, £833 6s. 8d. ; Flint, £333 6s. 8d. ; Powys, £216 13s. 4d. ; Builth, £50 ; Montgomery, £40 ; total, £2,806 13s. 4d.

26th July, 1306, Prince Edward writes to Joan from Lambeth, thanking her for her goods and her seal, which latter he returns by his clerk. He assures her that the king is not so harsh to him as she has been told. 1304-5, Earl Ralph appointed Richard de Rochelle to be his sheriff for Glamorgan. In 1306 the earl was present at Bruce's coronation at Scone, and received from Edward the lands of Athol, Strathbolgi, and Strathern. He was then styled Earl of Gloucester and Huntingdon. 26th February, 1307, in the year of Edward's death, the earl was one of the four lords sworn to enforce the order for the banishment of Gaveston. Countess Joan died in March in that year, when her father was engaged in his

last campaign. The news reached him at Carlisle. He issued two mandates : one, 1st April, commending her to God, and directing prayer to be made for her soul, and another, 5th May, announcing her death "*non sine cordis amaritudine*," and directing mass to be said. He himself followed her on the 7th July. Soon afterwards, on the coming of age of his step-son, Ralph laid aside the title of Gloucester and Hertford, and afterwards took rank as a baron only. Between Joan's death and his own, Edward, by writ, 14th June, formally acquitted Rafe de Monthermer, Earl of Gloucester, all debts which he and his late wife Joan owed to him, and ordered letters of release under the great seal.

Monthermer lived on in the reign of Edward II, and survived the young earl. He was taken at Bannockburn, but released, and married, to his second wife, Isabel, sister of Aymer of Valence and widow of John Hastings, Earl of Pembroke, also a great heiress and allied to royalty. Both his wives were great heiresses, but both had sons by previous husbands, so that neither he nor his children inherited from them. By Joan he had two sons, but his eventual heiress was a daughter who married John de Montacute, since which all succeeding Montacutes and, on questionable authority, the Montagues, have quartered the arms of Monthermer.

Countess Joan gave lands at Caversham for her soul's weal and that of Earl Gilbert, and was buried in the church of the Augustins at Clare. Her brother, Edward II, and many magnates attended her funeral. Neither Monthermer nor his countess seem to have taken much interest in Glamorgan matters.

GILBERT de Clare, 8th Earl of Gloucester and Hertford, and 10th Earl of Clare, was born in 1291, and was thus about four years old at his father's death in 1295, and seventeen at that of his mother in 1307. He seems to have been on good terms with his cousin, Edward II, in their youth, for in a letter to his father in 1305, the prince asked to be allowed to have Gilbert de Clare and Perot de Gaveston as companions. In 1306, while under age and a ward to the king his grandfather, the earl appeared before the court at Westminster, and claimed to be allowed certain tenements, liberties, advowsons of

church, etc., which his father had possessed in the city of London, holden by socage tenure, and which did not pass into the king's wardship, but by the custom of the city could be claimed when the heir was of an age to manage them and himself, until when they were to be in the charge of his next friend. The claim was admitted and livery was granted, he being then eighteen years old, "*et habet sensum, rationem, et intellectum ad regendum se et sua.*" This was extended, 26th November, 1307, to all his possessions throughout England held in socage or fee firm, and indeed the entry on the Close Roll looks as though the king admitted him at once to all his possessions. His mother's death and the accession of Edward nearly coincided with his assumption of his titles and the enjoyment of his estates.

One of Edward's first acts was to recal Gaveston, and to give him the Earldom of Cornwall, and Margaret, one of Gloucester's sisters, for a wife. They were betrothed 29th October, 1307, and the bridegroom had large gifts in money and jewels from the late king's treasury. The offence Gaveston gave to the nobles speedily led to his second banishment, decreed by letters patent, 8th of May, and which was actually enforced 25th March, 1308. The king however diverted the blow by sending him to Ireland as regent. On this occasion Gloucester seems to have remained neuter. In this year a writ was issued to the custos of Dene Forest to augment the Bishopric of Llandaff which "*nimis exilis esse dinoscitur,*" by the gift of the Church of All Saints, Newland, promised by the late king. Also inquiry is to be made as to the claim of the neighbouring parsons to assarts in the forest. In July, 1309, Gaveston returned, and on this occasion Earl Gilbert stood his friend and made his peace with the barons, though for a short time only. At this time the Abbot of Margam was about to attend a Cistercian chapter.

At the council of Westminster in March, 1310, Gloucester was one of the four earls appointed to keep the peace. He also was one of the "ordainers" appointed by the king at that council, at the close of which Edward went to Scotland leaving the Earl of Lincoln as regent, who, dying in February, 1311, was succeeded, 4th March, by the Earl of Gloucester. Some of his acts in that



capacity are cited in a petition to parliament, 8th Edward II. In August the king again met his parliament in London, and the ordainers gave in their report, four articles of which provided for the banishment of Gaveston, to which the king was forced to yield. In February, 1312, the king, violating his assent, recalled Gaveston, on which the barons rose, captured him in Scarborough castle, an event followed by his illegal but well deserved death, 19th June, 1311.

The Earl's position from the first had been one of great difficulty. As nephew to, and an early friend of, the king, he was naturally one of his chief supporters; but his tendencies, like those of his father and grandfather, were to oppose the abuse of the royal power, and, as far as possible, to moderate its excesses. He evidently, all along, disapproved of Gaveston's proceedings, and although on one occasion he took his part, and was relied upon by the offender, he showed no disposition to avenge his death, but joined his efforts to those of the Bishops to bring about a better understanding. It was at his request that the jewels taken with Gaveston were given up to the king. By some accounts, when pressed by the Earl of Leicester to interfere to save Gaveston he declined, save only to change the manner of his death. Edward seems to have regarded him with distrust, and he is ordered not to attend Parliament, "*cum equis et armis, more debito;*" but to come as in the time of the late king. His exertions certainly contributed largely to stave off the civil war. 20th April, 1312, he had a safe conduct, with his horses and arms, to pass through London to Eltham.

23rd May, 1313, Edward attended the coronation of the King of Navarre, leaving Gloucester to open parliament as regent. He seems, at this time, to have had heavy unsettled accounts with the exchequer. In 1309-11, he had £1000 for his expenses in Scotland, and 3500 mares were to be paid him from the first money received from wardships. He had also a grant of 5000 mares on the same account. In 1313-14, he went to France on a mission; and in June, 1314, attended the king in Scotland, bringing 5000 retainers at his own charge, and thus supported, he appeared with the king at Bannockburn, 24-30th June, 1314.

The rivalry with his Welsh neighbour De Bohun displayed itself on the battle-field. De Clare claimed the vanguard, the place of his ancestors, against De Bohun, who claimed it as High Constable. While the chiefs disputed, the Scots advanced, and De Clare, in his undisciplined valour, rode hard in advance of his men to draw the first blood. He became entangled in the ranks, was overthrown, and fighting valiantly, was slain. "There," says Walsingham, "charged that noble soldier, Gilbert Earl of Clare, avenging with his own hands upon the Scots the cruel death that awaited him." With him fell Giles de Argentine, who had advanced to his rescue. Gloucester is said to have owed his death to having charged without waiting for his surcoat of armorial bearings, so that the Scots were ignorant of his name; otherwise, the immense ransom that would have been paid for him would have saved his life. His body was given up without ransom and sent to the king at Berwick. It rested finally at Tewkesbury, on the left hand of that of his father.

ON THE SEPULCHRAL MONUMENT OF A ROMAN CITIZEN  
IN THE MUSEUM AT CAERLEON, SOUTH WALES.

By M. H. BLOXAM, F.S.A.

In the autumn of 1871 the Institute held its annual meeting at Cardiff, South Wales. On this occasion one of the excursions was to Newport, and to Caerleon, the Roman Station, *Isca Silurum*. In the Museum of Roman Antiquities at the latter place, my attention was drawn to a sepulchral monument with the effigies in relief, less than life size, and apparently of a Roman citizen and his wife.

The effigy of the latter was so much abraded that it was impossible to make out the details of the dress; not so however with regard to the male effigy, for though abraded in parts, it exhibited very fairly and distinctly features of costume of a peculiar and most interesting character.

He is represented bareheaded, and attired in the travelling dress or habit of a civilian. The under garment consists of the tunic, *tunica*, reaching nearly to the ankles; over this, hanging down in front, appears the *clavus latus* a broad band extending perpendicularly from the neck down the centre in front of the tunic; this differs from the *clavus angustus*, a narrow band worn over the shoulders and falling down on each side parallel to each other: whilst the outer vestment appeared to me to be the *φαλὼν*, *paenula* or travelling cloak alluded to by St. Paul, in his Epistle to Timothy, in the following words: τὸν φαλὼν ὀνἀπέλιπον ἐν τρωάδι παρὰ κάρπῳ, ἐρχόμενος φερε, or to use the Vulgate translation, *paenulam, quam reliqui Troade apud carpum, veniens affer tecum*. This garment, like the South American poncho, had an opening in the middle for the head to go through, and falling in front to the thighs, where it appears rounded, bore no slight resemblance to the *casula* of a subsequent age. A broad band encircled the *paenula* about the waist. The right arm and hand are defaced, but seem to have been represented as pouring a libation upon an altar; the left arm, which appears in the sleeve of the tunic, and the hand cross the body obliquely in front.

It is possible that the drapery over and in front of the left shoulder may represent the *chlamys* or mantle.

Now, as regards the ecclesiastical vestments of the middle ages, introduced into Britain by Augustine at the close of the sixth century, if we derive the origin from civil costume, we may regard the *tunica* as the prototype of the alb; the *clavus*, as the prototype of the stole; and the *φαλόνη* or *paenula*, as the prototype of the *casula* or chesible. So we have in this somewhat mutilated effigy a singular series of prototypes of the early ecclesiastical vestments, which I have found in no other Roman sculptured sepulchral monuments I have met with in Britain.

I should observe that it is stated in Dr. Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, that the *clavus* is never represented in works of sculpture, but if I am right in my conjecture, we have it on this.

In such a dress as this it is, I think, fairly probable that the Bishops of the early British Church, who attended at the Council of Arles, held in the fourth century, were arrayed.

I was so impressed with this effigy that I had it purposely photographed, and engraved.

The earliest representation I have met with in this country, in which the ecclesiastical vestments are delineated, and with which the effigy of the Roman citizen at Caerleon may be compared, is that of St. Sextus, Bishop of Rome, in the early part of the third century, whose figure is worked on the Anglo Saxon maniple found with the remains of St. Cuthbert in the Cathedral of Durham, which maniple was made early in the tenth century by order of Aelfred Queen of King Edward the elder. She died A.D. 916.

On this maniple the Bishop, St. Sextus, is represented in the vestments in use in the early part of the tenth century. He appears bareheaded and without the episcopal mitre, which, I think, was not introduced before the twelfth century. He is vested in the cassock, *tunica talaris*, alb, stole, maniple, and chesible, the right hand is upheld in front of the breast, whilst hanging over the left hand or wrist is the maniple. This representation is figured in that very learned and interesting work, Raine's *St. Cuthbert*, p. 33, from which the reduced illustration here subjoined has been taken.



Effigy of a Roman Citizen.

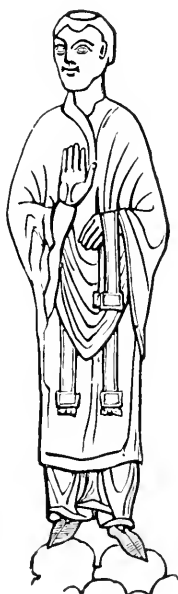


Figure of St. Sextus.



## DUNSTER AND ITS LORDS.

By H. C. MAXWELL LYTE, M.A., F.S.A.

### PART I.

Dunster must have been known to the Roman occupiers of Britain, for some copper coins of the reigns of Maximian and Constantine were discovered in the Park about eighteen years ago, close to the old Carhampton road. Nothing however is recorded as to its history before the time of Edward the Confessor, when it belonged to a certain Aluric, who seems to have been a great landowner in the West of England. It then bore the not uncommon name of Torre, and it may here be remarked that the natural mound on which the castle stands is to this day always called "the Tor."

Soon after the Norman invasion, Dunster passed into the hands of William de Moion, the progenitor of the noble family which held it for nearly three centuries and a half from that time. The de Moions derived their surname from the village of Moyon, near St. Lo in Normandy, where they had considerable possessions. They, in their turn, gave their name to Hammoun in Dorsetshire, to Ottery Mohun and to Tor Mohun in Devonshire, and to Grange Mohun in the county of Kildare. The name was spelt indifferently Moion, Moion, Moyon, Moyun, Mohun, Moun, Moune and Mooun; and just as the illustrious name of Bohun was corrupted into Boone, so was that of Mohun corrupted into Moon.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, it should be noted that the mediæval chroniclers and lawyers were always careful to distinguish the Moyons or Mohuns from the Moignes or Moynes.

<sup>1</sup> For the sake of uniformity the name will be generally given as Mohun in the following pages, although this way of

spelling it was seldom used before the middle of the thirteenth century.

The domain of Moyon formed part of the estates assigned for the dower of Adela, wife of Duke Richard III. of Normandy, in the year 1027, but before long, both the fee and the advowson of the church were acquired by the de Moions, who continued to hold them until the conquest of Normandy by the French.<sup>1</sup> The remains of an ancient castle were to be seen on the west side of the church of Moyon fifty years ago, if, indeed, they do not still exist.<sup>2</sup> It has been suggested that Ralph Mowin, the supposed murderer of Duke Robert, was a member of the family which owned the domain of Moyon.<sup>3</sup> However this may be, it is certain that William de Mohun stood high in the favour of William the Conqueror. He accompanied him in his expedition to England, and fought under his banner on the field of Senlac. Dugdale states that he had "in his retinue not less than forty-seven stout knights of name and repute," and this statement has been repeated by many subsequent writers. It would appear, however, that "forty-seven" is a misprint for "fifty-seven," for that is the exact number of noble followers assigned to William de Mohun by an old French document which has been preserved by Leland in his *Collectanea*.<sup>4</sup> We there read:—

"Be it known that in the year of the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ one thousand and sixty-six on Saturday the feast of St. Calixtus came William the Bastard Duke of Normandy cousin of the noble king St. Edward, the son of Emma of England, and killed King Harold and took away the land from him by the aid of the Normans and other men of divers lands. Among whom came with him Sir William de Moion the old the most noble of all the host. This William de Moion had in his retinue in the host, all the great lords after named as it is written in the book of the Conquerors."

Then follows a list of fifty-seven names, among which we may notice those of Taisson, Marmion, Montfitchet, Bigot, Mowbray, Mortimer, Painel, Basqueville, de Corcey, and Lacy. But the very eminence of the persons described in it as followers of William de Mohun is of itself sufficient to raise a doubt as to its authenticity. And when we turn to the *Roman de Rou*, we there find

<sup>1</sup> "Magni Rotuli Scaccarii Normanniæ" (ed. Stapleton) vol. i, p. lxxxii; vol. ii, p. x.

<sup>2</sup> "Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de Normandie," 1<sup>re</sup> Serie, vol.

v, p. 214.

<sup>3</sup> Planché. "The Conqueror and his Companions."

<sup>4</sup> Vol. i, p. 202.



the same names standing in the same order, but with this important difference, that of William de Mohun we only read :—

*“ Le viel William de Moion  
Out avec li maint compaignon.”*

Wace does not even hint that the knights whose names immediately follow that of William de Mohun were in any way dependant on him, and we can scarcely doubt that the whole document given by Leland was the production of some ignorant or dishonest writer who in a subsequent age wished to gratify the vanity of the Mohuns. As Mr. Planché remarks, the copyist might “have included half the army if an unmistakeable full stop and change of subject had not pulled him up short with the death of Robert Fitz Erneis which he writes incorrectly Herveis . . . Le Livre des Conquerors turns out to be the Roman de Rou.”<sup>1</sup>

While however we absolutely reject the oft-repeated assertions that William de Mohun was the noblest man in the Norman army, and that he had an extraordinary number of great lords in his retinue, we must not forget that he really was a very important personage. It would appear from the Exon Domesday that he was Sheriff of Somersetshire, and he was certainly one of the largest landowners in the West of England during the reign of William the Conqueror.<sup>2</sup> At the time of the survey of A.D. 1085 he held no less than sixty-eight manors, of which fifty-five were situated in Somersetshire, eleven in Dorsetshire, one in Devonshire, and one in Wiltshire. His was one of the two castles mentioned as then existing in Somersetshire, Montacute being the other. The entry about Dunster in the Exchequer Domesday is as follows:—

“He himself holds Torre, and there is his castle. Aluric held it in the time of King Edward, and payed geld for half a hide. The land is sufficient for one plough. Two mills there render ten shillings, and there are fifteen bordars, and five acres of meadow, and thirty acres of pasture. It was formerly worth five shillings, but now fifteen shillings.”

The Exon Domesday states rather more positively that the improvement in the value of the property had taken

<sup>1</sup> “The Conqueror and his Companions,” vol. ii, p. 122.

<sup>2</sup> “Exon Domesday,” p. 99. Morgan’s “England under the Normans,” p. 201.

place since it had been in the possession of its Norman lord. William de Mohun also held in his own demesne the manors of Alcombe and Staunton, which are situated within the parish of Dunster, and the manors of Stockland, Sedtamtone, Cutcombe, Minehead, Broadwood, Exford, West Quantockshead, Kilton, Newton, Wolverton, Broomfield, Lydeard St. Lawrence, West Bagborough, Stoke Pero and Brewham in the county of Somerset, and the manors of Spettisbury, Pulham, and Ham, in the county of Dorset. The manor of Carhampton, too, was before long added to these, probably by means of an exchange with the king.

Within a short time after the Domesday Survey, or at any rate between the years 1090 and 1100, William de Mohun, by consent of his wife Adelisa, granted the advowson of the Church of St. George of "Dunestora" and other valuable property to the monks of St. Peter's at Bath. His charter was confirmed both by William Rufus and by Archbishop Anselm, and the Benedictine monks thus acquired fisheries at Dunster and at Carhampton, the whole vill of Alcombe, the tithe of the vineyards, ploughlands, market and flocks of Dunster, and the tithes of several other places in the neighbourhood.<sup>1</sup> It is worthy of remark that vines were certainly cultivated at Dunster in the second half of the fourteenth century, and that a field on the south side of the steep hill called Grabbist is to this day known as "the Vineyard."<sup>2</sup> The avowed desire of William de Mohun in granting endowments to the Abbey of Bath was that the monks should "build and raise" the Church of St. George, and we find that they lost little time in establishing a cell at Dunster for members of their own community. Some few remains of the Priory may still be traced on the north side of Dunster Church, and the great tithe-barn of the monks is a prominent feature in the landscape from many points of view. The existing Church of St. George is for the most part in the Perpendicular style of architecture, but the bases of the four piers that carry the central tower, and two shafts with rude capitals at the east end of the nave may with

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix B.

<sup>2</sup> Dunster Castle Muniments. Box ix, No. 2, and Box i, No. 4.

all probability be referred to the early part of the twelfth century. The recent restoration of the whole fabric has moreover brought to light a large Norman doorway which had been embedded in the wall under the Perpendicular window at the west end of the church. William de Mohun gave his body to the monks of Bath Abbey, and we may here notice that none of his direct descendants seem to have cared to be buried in the Priory Church which stood under the very shadow of their own castle. He had issue at least three sons, of whom the eldest, William by name, succeeded him in his ample domains.

William de Mohun the second was one of the great nobles who espoused the cause of the Empress Matilda, and Dunster Castle was reckoned among her chief strongholds. In describing the events of the year 1138, the author of the *Gesta Stephani* writes:—

“At that time William de Mohun, a man not only of the highest rank, but also of illustrious lineage, raised a mighty revolt against the King, and assembling some bands of knights and foot-soldiers in his stronghold which he had placed in a fair and impregnable situation by the sea-shore, began to roam over that part of England in hostile manner sweeping it as with a whirlwind. At all places and at all times laying aside his loyalty he sought to do cruel deeds, to overcome by violence not only his neighbours but also other persons living at a distance, to trouble incessantly with robbery and pillage, with fire and sword, any who resisted, and pitilessly to subject any wealthy persons whom he met to chains and tortures. By so doing he changed a realm of peace and quiet, of joy and merriment into a scene of strife, rebellion, weeping and lamentation.

“When these things were after a time reported to the King he collected his adherents in great numbers and proceeded by forced marches in order to check the ferocity of William. But when he halted before the entrance of the Castle, and saw the impregnable defences of the place, inaccessible on one side where it was washed by the sea, and very strongly fortified on the other by towers and walls, by a ditch and outworks, he altogether despaired of pressing on the siege, and taking wiser counsel he surrounded the Castle in full sight of the enemy so that he might the better restrain them and occupy the neighbouring country in security. He also gave orders to Henry de Tracy, a man skilled in war and approved in the events of many different fights, that acting in his stead, as he himself was summoned to other business, he should with all speed and vigour bestir himself against the enemy. Henry therefore in the King's absence sallied forth from Barnstaple his own town, and by the King's special license made vigorous and valiant attacks on his adversaries, so that he not only restrained their wonted incursions and plundering raids in the neighbourhood, but also captured a hundred and four horsemen in a single encounter. At length he so reduced and humbled William that

he desisted from attacking him any further and left the country in greater peace than before, and entirely free from his disturbance."<sup>1</sup>

In a subsequent passage, the same writer records that at the siege of Winchester in 1140, the empress bestowed on William de Mohun the title of Earl of Dorset.<sup>2</sup> In this instance he seems to have been misinformed about the proceedings of the hostile party; for while we find that William de Mohun and one of his descendants were styled Earls of Somerset, there is no evidence to show that any member of the family was ever styled Earl of Dorset.<sup>3</sup> In a charter of the Empress Matilda, and in charters of his own son and grandson, William de Mohun the second is described simply as "Earl William de Moion," or "Earl William," without any territorial title. To him, rather than to his son of the same name, must be ascribed the foundation of the Priory of Regular Canons at Bruton, in the eastern part of Somerset, in the year 1142.<sup>4</sup> He appears also to have given some land at Hanelham to the monks of Dunster for the soul of his son Ralph.<sup>5</sup> It is very difficult to distinguish between the different William de Mohuns who held Dunster in the twelfth century, but it was almost certainly the second of that name who, with Agnes his wife, granted the Church of Whichford to the Priory of Bridlington.<sup>6</sup> In the reign of Henry I, the number of his knights' fees was forty.<sup>7</sup> He had issue a son and heir of his own name, and four younger sons, who all became clerks.

<sup>1</sup> "Gesta Stephani" (ed. Sewell), p. 52. Readers who know how Dunster Castle is situated will, perhaps, be surprised at finding it described as "by the sea-shore," and again "as bounded by the sea on one side." It is quite possible, however, that the level ground, now known as "the Lawn," on the eastern side of the Tor, was, in the middle of the twelfth century, occasionally covered by water. The old road to Carhampton and Watchet certainly ran further inland and on a higher level than the present one. Its course may clearly be traced through the Park, and there is still a right of way for foot passengers on it from the southern end of Dunster. On the other hand, the situations of the mill and of the haven preclude any idea of the

sea having extended over the Lawn at low water within historical times.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 81.

<sup>3</sup> At the same time it must be remembered that for some purposes Somerset and Dorset were often treated as forming one county.

<sup>4</sup> Notes on "Some early charters of Bruton Priory" will appear in a subsequent part of this volume.

<sup>5</sup> See Appendix B.

<sup>6</sup> Dugdale's "Antiquities of Warwickshire," p. 585. The advowson, however, reverted to the Mohuns afterwards, and, by the marriage of one of the Mohun heiresses to Lord Strange, passed to the Stranges.

<sup>7</sup> "Liber Niger Scaccarii," (ed. Hearne), vol. i, p. 91.

William de Mohun the third was, like his father, a benefactor to the Benedictine monks of Dunster as well as to the Augustinian Canons of Bruton.<sup>1</sup> To him we may probably ascribe the grant of the manor of Lydeard St. Laurence to the Priory of Taunton.<sup>2</sup> His wife Godehold or Godelind, seems to have held the vill of Brinkley, in the county of Cambridge, in her own right, and to have died at an advanced age in 1208.<sup>3</sup> The number of knights' fees belonging to the Honour of Dunster varied from time to time. A return issued in 1166 in connection with the aid for the marriage of the king's eldest daughter places the total number at forty-four, and gives the names of the tenants.<sup>4</sup> William Fitz Durand, who appears in the list as tenant of five knights' fees and a half, was probably a son of Durand de Moion, who is mentioned in a writ of Henry I, respecting the Abbey of Bath.<sup>5</sup> William de Mohun, the son of the Earl of Somerset, left issue three sons, William, Geoffrey, and John, of whom the second and third successively died seised of land at Brinkley, and also of the manor of Ham in Dorsetshire, which for several centuries afterwards continued to be held under the Lords of Dunster by a younger branch of the Mohun family.<sup>6</sup>

William de Mohun, the eldest son, appears to have inherited the bulk of his father's estates in 1177, after a vexatious escheat to the crown. Richard of Ilchester, Bishop of Winchester, who was at the same time guardian of the Honour of Montacute, rendered an account to the Exchequer in that year, from which we learn that he had charge of the Honour of Dunster for about eighteen months. He had however been ordered by the king to pay £18 to William de Mohun. The sale of corn and wine from the demesne lands during his administration yielded the sum of £19.<sup>7</sup>

To the Canons of Bruton William de Mohun granted

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix B.

<sup>2</sup> Dugdale's "Monasticon," vol. vi, p. 166.

<sup>3</sup> "Placitorum Abbreviatio," p. 60. Reginald de Mohun was found to be her next heir. She is mentioned as a witness in several charters of her husband.

<sup>4</sup> "Liber Niger Scaccarii," vol. i, p. 91.

<sup>5</sup> Madox's "History of the Exchequer,"

vol. i, p. 77. Durandus de Moion is also mentioned in Leland's "Collectanea," vol. i, p. 445.

<sup>6</sup> "Rotulus Cancellarii," 3 John, p. 142. "Rotuli de oblatiis," vol. i, p. 136. "Excerpta e Rotulis Finium," vol. i, pp. 77, 79. "Calendarium Rotulorum Clausarum," vol. i, p. 300.

<sup>7</sup> See Appendix C.

several charters, one of which gave them the right to elect their own prior, provided that they presented the person so elected to him or his heirs whether in England or in Normandy. So faithfully was this condition carried out that long after the main line of the Mohun family had become extinct, the Canons of Bruton maintained the custom of presenting their Prior-elect to the Lord of Dunster for the time being.<sup>1</sup> William de Mohun the fourth seems to have died between the years 1190 and 1194, and his eldest son of the same name must have died either in his lifetime or very shortly after him. Lucy de Mohun, widow of the former, received for her dower seven knights' fees, chiefly in the counties of Somerset and Dorset.<sup>2</sup> She also obtained from the crown a lease of the ancestral estates of her husband's family at Moyon in Normandy.<sup>3</sup> She was, like him, a warm friend to the Canons of Bruton.

During the later years of the reign of Richard I, and in the early years of the succeeding reign, the Honour of Dunster was an escheat in the King's hands. It was successively administered by William of St. Mary Church, William de Wroteham, Nicholas Puinz, Hubert de Burgh, Hugh de Gurney, and Reginald de Clifton. The outgoings were very small, and consisted chiefly of the salaries of a porter and a watchman at the Castle, and a pension of £2 a year which had been granted by William de Mohun to a clerk named Richard.<sup>4</sup> In 1203, Hubert de Burgh, the Great Chamberlain of England, was ordered to induce Reginald de Mohun to exchange his lands at Lyon, near Caen in Normandy, for lands in England.<sup>5</sup> This Reginald, who was son of William de Mohun the fourth by Lucy his wife, obtained livery of Dunster Castle and his other ancestral domains in 1204.<sup>6</sup> Six years later, we find him serving with the English army in Ireland, and borrowing money for the purpose.<sup>7</sup> At the time of his death, which occurred before 1213, he was barely thirty years of age. His wife Alice, one of the

<sup>1</sup> Dunster Castle Muniments. Box xxxvii.

<sup>2</sup> "Rotulus Cancellarii," 3 John pp. 143, 209. "Rotuli de Oblatis," vol. i, p. 135. Pipe Roll, 4 John.

<sup>3</sup> "Magni Rotuli Scaccarii Norman-nie (ed. Stapleton), vol. ii, p. ix.

<sup>4</sup> Pipe Rolls, 6—10 Richard I, and 1—7 John. See also "Rotulus Cancellarii," 3 John, pp. 143, 198, 205-211.

<sup>5</sup> Patent Roll, 4 John, m. 1.

<sup>6</sup> Patent Roll, 6 John, m. 10; Close Roll, 6 John, m. 16.

<sup>7</sup> "Rotuli de Liberate," pp. 181, 204, 216.

five daughters of William Briwere the elder, eventually brought a great inheritance to the Mohuns.<sup>1</sup>

Their eldest son Reginald, being under age at the time of his father's death, was placed under the care of Henry Fitz-Count, son of the Earl of Cornwall, but was afterwards placed under the care of his own grandfather, William Briwere.<sup>2</sup> During the greater part of his minority, however, the King retained Dunster in his own hands; and when an attempt was made to establish a market at Watchet, in rivalry of the Dunster market, it was promptly suppressed by royal order.<sup>3</sup> For several years, the King maintained archers and horsemen in Dunster Castle.<sup>4</sup>

Reginald de Mohun the second was in 1242, and again in 1252, appointed to the high office of Justice of the Forests south of Trent.<sup>5</sup> Henry III also gave him the right to have a weekly market at Dunster, to have free warren in his manors of Dunster, Ottery and Whichford, and to hunt hares, foxes, cats and other animals in all the king's forests in the county of Somerset.<sup>6</sup> He, in his turn, gave the burgesses of Dunster the right to hold a fair and market in North Street, without any impediment from him or his heirs.

By another charter he granted to them that they should not, against their will, be made bailliffs or farmers of the sea-port, or of the toll of the borough, or of the mills, that they should be free from all tallage, and that they should have the common on Croydon enjoyed by their predecessors.<sup>7</sup> He released the buyers and sellers in Dunster market

<sup>1</sup> "Excerpta e Rotulis Finium," vol. i, pp. 7, 78, 242. Close Roll, 17 John, m. 13. She married secondly William Paganell. "Excerpta e Rotulis Finium." vol. i, p. 167.

<sup>2</sup> "Excerpta e Rotulis Finium," vol. i, p. 79. Close Roll, 15 John, m. 4. Close Roll, 8 Henry III., m. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Close Roll, 7 Henry III., part 1, m. 29, 23.

<sup>4</sup> "Calendarium Rotulorum Clausarum," vol. i., pp. 418, 492, 503, 508, 512, 524, 535.

<sup>5</sup> Patent Roll, 26 Henry III., m. 6. Ibid, 36 Henry III., m. 1. Matthew Paris' "Chronica Majora."

<sup>6</sup> Dunster Castle Muniments, Box viii, No. 3,—an old certified extract

from the Charter Roll of 37 Henry III. The original roll is no longer to be found among the public records in London.

<sup>7</sup> Savage's "History of Carlhampton," p. 386, gives a translation. A copy of the original is preserved among the Muniments at Dunster Castle in a volume of transcripts of some records in the Parish chest in Dunster Church. I shall hereafter quote this MS. simply as "Dunster Church Book." Most of the original documents have unfortunately disappeared from the Church chest since the 18th century, when the transcript was made. It would seem that they were given by a former Vicar to his different antiquarian friends!

from all toll on transactions under the value of a shilling, and the fishermen and merchants from all toll whatsoever. He abandoned all claim to take more than four lagers from any brewery, at the rate of a farthing a lagen, and he forbade the brewing of strong beer (*cervisia præponi*) in Dunster. Finally, he promised not to exact more than 6d. as a fine for any offence except an attack on a member of the household of the castle, and he gave a general confirmation of the customs hitherto observed by the burgesses of Dunster. He granted the first of these two charters in consideration of a tun of wine worth two pounds; and the second in consideration of twenty marks, and for the benefit of the soul of his eldest son, John, lately deceased.<sup>1</sup>

In 1254, he gave fifty marks to the Prior and Convent of St. Peter at Bath, in order to provide for a mass for the soul of his late son John, for his own soul, and for the souls of his wives, of his ancestors and successors, and of all faithful departed. The prior and convent, on their side, undertook that this mass should be celebrated daily to the end of time by one of the monks of Dunster, or by an honest secular priest in the upper chapel of St. Stephen in Dunster Castle, unless access thereto was forbidden by an ecclesiastical interdict, by a besieging force, or by the castellan of Dunster, in either of which cases, they promised that the mass should be said in the lower chapel of St. Laurence, belonging to the Priory of Dunster. The founder undertook that all necessary books, vestments, tapers, &c., should be supplied by him and his heirs or other owners of the castle.<sup>2</sup> To the canons of Bruton Reginald de Mohun surrendered all his right in the revenues of the priory during the vacancy of the office of prior, and he also granted lands at Slaworth and at Stortmanford to the neighbouring Cistercian Abbey of Cleeve.<sup>3</sup>

But he chiefly deserves to be remembered as the founder of the Cistercian Abbey of Newenham, on the borders of Devonshire and Somersetshire. His ancestors on both sides had already done much for the English

<sup>1</sup> Dunster Church Book.

<sup>2</sup> Dunster Castle Muniments, Box xvi, No. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Dugdale's "Monasticon." Vol. v, p. 733.



church. His grandfather and guardian, William Briwere, had founded the Abbey of Torre, the Abbey of Dunkeswell, the Priory of Mottisfont, the Nunnery of Polslo, and the Hospital of St. John at Bridgwater; and his mother had contributed a great deal of marble to the fabric of Salisbury Cathedral. Inspired by their examples, and encouraged by his younger brother, William de Mohun, he resolved to establish a lasting memorial of his piety and munificence. The site was dedicated in July, 1246, and six months later a colony of Cistercian monks came to take formal possession of it in the presence of Reginald and William de Mohun, and of a great concourse of people. The foundation stone of the church was laid in July 1250, by Prior Walter. There was another grand ceremony at Newenham in September, 1254. The abbot and the monks went in solemn procession from their temporary chapel to the site of the conventual church, chaunting psalms suitable to the occasion; and Reginald de Mohun laid a corner stone and two other stones, William de Mohun laid one stone, and Wymond de Raleigh laid another. Then the monks stopped their chaunt, and the abbot, the deacon and the sub-deacon officiating at mass, and the rest of the community knelt before the founder and prayed him to adopt their church as his place of burial. He readily promised to do so, and gave instructions to that effect in a document dated at Dunster, on the 29th of June 1255. During the later years of his life, Sir Reginald gave a hundred marks a year to the building fund, and, by his will, he bequeathed a further sum of seven hundred marks to the Abbey.<sup>1</sup> An old French history of the Mohun family, the same, apparently, as that which gave the apocryphal list of the companions of William de Mohun, has the following story:—

“When Sir Reginald saw that (*i.e.* the Consecration of the Abbey) done, he passed to the Court of Rome, which then was at Lyons, to confirm and ratify his new Abbey to his great honour for ever, and he was at the Court in Lent when they sing the office of the *Mass Lecture Jerusalem*, on which day the custom of the Court is that the Apostle (*i.e.*, the Pope) gives to the most valiant and most honourable man who can be found at the said Court a rose or a flower of fine gold. They

<sup>1</sup> Davidson's “History of Newenham Abbey.”

therefore searched the whole Court and found this Reginald to be the most noble of the whole Court, and to him Pope Innocent gave this rose or flower of gold, and the Pope asked him what manner of man he was in his own country. He answered 'a plain knight bachelor.' 'Fair son,' said the Pope, 'this rose or flower has never been given save to Kings, or to Dukes, or to Earls, therefore we will that you shall be Earl of Este,' that is of Somerset. Reginald answered and said 'O Holy Father, I have not wherewithal to maintain the title.' The Apostle therefore gave him two hundred marks a year to be received at the Choir of St. Paul's in London, out of the (Peter's) pence of England, to maintain his position; of which donation he brought back with him bulls which still have the lead attached, etc., together with ten other bulls of confirmation of his new Abbey of Newenham. After this day he bore the rose or flower in his arms."<sup>1</sup>

Whatever may be the real historical value of this curious narrative, this much is certain, that the second Reginald de Mohun sometimes styled himself "Earl of Somerset and Lord of Dunster," and that he bore for his arms, a dexter arm habited in a maunch, the hand holding a fleur-de-lys.<sup>2</sup>

In addition to his paternal estates Reginald de Mohun held considerable property in the county of Devon, partly inherited from his uncle, William Briwere the younger, who died without issue in 1232, and partly derived from the Flemyngs. Thus it was that he lived sometimes at Ottery Flenyng, which was afterwards known as Ottery Mohun, and sometimes at Torre, which in contradistinction to the many places of that name in the west of England, came to be known as Torre Mohun or Tor-Moham, a name which it has retained to our own time. He confirmed to the Præmonstratensian Canons of Torre the benefactions of his grandfather William Briwere, and his arms may still be seen in the ruins of Torre Abbey. But the site of his court-house, in which, by special permission of the abbot, he had a private chapel, can no longer be recognized amid the upstart villas of modern Torquay.<sup>3</sup>

One of the monks of Newenham has left us the following account of Reginald de Mohun's last days:—

"In the year of our Lord 1257, on Sunday, 20th of January, the feast of Saints Fabian and Sebastian, Reginald de Mohun, the Lord of Duns-

<sup>1</sup> Fuller's "Church History," book and Seals of the Mohun family."  
iii, § 5. <sup>3</sup> Oliver's "Monasticon Dioecesis  
<sup>2</sup> See Appendix A. "On the Arms Exon."

torre, and founder of Newenham Abbey, entered the way of all flesh, at Torre, in Devonshire. His end was this. On being attacked by severe illness at Torre, he sent for a Franciscan friar, called Henry, at that time a learned professor of theology at Oxford. The said friar arrived at Torre on the Wednesday before Reginald's death, and received his humble, entire, and sincere confession. Early on the Friday morning, as the said friar entered the bedroom, Reginald thus addressed him: 'I have had a vision this night; I imagined myself to be in the church of the White Monks,<sup>1</sup> and when on the point of leaving it, a venerable personage, habited like a pilgrim presented himself and accosted me thus: 'Reginald, I leave it to your option either to come to me now in safety and without hazard, or to await until the week next before Easter exposed to danger.' My reply was, 'My Lord, I will not await, but will follow you forthwith.' As I was preparing to follow him he said, 'No, not as yet, but you shall securely join me on the third day.' This was my dream and vision.' The confessor, after administering motives of consolation, returned to his own chamber, and during a short slumber, dreamed that he was present in the aforesaid Cistercian Monastery and beheld a venerable person attired in white, conducting a boy more radiant than the sun and vested in a robe brighter than crystal, from the baptismal font towards the altar. On enquiry whose beautiful child this was, the person answered 'this is the soul of the venerable Reginald de Mohun.' The third day arriving, Reginald requested Henry to recite *Prime* and *Tierce*, 'as my hour' he said 'is approaching;' for he was in the habit of hearing the whole divine office repeated. The friar having done so, went into the Abbey Church to celebrate Mass. The Introit was *Circumdederunt me*, etc. Mass being over, the said friar returned in his priestly vestments, bringing with him the *Vitium* to fortify the Lord Reginald, with the receiving of the body and blood of Christ. As he entered the bed-chamber Reginald was anxious to rise, but could not from excessive weakness. About ten persons were present, to whom he said, 'Why not assist me to meet my Saviour and Redeemer?' And these were his last words. Henry then gave him the Communion, and afterwards the extreme unction, and then began with the priests and clerks the recommendation of a departing soul. At the end of these prayers, Reginald being still alive, they began to repeat them; and whilst they were reciting the words 'All ye Saints pray for him,' without a groan or apparent agony, he fell asleep in the Lord. His corpse was removed to Newenham, and deposited on the left side of the High Altar."

"When the pavement of the Sanctuary of our Conventual Church was relaid, in the year of our Lord 1333, the body of the said founder (seventy five years after its interment) was found in the sarcophagus perfectly incorrupt and uninjured, and exhaling a fragrant odour. For three days it lay exposed to public view. I both saw it and touched it."

Reginald de Mohun the second was twice married. In one of his charters to Cleeve Abbey, and again in the Register of Newenham Abbey, his first wife is simply

<sup>1</sup> i.e. at Newenham.

<sup>2</sup> Oliver's "Ecclesiastical Antiquities in Devon," vol. i. pp. 206-208. I have

taken the liberty of altering a word or two in the translation for the sake of euphony.

styled Avice or Hawys de Mohun, which of course was the name which she bore after her marriage.<sup>1</sup> But some ingenious antiquaries not satisfied with this, have chosen to read the M as a B, and to describe her as sister of Humphrey de Bohun.<sup>2</sup> Others, with little better authority, have described her as a sister of John Fitz-Geoffrey.<sup>3</sup> It is more probable that she was the heiress of the Flemyngs of Ottery.<sup>4</sup> But whatever was her maiden name, her memory seems to have been long preserved at Dunster, for in the middle of the fifteenth century one of the towers of the Castle was known as "Dambawys toure."<sup>5</sup>

The oldest parts of the existing castle, that is to say, the entrance gateway, the series of projecting semi-circular towers and the thick wall that connects them, were, apparently, built at this period, though it is not easy to understand why the lower ward of the Norman castle should have required to be rebuilt so soon. The eastern part of Dunster Church was also destroyed in the thirteenth century, and was replaced by a handsome chancel in the Early English style.

Reginald de Mohun's second wife, Isabel, widow of Gilbert Basset and daughter of William Ferrers, Earl of Derby, was, through her mother, one of the eventual coheiresses of the Marshals, Earls of Pembroke.<sup>6</sup> By her he had a son William, who inherited part of the Marshal property, and also received the manor of Ottery Mohun, which, at his death in 1280, passed to one of his daughters and coheiresses, Mary, the wife of John de Carew, and became afterwards known as Carew's Ottery. Nicholas Carew, the only son of John and Mary, died without

<sup>1</sup> "Proceedings of the Somersetshire Archæological Society," vol. vi, p. 28. See Appendix E.

<sup>2</sup> Dugdale's "Baronage," p. 497.

<sup>3</sup> Pedigrees by Robert Glover, Harl. MS. 807, f. 73. "The Visitation of Cornwall 1620." (Harleian Society).

<sup>4</sup> Reginald de Mohun certainly acquired a great part of the Flemyng estate in Devonshire. See Pole and Lysons *passim*. The Flemyng arms appear next after those of Briwere in a shield of the quarterings of the Mohun family, in Lanteglos Church, and in the Heralds' Visitation of Devon in 1620.

On the other hand it must be observed that the Flemyng property passed to Sir Wm. Mohun, son of Reginald de Mohun, by his *second* wife.

<sup>5</sup> Dunster Castle Muniments, Box xi, No. 3. "In 1 magna clave empta de Hugone Lokyer et in emendatione 1 sere pro dambawys toure 4s. In Johanne Bolkinam conducto per 1 diem ad purgandum dambawys toure ad cibum domini 2d."

<sup>6</sup> Dugdale's "Monasticon," vol. v, p. 271. "Calendarium Genealogicum," vol. i, p. 94. Patent Roll, 18 Edw. III, p. 2. m. 9.

issue, but the Carews who succeeded him in his estates quartered the arms of Mohun on their shield as if they had inherited the blood as well as the property of William de Mohun. Beatrix de Mohun, widow of William, paid no less than £100 for leave to choose a second husband in 1288.<sup>1</sup>

It is stated in almost every account of the Mohun family that Reginald the second was succeeded by his son John de Mohun, but a careful examination of contemporary documents proves conclusively that he was succeeded by his grandson, and that a whole generation has been omitted by Dugdale and other genealogists.<sup>2</sup> John de Mohun, the eldest son of Reginald and Hawys, died, as has already been observed, during the life of his father. His body was conveyed from Gascony, where he met his end, to Bruton Priory, and his heart was buried at Newenham Abbey.<sup>3</sup> By Joan, his wife, daughter of William Ferrers, Earl of Derby, a younger sister of his step-mother, he left two sons, of whom the elder, John, succeeded Reginald as Lord of Dunster. The title of Earl of Somerset was never again assumed by any member of the Mohun family.

There is little to be remarked about John de Mohun the second, beyond the fact that he granted a charter to the townsmen of Dunster, which has generally been ascribed to his son of the same name.<sup>4</sup> The records of the time do not show which side he espoused in the Barons' War, though there was some fighting in his neighbourhood in 1265. Rishanger says, "In that year, on the Sunday before the battle of Evesham, a multitude of Welshmen having as their captain, William de Berkeley, a knight of noble birth but of infamous character, landed at Minehead, near the castle of Dunster, in order to ravage the county of Somerset. The warden of the castle, Adam Gurdon by name, came out to meet them, slew many of them with the sword and putting many others to flight, among whom was the captain, caused them to be drowned."<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "Rotulorum Originalium Abbreviatio," pp. 42, 100. "Calendarium Genealogicum," vol. i, pp. 94, 227, 318, 345, 539, 546, 547. "Placitorum Abbreviatio," pp. 277, 293. Rot. Fin., 16th Edward I, m. 7.

<sup>2</sup> For proofs see Appendix D.

<sup>3</sup> Oliver's "Monasticon Diocesis Exon," pp. 362, 363.

<sup>4</sup> As for instance in Savage's "History of Carhampton," p. 387.

<sup>5</sup> "Willelmi Rishanger Chronica," Rolls Series, p. 41.

On the death of the last of the sons of William Marshal Earl of Pembroke, the illustrious protector, a large share of the Marshal estates passed to Sibilla, wife of William Ferrers Earl of Derby, and a large share of her inheritance came to John de Mohun and to William de Mohun his uncle, through their respective mothers, Joan and Isabel.<sup>1</sup> John de Mohun the second died in 1279, leaving by Eleanor Fitz-Piers, his wife, a son and heir of his own name, who was then about nine years of age, and who remained a ward of Edward I. during the greater part of his minority.<sup>2</sup> Eleanor, his widow, had for her dower no less than twenty-seven knights' fees in the counties of Somerset, Devon and Dorset; and she afterwards married William Martin. Fifty-five knights' fees were at that time held of the Honour of Dunster.<sup>3</sup>

John de Mohun the third served in the wars of Edward I. in Flanders and in Scotland, and sat in several parliaments as a peer of the realm.<sup>4</sup> He was one of the English barons who in 1300 wrote a letter to Boniface VIII., declaring that their king ought not to submit to the papal judgment, and in that famous document he is styled "John de Mohun, Lord of Dunster."<sup>5</sup>

In 1312, he was a party to the execution of Piers Gaveston, the unworthy favourite of Edward II.<sup>6</sup> To the burgesses of Dunster he, in 1301, granted a general confirmation of the charters of his ancestor Reginald, and of his father John, at the same time giving them the right to take furze, broom, turf, firebote and heath, sufficient for their fuel, from Croydon Hill.<sup>7</sup> Six years later he gave them leave to dig slime for manuring their lands, and common of pasture in his marshes near the sea,

<sup>1</sup> "Calendarium Genealogicum," (Ed. Roberts), vol. i, p. 227.

<sup>2</sup> Inquisitiones post mortem, 7th Edw. I. No. 13. Dunster Castle Muniments, Box i, No. 1; Box iv, No. 1; Box viii, No. 5. Oliver's "Monasticon Dioecesis Exon," p. 362. Savage's "History of Cheshire," p. 345.

In 1289, a payment was made on behalf of the king, "Johanni de Mooun infanti existenti in custodia Regis, et socio suo, pro sellis, frenis, oereis, calcariis, et alio minuto harnes quod eis competit pro instanti seysona hiemali in anno xviii<sup>o</sup>, per manus Johannes Launcelewe magistri sui apud Clarendon xxs." Ward-

robe Books (Tower), 18th Edw. I. Soon after the death of John de Mohun in 1279, the custody of his lands was committed to John de Saunford the King's Escheator in Ireland. "Rotulorum Originalium Abbreviatio," vol. i, p. 36.

<sup>3</sup> "Calendarium Genealogicum," vol. i, p. 371. Inq. post mortem, 7th Edw. I, No. 13.

<sup>4</sup> "Parliamentary Writs," ed. Palgrave, vol. i, p. 740, and vol. ii, part 3, pp. 1176, 1177, "Documents Illustrative of the History of Scotland."

<sup>5</sup> Nicolas's "Historic Peerage."

<sup>6</sup> "Parliamentary Writs."

<sup>7</sup> Dunster Church Book," f. 3.

except in East Marsh, which he reserved for himself.<sup>1</sup> One of the boundaries mentioned in the deed was "the road which leads to the sea-port of Dunster;" and perhaps this is the most suitable place for calling attention to the existence of this port in the middle ages. As early as the year 1183 the reeve of Dunster was fined 106s. 8d. for exporting corn from England.<sup>2</sup> A charter of Reginald de Mohun, already noticed, alludes to the bailiffs of the sea-port, and in the reign of Edward III, writs were sent to the bailiffs of Dunster, forbidding them to allow any friars or monks or any treasure to leave the realm by the sea-port.<sup>3</sup> The place where the river Avill widens out before joining the sea is still called "the Hone," or more properly, "the Hawn," which is an obvious corruption of the Haven. John de Mohun also assigned to his burgesses, twenty out of the twenty-four lagens of beer annually due to him from every brewery in the town.<sup>4</sup> To the Priories of Dunster and of Bruton he confirmed the gifts of his ancestors.<sup>5</sup> In 1299 he exchanged Grange Mohun and other lands in Ireland for the manor of Long Compton, in Warwickshire.<sup>6</sup>

By Ada, his wife, daughter of Payn or Robert Tiptoft, he had issue seven sons and one daughter. John, the eldest son, was knighted during his father's lifetime, and took part in the battle of Boroughbridge.<sup>7</sup> He died shortly afterwards in Scotland without having inherited the estates of his ancestors, and he is said to have been buried far away from them, in the church of the Grey Friars at York.<sup>8</sup> His wife Christian, daughter of Sir John Segrave, brought him a marriage-portion of £400 in 1305, and bore him an only son named John, who eventually succeeded to the lordship of Dunster.<sup>9</sup>

Sir Robert de Mohun the second son of John, Lord of

<sup>1</sup> Dunster Church Book.

<sup>2</sup> Madox's History of the Exchequer, vol. i, p. 558.

<sup>3</sup> Rymer's "Fœdera," vol. ii, p. 701, and vol. iii, p. 728.

<sup>4</sup> Dunster Church Book, f. 6. There is a translation in Savage's "History of Carhampton," p. 388.

<sup>5</sup> Dunster Castle Muniments, Box xvi, No. 4. Patent Roll, 20th Edw. III, p. 2, m. 24.

<sup>6</sup> "Placitorum Abbreviatio," p. 241.

"Rot. Pat. et Claus. Hiberniæ."

<sup>7</sup> "Parliamentary Writs" (ed. Palgrave), vol. ii, part 2, p. 198.

<sup>8</sup> "The Visitation of Devon, 1620" (Harleian Society). The date of his death is put down at 1322, but the whole account of the Mohuns given there is so full of blunders that the Visitation scarcely deserves to be quoted as an authority.

<sup>9</sup> The settlement made on the marriage is given in Patent Roll, 33rd Edward I, p. 1, m. 9.

Dunster, is said to have married Elizabeth Fitz-Roges of Porlock, and to have been killed by her contrivance.<sup>1</sup> The Mohuns of Fleet, near Weymouth, a branch of the family which flourished until the latter part of the last century, claimed him as their ancestor.

Baldwin de Mohun, the third son, took holy orders, and became parson of Whichford in Warwickshire, the advowson of that church having somehow reverted to the Mohuns from the monks of Bridlington.<sup>2</sup>

Payn de Mohun, the fourth son, was a minor at the time of his mother's death, and, as such, had great difficulty in obtaining from his father a choir-cope wrought with gold which she had expressly bequeathed to him.<sup>3</sup> He subsequently received a legacy from Lady Anne Maltravers.<sup>4</sup> In 1366 he was appointed by the king guardian of the lands of William of Wymondham, at Staundon, in the county of Hertford.<sup>5</sup>

Sir Reginald de Mohun, the fifth son, married the heiress of Sir John Fitz-William of Cornwall, and settled either in that county or in Devonshire. One of his descendants, Reginald Mohun of Boconnoc, was created a baronet in 1612, and his son, Sir John, was in 1628 advanced to the peerage under the title of Baron Mohun of Okehampton. The Barony of Mohun of Dunster having been long extinct, this younger ennobled branch of the family assumed as its motto:—"*Generis revocamus honores.*" Two of the Lords Mohun of Okehampton attained some celebrity, the first as a leader of the royalist forces in the civil war, and the fifth as one of the most dissolute courtiers of the early part of the eighteenth century. The once illustrious name of Mohun is, by most people, remembered only in connection with a fatal duel fought in Hyde Park in 1712. It so happens that the present owner of Dunster Castle, Mr. George Fownes Luttrell, is the direct representative of the Mohuns of Boconnoc, his ancestor, John Fownes, having married the heiress of Samuel Maddock of Plymouth, whose wife was the daughter and eventual heiress of the third Lord Mohun of Okehampton.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "The Visitation of Cornwall, 1620" (Harleian Society).

<sup>2</sup> Dugdale's "Antiquities of Warwickshire," p. 586.

<sup>3</sup> Register of Bishop Droghda at

Wells, f. 217, b.

<sup>4</sup> Nicolas, "Testamenta Vetusta," p. 91.

<sup>5</sup> "Rotulorum Originalium Abbreviatio," vol. ii, p. 94.

<sup>6</sup> See Appendix E.



Patrick, the sixth son of John Mohun, Lord of Dunster, seems to have lived either at Bradworthy or at Carhampton,<sup>1</sup> and Lawrence the seventh son is said to have been the progenitor of the Mohuns of Tavistock.<sup>2</sup>

John de Mohun, Lord of Dunster, married a second wife named Sibilla, and died in 1330.<sup>3</sup> There is no reason to doubt he was buried with his ancestors at Bruton.<sup>4</sup> The right of inheritance passed to his grandson John, son of his eldest son Sir John de Mohun. This John, the fifth of that name in direct succession, being only ten years old at the time of his grandfather's death, was given as a ward to Henry de Burghersh, Bishop of Lincoln, and afterwards to Sir Bartholomew de Burghersh, brother of that prelate.<sup>5</sup> He received livery of his lands in 1341, and in the same year took part in the war against the Scots. He subsequently fought in the different foreign campaigns of Edward III., serving sometimes under Sir Bartholomew de Burghersh, sometimes under John of Gaunt, and sometimes under the Black Prince.<sup>6</sup> On the establishment of the Order of the Garter in 1350, Sir John de Mohun was nominated one of the twenty-five original knights, and a brass plate setting forth his title and his arms is still to be seen in St. George's Chapel, at Windsor. In 1349, we find the Black Prince giving him a horse called Grisel Gris.<sup>7</sup>

Before he was twenty-two years of age Sir John de Mohun married Joan, the daughter of his former guardian, Sir Bartholomew de Burghersh, a lady who plays a very important part in the history of Dunster. One story indeed that is told of her, and that reminds one partly of Dido and partly of Lady Godiva, rests solely on tradition. Camden and Fuller relate that she obtained from her husband as much common land for the poor of Dunster as she could walk round in one day barefooted.<sup>8</sup> No charter corresponding to any such grant is to be found

<sup>1</sup> Dunster Castle Muniments, Box xvii, No. 1. Inq. p. m., 6th Henry IV, No. 33.

<sup>2</sup> Appendix E.

<sup>3</sup> "Rolls of Parliament," vol. ii, p. 71. Inq. p. m., 4th Edward III, No. 35.

<sup>4</sup> The monument on the north side of the Chancel of Dunster Church which is generally said to be that of this John

de Mohun, is really that of Sir Hugh Luttrell. See Part II.

<sup>5</sup> Inq. p. m., 4th Edward III, No. 35. "Rolls of Parliament," vol. ii, p. 71.

<sup>6</sup> Dugdale's "Baronage," vol. i, p. 984.

<sup>7</sup> Beltz's "Order of the Garter."

<sup>8</sup> Camden's "Britannia;" Fuller's "Worthies," under Somerset.

among the muniments at Dunster, and if there be any truth in the story the real heroine of it was more probably the wife of Reginald de Mohun. The chief charter of the last Lord Mohun of Dunster was a grant to the prior and monks of that place of common of pasture on Croydon and Grabbist Hills, and of twelve cartloads a year of dead wood and wind-fall wood from his park of Marshwood in the parish of Carhampton, and his outer woods at Dunster. He also confirmed to them the different grants of his ancestors, and remitted certain annual payments due to him.<sup>1</sup> During his life the town of Dunster returned members to Parliament for the first and last time, in 1360.<sup>2</sup> He himself was regularly summoned to the upper house as a baron.<sup>3</sup>

At different dates after his marriage, Sir John de Mohun executed a series of entails and conveyances of his landed property, generally for the purpose of securing a larger income to his wife; sometimes, apparently, for the purpose of raising money.<sup>4</sup> His expenses at the court and in the camp of Edward III. must have been considerable; and his will, only a few lines long, contains an ominous reference to creditors in London.<sup>5</sup> He eventually, in 1369, conveyed his chief estates to feoffees on condition that they should dispose of them according to the instructions of his wife.<sup>6</sup> He died on the 14th of September, 1376, without leaving any male issue, and was buried according to his own desire in the Priory Church of Bruton.<sup>7</sup> No sooner was he dead than his widow obtained from the feoffees a reconveyance of the estates to herself for life, with remainder to the Lady Elizabeth Luttrell in fee.<sup>8</sup> Thus on the only occasion since the Norman Conquest, on which Dunster Castle has passed by sale, it was sold by one widow and bought by another.

The sum paid for the right of succession to the great Barony of Dunster amounted to five hundred marks

<sup>1</sup> Dunster Castle Muniments, Box xvi, Nos. 2, 3.

<sup>2</sup> "Parliaments of England," (1878).

<sup>3</sup> "Report from the Lords' Committee on the Dignity of a Peer."

<sup>4</sup> Dunster Castle Muniments, Box i, Nos. 4, 5, 6. Box iv, No. 17.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, Box xxxvii, No. 4, A.D. 1342.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, Box i, No. 4.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, and Box xxxvii, No. 4.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, Box i, No. 4. During the life of her husband, in 1374, Lady Joan Mohun had agreed to sell the estates to Lady Elizabeth Luttrell, and had received from her a deposit of £200. Dunster Castle Muniments, Box i, No. 7.

(£3333 6s. 8d.), and the original receipt of Lady Joan de Mohun for this sum is one of the most interesting documents in the possession of Mr. Luttrell. In one way at least Lady Joan de Mohun had the best of the bargain for she lived nearly thirty years after the payment of the purchase-money. She had the less scruple in selling Dunster and the manors dependent on it, inasmuch as all her three daughters had made brilliant marriages. Elizabeth, the eldest, was the wife of William de Montacute, Earl of Salisbury. Philippa, the second, was the wife of Sir Walter Fitz-Walter, and Matilda, the youngest, was the wife of Sir John Strange, Lord of Knockyn. Each of these three ladies inherited from their father some portion of the Mohun property. Lady Joan de Mohun afterwards surrendered to her two elder daughters for forty marks a year her own life interest in the more valuable estates which she had alienated to Lady Elizabeth Luttrell.<sup>1</sup> Having thus practically severed her connection with Dunster, she seems to have gone to live in London, where she and her daughter, the Countess of Salisbury, used to figure at court arrayed in the robes of the Order of the Garter.<sup>2</sup> In 1386 she obtained from the king a grant for life of the manor and hundred of Macclesfield, which about three years later she exchanged with Anne, the Queen-Consort, for an annuity of £100 sterling.<sup>3</sup> She built for herself a sumptuous chantry near the altar of St. Mary in the crypt or "undercroft" of the Cathedral Church of Canterbury, and in 1395 she gave to the prior and convent the sum of 350 marks, a high red hearse worth £20, a set of vestments also worth £20, and a missal and chalice.<sup>4</sup> According to a formal agreement made in

<sup>1</sup> Inq. p. m. 6 Henry IV., No. 33.

<sup>2</sup> Beltz's "Order of the Garter," pp. 248, 249, 255. Dunster Castle Muni-ments. Box ix, No. 3.

<sup>3</sup> Thirty-sixth Report of the Deputy-keeper of the Public Records. Appendix i, pp. 346, 347.

<sup>4</sup> "Pro uno lecto albo rubeo de Camaka coopertorio inde duplicato cum blodio serico cum chiefiel et celura unius sectæ, et tribus curtinis de Sendal de Gene, et uno travers rubeo de Sendal de Tripe, et quatuor cusslynis de secta dicti lecti, unde valor estimative viginti

libræ, et vestimento palleato rubeo et nigro velvet et Camaka duplicato cum viridi Sendal, videlicet quantum pertinet ad unum capellanum, diaconum, et subdiaconum de una et eadem secta, et duabus capis dictis quercopis de veste aurea, valor estimative viginti libræ, et uno missali pretii centum solidorum, et uno calice pretii quadraginta solidorum."

The living persons to be mentioned in the daily mass were, Richard, King of England, Lady Joan Mohun, Elizabeth (probably Elizabeth de Burghersh her mother), and Elizabeth le Despencer (daughter of Sir

that year one of the monks was to say mass daily for her soul and for the souls of other persons connected with her, at the altar of St. Mary, except on certain great festivals when he was to celebrate at the altar of St. John the Baptist, near the tomb of St. Thomas of Canterbury. For this service he was to receive £2 a year, and the clerk in charge of the chapel was to receive 5s. a year for keeping the tomb clean and in good condition. *Placebo* and *Dirige* were to be sung on the eve of the anniversary of her death and a solemn mass of *Requiem* on the morrow, the celebrant receiving 6s. 8d. and the deacon and sub-deacon 3s. 4d. apiece. A hundred poor people were also to receive one penny apiece on the day of her obit.

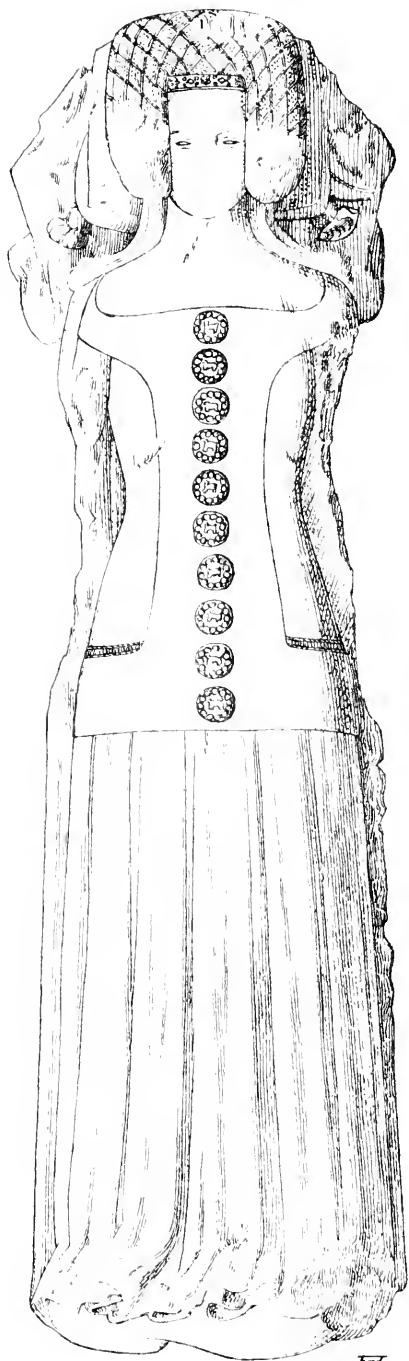
"Joan de Moune Lady of Dunster" made her will on the second of October, 1404, in the guest-house called "Mayster onerys," within the precincts of Christ Church, Canterbury. By it she gave to her daughter Elizabeth, Countess of Salisbury, the cross which she had promised to give to the daughter whom she loved best, and a copy of the *Legenda Sanctorum*. Matilda, the third daughter, had predeceased her mother, and Philippa, the second, received only the maternal blessing and some choice red wine. This lady had been married three times, firstly to Sir Walter Fitz-Walter, secondly to Sir John Golafre, and thirdly to Edward Plantagenet, Duke of York. Her third husband was alive in 1404, and received, under his mother-in-law's will, a copy of the *Legenda Sanctorum* and an illuminated book. Lady Joan de Mohun also left to "her singular Lord" Archbishop Arundel, a Psalter, bound in white; to her cousin, Lady le Despencer the elder, a green bed; to the Prior of Canterbury, some old green tapestry embroidered with lions and some "ystayned" tapestry; to her confessor, Friar John, of the Franciscan order, ten marks; and various other legacies to other persons, not forgetting Philip Caxton, her clerk, and her six damsels and attendants.<sup>1</sup> She died two days after the date of her will, and was duly buried

Bartholomew de Burghersh the younger). The dead persons to be mentioned were:—John (de Mohun), Edward (probably Edward III.), Edward (le Despencer), Bartholomew (de Burghersh), and

Philippa and Anne Queens of England. Arundel MS. lxviii, ff. 59-60

<sup>1</sup> Register of Archbishop Arundel, at Lambeth, f. 218. For "Maysteronerys" see "Archæologia Cantiana."





*S* *H*  
JOAN DE MOHUN, "LADY OF DUNSTER".  
DIED 1404

in the undercroft at Canterbury.<sup>1</sup> The effigy on her tomb shows her habited in the close-fitting tunic known as a *cote hardie*, but both the arms have been broken off.<sup>2</sup> The inscription round it was:—"Pour dieu priez por l'ame Johane Burwasche qe feut Dame de Mohun."<sup>3</sup>

Philippa, Duchess of York, the last surviving daughter of the last Lord Mohun of Dunster, died in 1431, and was buried in Westminster Abbey, where her monument may still be seen in the Chapel of St. Nicholas.<sup>4</sup>

There is in a canopied niche on the south side of the chancel of Dunster Church a recumbent effigy of a lady attired in the costume of the thirteenth century, and it is probable that she was the wife or the daughter of one of the early lords of the place. There is also in the church of Stoke-Fleming in Devonshire an effigy of a lady, who may likewise have been a member of the Mohun family. But with these two doubtful exceptions, the tombs of Lady Joan de Mohun at Canterbury and of the Duchess of York at Westminster are the only sepulchral memorials of the Mohuns of Dunster that have escaped the hand of the destroyer. The fair Abbey of Newenham is now a shapeless ruin, and of the Priory Church of Bruton not a vestige remains. On the other hand, "the right goodly and stronge Castelle of Dunes-torre" has for eight centuries maintained its position as one of the chief secular buildings in the County of Somerset.



Mohun Arms, from an old tile in Dunster Church.

<sup>1</sup> Inq. post mortem 6 Henry IV, No. 33.

<sup>2</sup> There is an engraving of the tomb in Dart's "Canterbury." The photo-lithograph opposite has been copied from the etching in Stothard's "Monumental Effigies."

<sup>3</sup> Willement and Powell give the spelling of some of the words differently.

<sup>4</sup> There is an engraving of it in Gough's "Sepulchral Monuments," and another in Stothard's "Monumental Effigies."

## APPENDIX A.

## THE ARMS AND SEALS OF THE MOHUN FAMILY.

There is fair ground for believing that the original bearing of the Mohun family was either a maunch, or a human hand holding a fleur-de-lys, almost all early examples of heraldic art being very simple in character. We have no evidence however on the point that will take us back beyond the time of Henry III. A deed of Reginald de Moyone preserved among the muniments at Dunster Castle (Box xxvi, No. 1) has attached to it a green seal, of which a woodcut is given on the opposite page, No. 1.<sup>1</sup> On this seal the hand holding a fleur-de-lys, and habited in a maunch, is represented as a device rather than as a regular heraldic charge. The motto inscribed round it consists of five words, of which the second is "sunt," the third "que," and the fourth apparently "malo," the other two being unfortunately illegible. This may possibly be the seal of the first Reginald de Mohun of Dunster, but it is more probably the seal of his son and successor, the second Reginald.

The third seal figured on the opposite page is unquestionably that of the second Reginald de Mohun, the founder of Newenham Abbey, who died in 1257. There is now only one impression of it among the muniments at Dunster Castle; but in the last century there was another impression of it, attached to a charter in the parochial chest in Dunster Church. The legend is "SIGILL REGINALDI DE MOUN," and the hand holding a fleur-de-lys and habited in a maunch is represented on a shield in heraldic style. It is scarcely probable that this baron had two different seals in use during the last few years of his life, and if it could be shown that either of the above-mentioned seals was in use before the consecration of Newenham Abbey, we might absolutely reject as mythical the old story that Reginald de Mohun, "Earl of Este," added a fleur-de-lys to his arms in allusion to a golden rose, supposed to have been given to him by Innocent IV. when he went to Lyons for Papal Bulls confirming his new foundation.

In Glover's Roll, which dates from the time of Henry III, the arms of Reginald de Mohun are certainly blazoned as "*De goules ov ung manche d'argent.*" An ingenious theory has lately been started to the effect that "the fleur-de-lys was added either by John de Mohun or his son, after the marriage of the former with the heiress Joan de Aguylon, when the bearing of her family was combined with the Mohun maunch."<sup>2</sup> Against this it might be argued almost conclusively that the heiress, Joan Ferrers, did not marry Robert Aguylon until after the death of John de Mohun, who was her first husband; but no such arguments are necessary to refute it when we have before us the original seals of Reginald de Mohun with the fleur-de-lys clearly shown.

In the Register of Newenham (f. 39 b.) there is the following entry:—"*Reginaldus de Moun fundator hujus domus portavit, de Goules les escu ore la manche d'argent ermyne e en la main de argent une florete de or. Willelmus frater ejus et fundator portavit: les escu de goules ore la manche de argent ermyne et croizeles.*"

<sup>1</sup> All the woodcuts of seals are the same size as the originals.

<sup>2</sup> Hutchins's "History of Dorset" (ed.

1861), vol. i, p. 272, and Planché's "Pursuivant of Arms," p. 169.



# SEALS.



1.

Reginald de Mohun.



2.

John de Mohun.



3.

Reginald de Mohun, Earl of Somerset.



William de Mohun, the son of the second Reginald, in the later part of the thirteenth century bore for arms:—"Gules, a maunch *argent*, a label *azure*."<sup>1</sup>

The second seal figured in our series of woodcuts is that of John, son of Richard de Moyon, who held lands at Watchet in the early part of the reign of Henry III. The original, in white wax, is attached to a deed preserved among the muniments at Dunster Castle. The only clues to the date are the style of writing used in the deed, and the name of one of the witnesses—William, Abbot of Cleeve. The device is an eagle displayed, and the legend round it is—"SIG. JOHIS FILII RICARDI."

Eleanor, wife of William Martin, and widow of the second John de Mohun, who died in 1279, is said to have used a seal showing three different shields, viz.:—Two bars and a label for Martin, a hand issuing from a maunch and holding a fleur-de-lys for Mohun, and three lions rampant for Fitz-Piers.<sup>2</sup>

The Mohuns of Ham, who appear to be descended from a younger brother of the first Reginald, assumed the arms of the elder branch of the family, with the tinctures reversed:—*Ermine* a dexter arm habited in a maunch *gules*, the hand *proper* holding a fleur-de-lys *or*.<sup>3</sup>

For some reason unknown, John de Mohun, Lord of Dunster, who died in 1330, abandoned the arms of his ancestors, and adopted a totally different bearing. The register of Newenham Abbey states positively:—"John de Moun the third changed the ancient arms of those who used to bear a maunch *ermine*. This John the third bore a gold shield with a sable cross engrailed."<sup>4</sup> So, again, in the lists of the English knights who were present at the siege of Carlaverock in 1300, we read:—

*"Juune o crois noire engrelee  
Le portoit John de Moun."*<sup>5</sup>

The seal of this John de Mohun attached to the letter of the English barons to Pope Boniface VIII. gives his newly adopted shield, with a lion on each side of it, and a eagle displayed above. The inscription round it is:—"S. JOHANIS DE MOUN." The woodcut on the opposite page—No. 4—is copied from the original in the Public Record Office.<sup>6</sup> The fact that an eagle displayed occurs on the seals of two different members of the Mohun family, seems almost to indicate that this was their badge or crest.

The Augustinian Priory of Bruton and the Cistercian Abbey of Newenham alike followed the example of Sir John de Mohun by assuming for their arms:—"Or a cross engrailed *sable*."<sup>7</sup> The shield borne by his eldest son, Sir John, at the battle of Boroughbridge in 1322, was blazoned:—"Dor ore 1 croiz engrele de sable avec 1 label de gul."<sup>8</sup> It is remarkable, however, that some of the younger sons adhered to the ancient bearing of their ancestors. Thus the Mohuns of Fleet, who claimed des-

<sup>1</sup> "Archæologia," vol. xxxix, p. 423.

<sup>2</sup> Nicolas's "Siege of Carlaverock," p. 159. The reference there given is to Cotton MS. Julius, c. vii., but the seal in question is not tricked in that volume. Sir H. Nicolas must have had some other good authority for his statement.

<sup>3</sup> Hutchins's "History of Dorset" (ed. 1861), vol. i, p. 272.

<sup>4</sup> See Appendix D.

<sup>5</sup> Nicolas's "Siege of Carlaverock."

<sup>6</sup> The engraving of it in "Vetusta Monumenta" is not accurate.

<sup>7</sup> There are some rough woodcuts of the seals of three Abbots of Newenham in Davidson's "History of Newenham Abbey."

<sup>8</sup> "Parliamentary Writs" (ed. Palgrave), vol. ii, part 2, p. 198.

cent from Sir Robert Mohun of Porlock, bore "*Gules, a dexter arm habited in a maunch ermine, the hand proper holding a fleur-de-lys or, within a bordure argent,*" the bordure being, of course, intended as a mark of cadency. The Mohuns of Aldenham, in Hertfordshire, bore the maunch like them, put without any bordure.<sup>1</sup>

Sir Reginald de Mohun, the fifth son of Sir John, is described as bearing "*de goutes ove une maunche d'ermyn,*" about the year 1337.<sup>2</sup> His descendants, however, preferred to have the cross engrailed on their shield, and only used the maunch as a crest. When one of them, Sir John Mohun, was created a peer as Baron Mohun of Okehampton, he took as supporters "two lions rampant, guardant, *argent*, crowned with earl's coronets, *or*, the balls, *argent*."<sup>3</sup> The Mohuns of Tavistock bore the cross with a mullet for difference.

Reverting now to the last Lord Mohun of Dunster, who died in 1376, we find that he bore on his seal a cross which we should describe as "lozengy" if we did not otherwise know that it should be described as "engrailed." The inscription is: "SIGILLUM JOHANNIS DE MOUN." The woodcut of it—No. 5—is taken from the seal attached to a deed of the year 1345, preserved among the muniments of Dunster Castle (Box xxiv). There are also at the same place two impressions of the seal of his wife, the Lady Joan, one of which is attached to the receipt given by her to Lady Elizabeth Luttrell, the purchaser of the Castle and Honour of Dunster. This seal shows the arms of Mohun and Burghersh impaled according to the old fashion by being placed side by side on separate shields. The inscription is: "S. Johanne de Mo-un." In a register of Christ Church, Canterbury, now preserved in the British Museum, the arms of this lady are given on one shield, quarterly 1 and 4, Mohun, 2 and 3, Burghersh.<sup>4</sup>

A seal of her daughter Philippa shews the arms of Fitz-Walter—a fesse between two chevronels, impaled in the modern way with those of Mohun—a cross engrailed. The inscription is—"Sigillum Philipp . e . ffitz. wautr." The woodcut—No. 7—is copied from a seal attached to a deed of the year 1398, preserved among the muniments at Dunster Castle. The arms of Mohun, Fitz-Walter, Golafre, and Plantagenet, appear on the monument of the Duchess of York in Westminster Abbey. Though the ancient family of Mohun is now believed to be extinct, several families of the name of Moon or Moone bear as arms either the maunch or the cross engrailed.

## APPENDIX B.

### THE EARLY CHARTERS OF DUNSTER PRIORY.

Leland states that the Priory of Dunster was founded by William de Moion, the companion of the Conqueror, and his statement has been accepted implicitly by Dugdale and other subsequent writers. Inasmuch however as no original authority has yet been quoted to give the history of the foundation, it seems desirable to print *in extenso* some of the

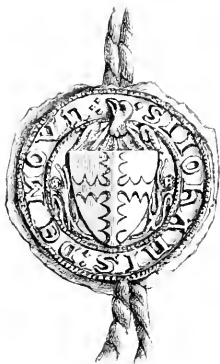
<sup>1</sup> Heralds' Visitation of Hertfordshire, A.D. 1572.

<sup>2</sup> "Collectanea Topographica et Genealogica," vol. ii, p. 326.

<sup>3</sup> Lysons's "Magna Britannia, Cornwall," p. lxxxiii.

<sup>4</sup> Arundel MS. lxviii, f. 59.

# SEALS.



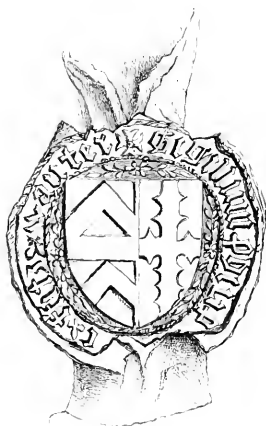
4.  
John de Mohun.  
d. 1330.



5.  
John de Mohun.  
d. 1376.



6.  
Joan de Mohun.  
d. 1404.



7.  
Philippa Fitzwalter.  
d. 1431.



earliest charters that bear on the subject. Nos. 1 and 2 are copied from a valuable chartulary of Bath Abbey, preserved among the MSS. of Archbishop Parker in the Library at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

1. "Notum sit omnibus catholicæ æcclesiæ fidelibus tam præsentibus quam futuris quia ego Willelmus de Moione, timore Dei compunctus dono et concedo perpetualiter pro salute animæ meæ, regisque Anglorum Willelmi atque omnium antecessorum meorum et successorum æcclesiæ beati Petri de Bathonia et Johanni episcopo ejusdem monasterii et monachis tam præsentibus quam futuris æcclesiam Sancti Georgii de Dunestore, et me ipsum, et decimam ejusdem villæ tam vinearum quam carrucarum, et mercati necnon omnium pecudum, et totam villam Aleume, et omnia sibi pertinentia libere et quiete ab omni servitio, scilicet unam hidam terræ, et dimidiam partem decimæ de Maneheafe, et totam decimam de Bradeuude, et omnem decimam de Carentuna quantum mihi inde pertinet, et totam decimam de Niwetuna, et dimidiam decimam de Brunfeld, et totam decimam de Stokelande, et totam de Kilvestune, et duo piscatoria, unum pertinens ad Dunesthorram et aliud ad Carentunam, et totam decimam equarum mearum de moris. Et hæc omnia concedo supradictæ æcclesiæ de Bathonia per consensum uxoris meæ Adelise, ut æcclesiam beati Georgii præsul et monachi ejusdem ædificent et exaltent. Hujus beneficii sint etiam testes ex mea parte, Henricus de Port, et Durandus dapifer, et Ogis, et Geoius, et Walterus de Celsui, et Rodbertus Flavus, et Gaufridus et Rodbertus filii mei, et Wilmundus frater meus, et Odo Dealtribus, et Willelmus de Hermodvilla, et Rodbertus filius Ricardi, et Hunfridus de Petreponto, et Radulfus filius Osberni, et Herebertus de Kent, et Ricardus Flavus, et Picotus, et Engelram filius Ivelini, et Alexander de Perceio. Hi sunt ex parte episcopi, scilicet Gireuardus monach[us?], et Girebertus archidiaconus, et Dunstanus sacerdos, et Gillebertus sacerdos, et Willelmus clericus, et Adelardus dapifer, et Turaldus, et Sabianus."

2. "Teobaldus dei gratia Cantuariensis archiepiscopus Anglorum primas et Apostolicæ Sedis legatus, omnibus sanctæ matris ecclesiæ fidelibus per episcopatum Bathoniensem constitutis salutem Ea quæ a venerabilibus fratribus nostris episcopis seu principibus ecclesiis et locis religiosis in elemosinam misericordiæ intuitu conferuntur, ut eisdem locis inconvulsa et inutilata præserventur merito sunt auctoritatis munimine roboranda. Eaque ratione inducti, inspectis etiam cartis dominorum fundi et honoris de Dunestorra et confirmatione sanctæ memoriæ Anselmi Cantuariensis archiepiscopi, et illustris regis Anglorum Willelmi Ruffi, quæ æcclesiam de Dunestorra cum omnibus ad eam pertinentibus, terris, decimis, et capellis, in liberam elemosinam monachis Bathoniensibus esse concessam et datam astruebant, eisdem monachis confirmamus æcclesiam prenominatam cum terris et decimationibus de Karentona et Stochelande et Kelve-tona, et Anelhame, et Stanton, et dimidiam decimam Menehafe, et dimidiam decimam Exeforde, et cæteris eis jure adjacentibus et

<sup>1</sup> No. cxi, ff. 95, 122. I am indebted for the transcripts to the Rev. S. S. Lewis, F.S.A., Fellow and Librarian of

the College. I have extended the contractions.

præsentis scripti patrocinio corroboramus. Auctoritate itaque qua fungimur inhibemus ne quis ecclesiam Bathoniensem vel monachos in ea jugem Deo famulatum exhibentes, super æcclesia de Dunestorra quæ eis in liberam elemosinam auctoritate sancti Anselmi Cantuariensis archiepiscopi confirmata est et regiis cartis corroborata temere præsumat inquietare vel ullam attemptet inferre molestiam. Quod si quis attemptaverit injuste Dei omnipotentis indignationem et nostram se noverit incursurum. Valete."

John de Villula, to whom the former of these charters is addressed, was Bishop of Bath from 1090 to 1122, and William Rufus died in 1100. It may, therefore, be referred to the decade of years between 1090 and 1100. The modern names of the places mentioned are :—Dunster, Minehead, Broadwood, Carhampton, Newton, Broomfield, Stockland, Kilton, Stanton, and Exford. Durand and Ogis were tenants under William de Moion at the time of the Domesday Survey.

3. "Willelmus de Moion hominibus suis tam his qui sunt quam his qui futuri sunt salutem. Sciatis me acceptam habere donationem quam avus meus et pater meus fecerunt ecclesiæ de Dunestore, scilicet totam villam de Alecumbe cum omnibus pertinentiis suis liberam et quietam ab omni servitio, et decimam totius villæ de Dunestore tam vinearum quam carrucarum et molendinorum et mercati, necnon etiam omnium pecudum et virgulti, et dimidiam partem decimæ de Manchafda, et totam decimam de Bradwude, et omnem decimam de Carentome, et totam decimam de Nivetona, et dimidiam decimam de Braunfeld, et totam decimam de Stockland, et ecclesiam de Chelvetune cum omnibus pertinentiis suis et decimis, et duo piscatoria, unum pertinens ad Dunestore, et aliud ad Charentunam, et totam decimam equarum mearum de Moris, et decimam de Exford, terram etiam de Aseleam (*sic*) quam pater meus dedit pro salute animæ fratris mei Radulfi de Moyon, iii. etiam ferlingos terræ apud Nordcume liberos et quietos ab omni servitio pro salute animæ meæ et patris mei eidem ecclesiæ concedo et monachis in ea Deo servantibus. His testibus, Hewano de Mouum et Ricardo clerico fratre ejus, Radulfo de Piron, Ricardo de Langheham, Hugo Norreis, Radulfo capellano, et Johanne capellano, Ricardo Russe, et multis aliis."

This charter, of which an early copy is preserved among the muniments at Dunster Castle (Box xvi, No. 7), may safely be referred to the third William de Moion, the son of the Earl of Somerset, as the names of the witnesses correspond closely with those of some of the witnesses to his different charters to Bruton Priory. Ivan de Moion and Richard his brother, were sons of the Earl of Somerset.

4. "Omnibus Christi fidelibus præsens scriptum visuris vel audituris Johannes de Mohun miles, Dominus de Donestorre salutem in Domino sempiternam. Noveritis me cartam Domini Reginaldi de Mohun antecessoris mei inspexisse sub tenore qui sequitur.

Reginaldus de Mohun universis hominibus suis presentibus et futuris salutem. Sciatis me acceptam habere donationem quam pater meus et antecessores mei fecerunt ecclesiæ Sancti Georgii de Donestorre et monachis ibidem Deo servantibus, scilicet totam villam de Alecumbe cum omnibus pertinentiis suis liberam et quietam ab omni servitio, et decimam totius villæ de Donestorre tam vinearum quam carucarum et molendinorum et mercati, necnon



etiam omnium pecudum et virgulti, et dimidiam partem decimæ de dominio de Mennehevede, et totam decimam de Brodwode, et totam decimam de Carampton, et totam decimam de Nyweton, et dimidiam partem decimæ de Bromfeld, et totam decimam de Stocclond, et ecclesiam de Kelveton cum omnibus pertinentiis suis et decimis, et duo piscatoria unum pertinens ad Donestorre, et aliud ad Carampton, et totam decimam equarum mearum de Moris, et decimam de Exeford, terram etiam de Anelham quam Willelmus de Mohun dedit pro salute animæ Radulfi de Moion, tres etiam ferlingos terræ apud Northecumbe liberos et quietos ab omni servitio in puram et perpetuum elemosinam. Ut hoc ratum et firmum habeatur imperpetuum sigilli mei munimine præsens scriptum roboravi et confirmavi. Hiis testibus, Roberto capellano de Castello, Radulfo capellano de Dunstorre, Roberto clerico de Mennehevede, Willelmo clerico de Dunstorre, Johanne de Regny, Willelmo de Punchardon, Roberto filio Roberti, Willelmo de Pentir, Roberto Bonzam, Willelmo de Kytenore, Hugone de Avele, Ricardo de Holne, Radulfo le Tort, Willelmo Vinetar, Roberto Coule, Ricardo Russel et multis aliis.

Inspexi insuper aliud scriptum ejusdem Reginaldi in quo continetur quod idem Reginaldus concessit pro se et heredibus suis Priori de Donestorre et monachis et eorum successoribus decimam bestiam porcorum suorum de Donestorre, Caramptone, et Kelveton nomine decimæ, secundum quod contigerit eas capi vivas vel mortuas. Quas quidem concessiones et confirmationes pro me et heredibus meis in omnibus ratifico et confirmo imperpetuum per præsentem. In ejus rei testimonium sigillum meum præsentī cartæ est appensum. Hiis testibus, Dominis Johanne de Meriet, Andrea Loterel et Symone de Roges, militibus, Johanne de la Croys et Rogero Arundel, Johanne de Iliwys, Vincentio de Stoke, et multis aliis. Datum apud Whycheheforde die Sancti Laurentii, Anno regni Regis Edwardi vicesimo septimo."<sup>1</sup>

5. The Prior and Convent of Bath undertake to provide for the celebration of masses at Dunster for the soul of John eldest son of Reginald de Moyon, A.D. 1254.<sup>2</sup>

6. Thomas, Prior of Bath, grants to the Prior and Monks of Dunster the Church of Carlampton, with its appurtenances, to be held of him and his successors for ever on payment of 20 marks a year, of which half-mark is to be paid to his chamberlain on the Feast of St. Carentoc, and half-a-mark on the anniversary of St. Martin.<sup>3</sup>

7. Confirmation by John de Mooun, Lord of Dunster, of the grants of his ancestors to the Church of Dunster, 15 Edward III.<sup>4</sup>

8. Confirmation by Pope Honorius.<sup>5</sup>

9. John de Mohun grants to the Church of Dunster a yearly rent of 8s. 6d., common of pasture on Croydon, pasture on Grobelfast, and twelve cartloads of wood from Marshwood Park, etc. Friday, after the Feast of St. Peter ad Vincula, 16 Edward III.<sup>6</sup>

10. Confirmation of No. 9 by John de Mohun, in French. The Feast of St. Barnabas, 33 Edward III.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Dunster Castle Muniments. Box xvi, No. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Box xvi, No. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Box xvi, No. 3.

<sup>4</sup> Patent Roll, 20 Edward III, p. 2, m.

30, printed in Dugdale's "Monasticon," vol. iv, pp. 201-202.

<sup>5</sup> Dunster Castle Mun. Box xvi, No. 2.

<sup>6</sup> Box xvi, No. 3.

<sup>7</sup> Box xvi, No. 6.

The following list of the Priors of Dunster, although obviously imperfect, is the fullest that has yet appeared :—

Martin, in the later part of the reign of Henry III.<sup>1</sup>

Robert de Sutton, appointed in 1332.<sup>2</sup>

John Hervey, in 1376.<sup>3</sup>

William Bristow, in 1412.<sup>4</sup>

John Henton, appointed in 1425.<sup>5</sup>

Richard, in 1449.<sup>6</sup>

John Abingdon, in 1489.<sup>7</sup>

Thomas Brown, in 1499.<sup>8</sup>

John Griffith, in 1535.<sup>9</sup>

#### APPENDIX C.

##### DUNSTER IN THE REIGN OF HENRY II.

The following are the most important notices of the Honour of Dunster that occur in the unpublished Pipe Rolls of the reign of Henry II:—

A.D. 1162. "De scutagio Willelmi de Moun. In thesauro £22. Et in pardon per breve Regis [13s. 4d.]"

A.D. 1168. "Willelmus de Moium reddit compotum de 41 marcis pro 41 militibus de veteri feoffamento. In thesauro 37 marcæ. Et debet 2 marcas de veteri feoffamento. Idem debet de novo 5 marcas et dimidiam pro 5 militibus et dimidio."

A.D. 1169. "Willelmus de Moun reddit compotum de 2 marcis pro militibus veteris feoffamenti. In pardon per breve Regis Hugoni de Gundovill 2 marcæ. Et quietus est. Idem debet 5 marcas et dimidiam de novo feoffamento."

A.D. 1176. "Willelmus de Moium debet 5 marcas et dimidiam de novo feoffamento. Sed requirendi (*sic*) sunt ab Episcopo Wintoniæ qui custodit terram et heredem."

A.D. 1177. "Ricardus, Episcopus Wintoniæ reddit compotum de 5 marcis et dimidia de novo feoffamento de honore Willelmi de Moium. In thesauro 5 marcæ, et quietus est."

"Vicecomes reddit compotum . . . de 18 marcis de auxilio terræ Willelmi de Moyona."

"Terra Willelmi de Moun. Ricardus, Wintoniæ episcopus, Jordanus de Turri clericus ejus, et Willelmus Poherius pro eo, reddit compotum de £22 1s. 8d. de veteri firma maneriorum ejusdem honoris de dimidio anno, et de £44 3s. 4d. de hoc anno. Summa £66 5s. In thesauro £34 14s. 8d. Et in decimis constitutis monachis de Sancto Georgio de Dunestora £2 14s. de anno et dimidio. Et in defalta molendini de Carletona (Carhampton) 15s de predicto termino. Et in wasto villæ de Dunestora 16s. 6d. de predicto termino. Et in defalta thelonii et molendini ejusdem villæ £5. Et in emendatione

<sup>1</sup> Dunster Castle Muniments. Box xvii, No. 1. Box viii, No. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Dugdale's "Monasticon," vol. ii. p. 259.

<sup>3</sup> Dunster Castle Muniments. Box i, No. 4.

<sup>4</sup> Dunster Church Book. f. 44.

<sup>5</sup> Harl. MS. 6966, f. 156. It has been

erroneously stated that he was appointed to succeed John Telesford, who was really Prior of Bath, not of Dunster.

<sup>6</sup> Dunster Castle Muniments.

<sup>7</sup> Harl. MS., 6966. f. 147.

<sup>8</sup> Register of Bishop King, at Wells.

<sup>9</sup> Valor Ecclesiasticus.

molendini et operatione vinee, et liberatione servientium, et aliis minutis exitibus £4 4s. 9½d. Et in liberatione Willelmi de Moium £18, de eodem termino per breve Regis.

Idem reddit compotum de £19 de bladis et vino de dominio vendito. In thesauro liberavit, et quietus est.

Idem reddit compotum de £2 7s. 1d. de prædicto termino de exitu de Toteberga quam Willelmus de Moium habuit in custodia. In thesauro liberavit, et quietus est.

Et reddit compotum de £4 19s 4d de prædicto termino de exitu de Wicheforda quod idem Willelmus habuit in custodia. In thesauro liberavit, et quietus est."

A.D. 1178. "De auxilio ad maritandam filiam Regis. Episcopus Wintonie reddit compotum de dimidia marca de honore Willelmi de Moium de novo feoffamento."

There is no record of any payment having been received by the Exchequer by way of relief or primer seisin from the Honour of Dunster between 1156 and 1176, and so it may fairly be assumed that one person, William de Moium, held the property continuously through that period. The entry which states that the Bishop of Winchester had the custody of the land and of the heir in 1176, is somewhat perplexing. It would at first sight seem to show that William de Moium had recently died leaving an heir under age. In such an event the custody of the land and of the minor would, in the ordinary course, have fallen into the hands of the King, who would have been free to deal with them according to his own pleasure. The entry on the Pipe Roll for 1177 indicates that the heir was another William de Moium, but it is difficult to understand how any one of that name could have been a minor at that date, inasmuch as both William the son of the Earl of Somerset, and William the son and heir of William de Moium, the husband of Godehold, were old enough to appear as witnesses to important charters during the lifetime of their respective fathers. And moreover some of the charters of William de Moium the husband of Lucy were attested by his son and heir who was also called William.<sup>1</sup> The Honour of Dunster was, we know, again escheated to the crown at some time between 1190 and 1195, and if William de Moium the husband of Lucy was under age in 1166 he could scarcely have had a son of full age, even by the latest of these dates—1195. The hypothesis of a minority in 1176 seems to require that two different Williams should have appeared as witnesses to charters while still under age.

On the other hand it is possible that the King may have had cause to distrust the loyalty or good faith of the heir of William de Moium in 1176, and may, consequently, have deputed the Bishop of Winchester to exact prompt payment of a year's revenue by way of relief or primer seisin. The restitution to the heir of about one third of the gross receipts after the land had been in the custody of the Bishop for a year and a half seems to favour this hypothesis. The main objection to it is that it does not satisfactorily explain how the heir himself, if of full age, came to be placed under the custody of the Bishop.

<sup>1</sup> See "Notes on some early Charters of Bruton Priory" in a later part of this volume.

## APPENDIX D.

## THE HEIR OF REGINALD DE MOHUN.

The ordinary books of reference so consistently state that the second Reginald de Mohun of Dunster was succeeded by his eldest son, that it seems desirable to collect in one place some of the strongest proofs that he was, on the contrary, succeeded by his grandson in 1257. They are as follows :—

1. Reginald de Mohun in 1254 established a mass at Dunster for the soul of his eldest son John, who was then deceased.<sup>1</sup>

2. The following passage occurs among the “Parliamentary Writs” of 1277:—“Johannes de Mohun recognovit servitium trium feodorum militis pro terris quæ fuerunt Reginaldi de Mohun, avi sui.”<sup>2</sup>

3. In the “Placita de quo warranto” it is distinctly stated that John de Mohun, who was a minor in the reign of Edward I, was the great-grandson of Reginald, the founder of Newenham.<sup>3</sup>

4. At an inquisition held at Odyham, 16 May, 1327, it was found that John de Mohun, who was then over forty years of age, was “cousin” and heir of Reginald de Mohun, being the son of John, who was the son of John, who was the son of the said Reginald.<sup>4</sup>

5. The genealogy of the Mohun family, given in the Register of Newenham Abbey, states that John de Mohun, who married Ada Tiptoft, was the third of that name.<sup>5</sup>

## APPENDIX E.

## PEDIGREE OF THE MOHUN FAMILY.

The following account of the Mohuns of Dunster, written by a monk of Newenham in the middle of the fourteenth century, deserves a place here, because it has been very incorrectly given in the large edition of Dugdale’s “Monasticon,” and also in Oliver’s “Monasticon” of the Diocese of Exeter.<sup>6</sup>

“Alicia de Moun quarta filia Willemi Brewer ad cujus participationem inter quinque filias heredes dicti Willelmi Brewer cecidit manerium de Axeminster cum pertinentiis. Quæ Alicia prædicta nupta fuit domino Reginaldo de Moun domino de Dunstorre in qua procreavit Reginaldum de Moun heredem ipsorum Reginaldi et Aliciæ; et ille Reginaldus filius Reginaldi prædicti fundavit Abbatiam de Nyweham in manerio de Axeminster anno gratiæ MCCXLVI, octavo idus Januarii die dominica, luna xv., epacta prima, concurrente prima, sub papa Innocentio quarto, regnante in Anglia Henrico Christianissimo Rege filio Johannis Regis; regnante in Francia Lodowycio filio Lodowyci filii regis Philippi; vacante imperio

<sup>1</sup> Dunster Castle Muniments, Box xvi, No. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. i, p. 202.

<sup>3</sup> Oliver’s “Monasticon Diocesis Exon,” p. 365.

<sup>4</sup> Inq. post mortem 1 Edw. III, No. 51.

<sup>5</sup> See Appendix E.

<sup>6</sup> From the original in Arundel MS., xvi. f. 38.

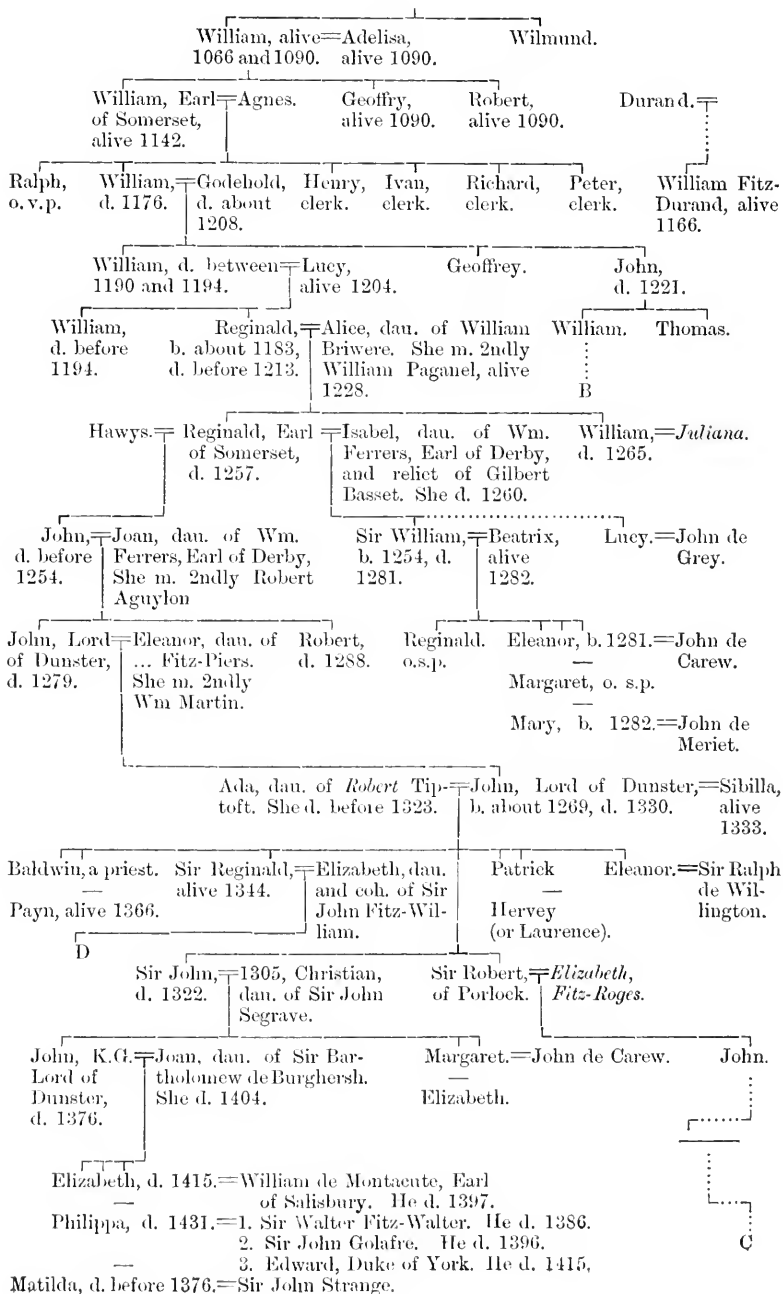
Romano, Frederico deposito; gubernante ecclesiam Cantuariensem Bonefacio, ecclesiam vero Exoniensem Magistro Richardo Albo de eadem civitate Exoniensi nato; abbatizante apud Bellum Locum dompno Acio de Gysortis, cum dicta domus Belli Loci esset quadraginta duorum annorum et dimidii; abbatizante apud Forda domino Adamo. Qui supradictus Reginaldus de Moun habuit duas uxores, scilicet Hawysiam de Moun et Isabellam Basset. Et in dicta Hawysia procreavit unum filium nomine Johannem heredem ipsius. Qui Johannes habuit unum filium nomine Johannem heredem ipsius. Qui Johannes prædictus in Gasconia moriebatur; ejus cor jacet coram magno altare inter sepulchrum Reginaldi de Moun et Willelmi de Moun domini de Moun Otery de Nyweham, corpus vero apud Brutonam. Qui Johannes de Moun heres prædicti Johannis habuit unum filium nomine Johannem heredem ipsius. Qui Johannes de Moun secundus habuit unum filium heredem nomine Johannem. Qui Johannes modo tertius fuit in custodia domini Regis in tempore quo justiciarii domini Regis itinerantes in Devoniam sederunt. Qui Johannes de Moun tertius sumpsit uxorem Audam Tynetot in qua procreavit septem filios et unam filiam quorum nomina patent. Idem Johannes de Moun tertius mutavit arma antiqua eorum qui solebant portare manieam erminatam. Iste Johannes tertius portavit scutum aureum cum nigra cruce engrellata.

Fili Johannis de Moun tertii	{	Johannes, heres ipsius,
		Robertus, dominus de Purloc,
		Baldewynus, rector de Wyecheford,
		Paganus,
		Reginaldus miles,
		Patricius,
		Hervieus et Laurentius.

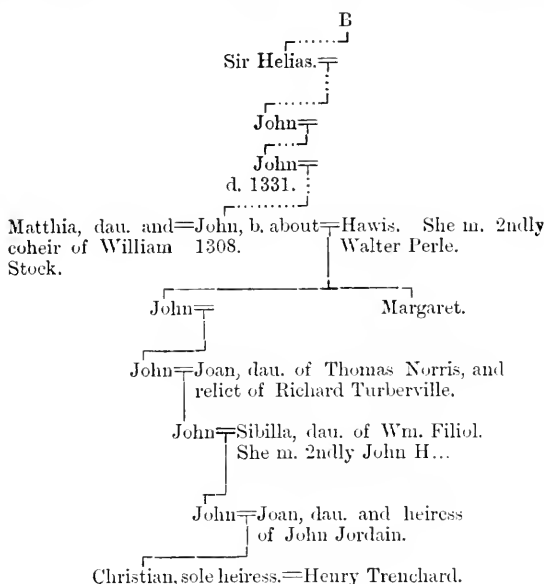
Filia supradicti Johannis de Moun tertii Elianora nupta Radulfo de Wyleton. Johannes de Moun quartus habuit unum filium heredem ejus et duas filias pro data. Filius dicti Johannis quarti Johannes heres ejusdem. Filia dicti Johannis quarti Margareta nupta Johanni de Carru, Elizabetha quæ moriebatur sine exitu. Dominus Johannes de Moun quartus moriebatur in Scocia per plurimos annos ante Johannem tertium patrem suum, et filius ejus et heres Johannes modo quintus post mortem avi sui fuit in custodia Domini Henrici de Burghwash Lincolnensis Episcopi. Qui Johannes quintus sumpsit uxorem Johannam filiam domini Bartholomæi de Burghwash fratris dicti episcopi Lincolnensis."

The following genealogical tables scarcely require any explanation. That of the Mohuns of Dunster is based on original authorities already quoted in this paper. That of the Mohuns of Ham is based on Hutchins's "History of Dorset" (ed. Shipp) and on a pedigree from the Plea Rolls given in "Collectanea Topographica et Genealogica," vol. i, p. 140. That of the Mohuns of Fleet is based on Hutchins's "History of Dorset," and family papers in the possession of the Rev. J. Maxwell Lyte. That of the Mohuns of Cornwall is based on the Visitations of Cornwall and Devon in 1620, printed by the Harleian Society, on notices in Hamilton Rogers's "Monumental Effigies in Devon," in Westcote's "Devonshire," in the "Topographer and Genealogist," and in the "Gentleman's Magazine," and on family papers in the possession of G. F. Luttrell, Esq. That of the Mohuns of Tavistock is based on the "Visitation of Devon" 1620.

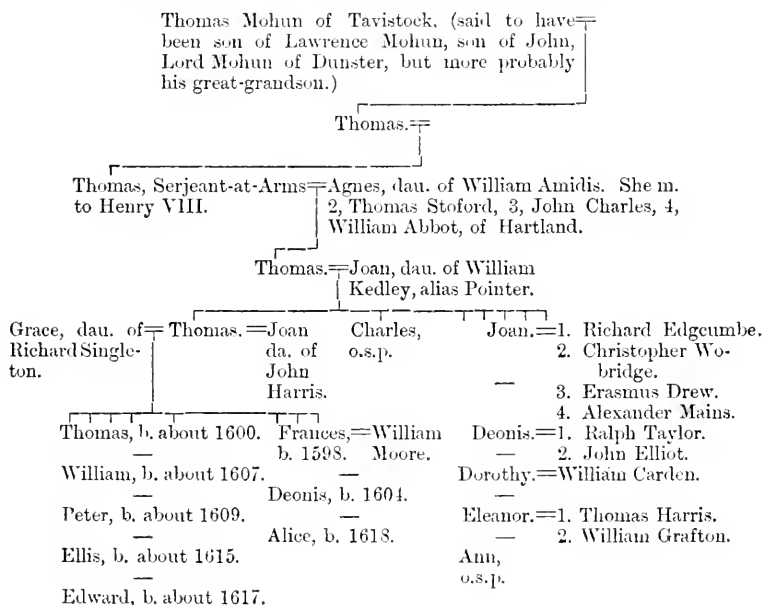
## PEDIGREE OF THE MOHUNS OF DUNSTER.



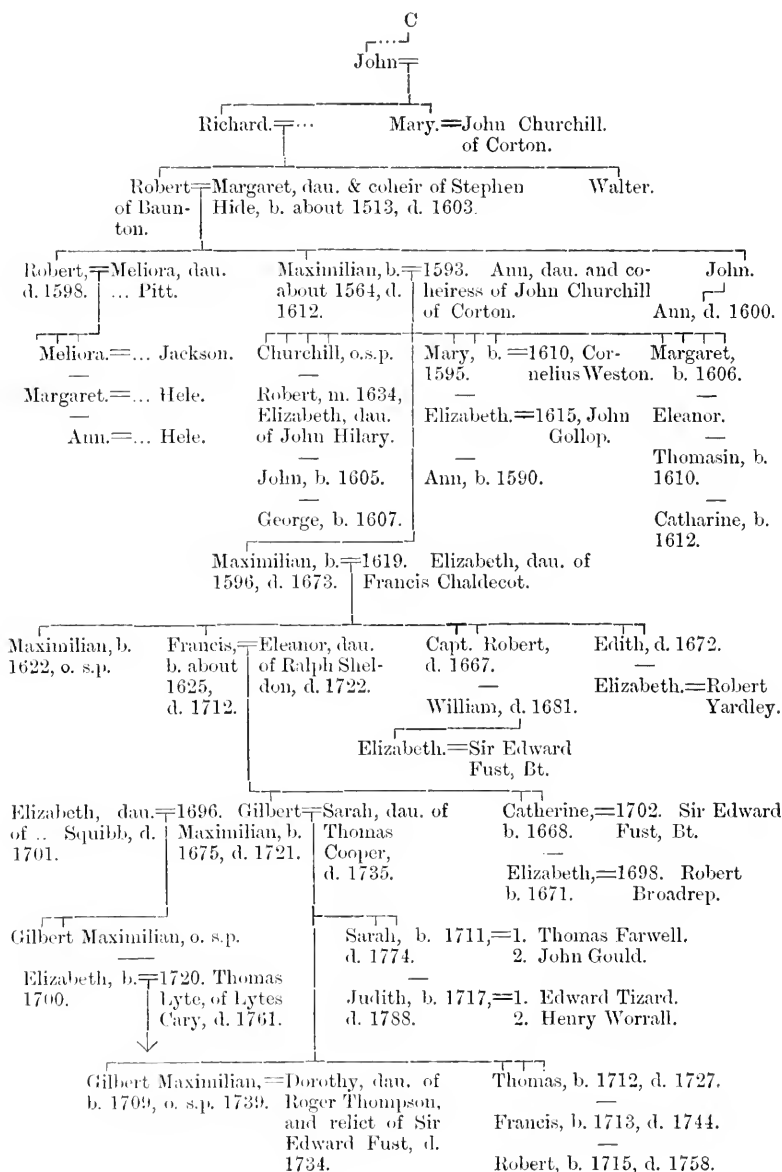
## PEDIGREE OF THE MOHUNS OF HAM MOHUN.



## PEDIGREE OF THE MOHUNS OF TAVISTOCK.

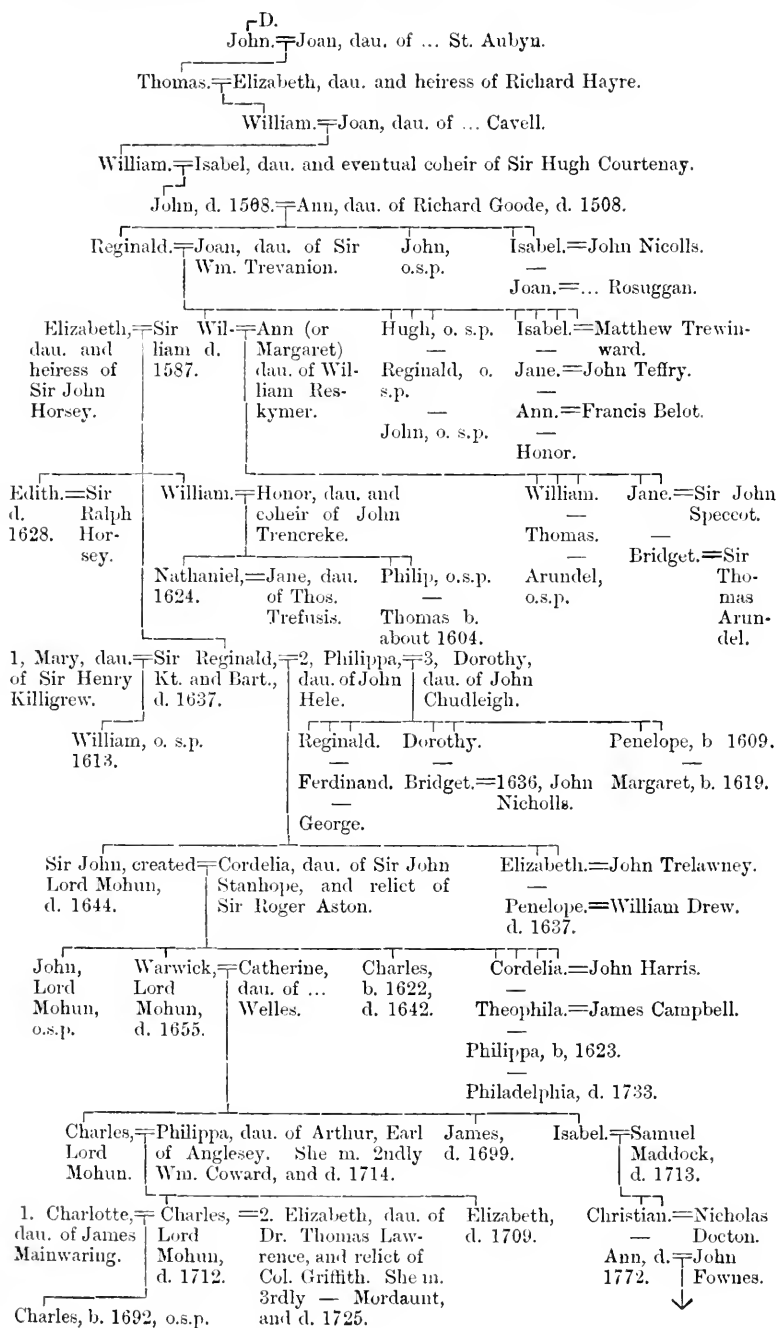


## PEDIGREE OF THE MOHUNS OF BAUNTON AND FLEET.





## PEDIGREE OF THE MOHUNS OF CO. CORNWALL.



## ON SOME EVIDENCES OF THE OCCUPATION OF THE ANCIENT SITE OF TAUNTON BY THE BRITONS.

By JAMES HURLY PRING, M.D.

While fully recognising the unquestionable proofs of the former presence of the Britons all around us, and in our very midst, it is satisfactory to find that these views have, of late, received remarkable confirmation as regards the site of Taunton itself, from the actual discovery of some highly interesting British remains brought to light in the course of excavations which it was found necessary to make about two years ago within the premises of the Taunton Union Workhouse. By the discovery in question, we are furnished with specimens of the minuter handicraft of the Britons, exhibiting no mean artistic skill, and showing them to have made considerable advance in arts and manufactures, and not to have been merely the rude barbarians, which it has been too commonly the custom to represent them. It was in February, 1877, that at a depth of about three feet below the surface, the workmen employed in the Union grounds came upon a hoard of bronze articles. There was first a surface soil of about 1ft. 6in., beneath which, at about the same depth in the red clay below, the bronze objects were found to have been buried, without the least protection of any kind. The clay was stained a dark colour for some distance around and beneath, apparently from slight decomposition of the surface of the metal. The following is a list of the remains thus discovered.

1. Twelve celts or bronze axe-heads, of the usual forms, nine of them having a loop at the side, whilst in the remaining three the loop is absent. The pattern varies a little in each, one has a beautifully curved edge, and one a straight cutting edge. Another has flanges at the side for the reception of the handle, slightly incurved, showing an approach to the socketed form. In the greater number, however, no such incurvation is present.

2. A weapon or instrument with a socket for the handle, and a loop similar to the one figured in Wilde's Catalogue, p. 385. Another smaller, also socketed, with the point considerably blunted bearing a close resemblance in this respect to the point of a modern punch.

3. A spear-head of elegant shape, but somewhat broken.

4. A portion apparently of a delicately shaped lance head.

5. Two sickle shaped knives, similar to those contained in a cist, discovered in a turbarry at Edington Burtle, near Glastonbury, which were presented to the Taunton Museum by the late Mr. Stralling.

6. A torque, of the usual twisted or funicular type, in fine condition, with the hooks entire for fastening around the neck, and also an accompanying armlet of the same pattern.

7. A singularly shaped object, consisting of a ring of metal, about three inches in diameter, with a curved stem of about five inches in length, somewhat resembling the half of a gigantic pair of spectacles. This, and portions of four others, bear some resemblance to similar objects which have been found in Ireland, though these latter are more curved, and have a solid disc of metal instead of the ring. The Irish specimens, with solid discs, have been described and figured by Wilde in his *Catalogue of Bronze Antiquities* in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy, and are now regarded as "latchets," the curved stem passing through eyelet holes in the garments, and from their shape they have been styled "spectacle brooches," a name however which seems more applicable to ours, than to those where the ring is filled up with a solid disc of metal.

8. One or two rings apparently for the finger.

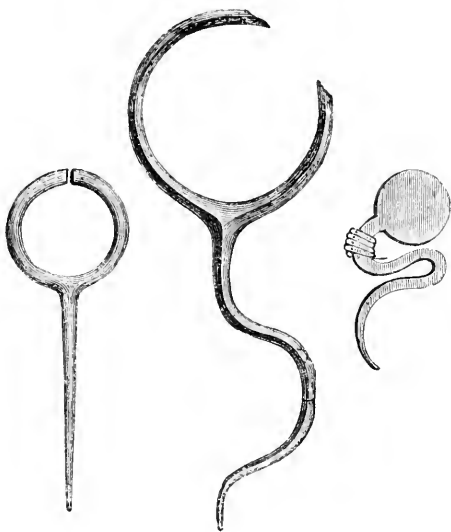
9. Several portions of fine small rings, varying in size, with some pieces of a fine metal ring of much larger circumference, supposed to have formed part of a girdle.

As this Taunton "find" is remarkable both on account of the rarity and great variety of the objects comprised in it, and as it has not hitherto received any notice, it is hoped that a few further observations in reference to it may now prove acceptable. It is generally admitted by the best authorities that bronze relics of the character just described are to be referred to the British era, and a similar mode of burying such objects is found to have prevailed very extensively. In a notice in vol. vi. of the *Archæologia Cambrensis* (4th series), of some bronze implements found in Radnorshire, it is stated that "finds of damaged bronze weapons and other articles, in confused masses and large quantities, occur frequently in the turbaries of Denmark, Scania, and occasionally in Mecklenburg, France (Amiens Museum), and in Ireland, to which we may add the finds at Willow Moor, near Much Wenlock in Shropshire, Pant y Maen, in Carmarthen," &c. When we examine then, the character of this find at Taunton, it will be found to possess features of peculiar interest. It must no longer be associated only with those of a somewhat similiar kind which have at times been made in the turbaries of Somerset between Glastonbury and the sea, but is found to embrace a wider range and to ally itself more especially with those in Ireland, pre-eminently the land of the Kelts. In the Taunton remains, No. 2, we have a specimen of the long, narrow, quadrangular, socketed variety of Celt, of that rare Irish type described and figured in Wilde's *Catalogue* and found at Keelogue Ford, Ireland.<sup>1</sup> Here also

<sup>1</sup> "Of this rare variety there are only five specimens in the Irish Collection" (p. 336, Wilde's *Catalogue*).

we have an instance, which I claim at the present time to be unique, of the peculiar latchet, or cloak-pin, which, whilst approaching in form to the spectacle-brooch of Ireland, and from its shape and character apparently employed for the same purpose, yet differs from it in some essential respects. The rarity indeed of this object would seem to demand for it a somewhat fuller and more special notice in this place. On a closer examination it will be found that this latchet, like the fine small rings, exhibits considerable delicacy of workmanship, whilst they possess in common the somewhat rare feature of the lozenge shaped form in their transverse section. I have visited and inspected with considerable care the Albert Memorial Museum at Exeter, the Ashmolean and University Museums at Oxford, and the British Museum, without being able in either instance to discover any thing at all similar to these latchets. And in the case of the University Museum at Oxford, I have to acknowledge my obligation for the assistance so kindly rendered me by Professor Rolleston, and in the instance of the British Museum to make the same acknowledgment as regards Mr. Franks, who most obligingly accompanied me through the whole British department of the Museum, without however being able to point out to me any thing similar to these objects. I may mention also that with the like negative result I have examined Professor D. Wilson's *Prehistoric Annals of Scotland*, Worsaae's *Primeval Antiquities of Denmark*, Lubbock's *Prehistoric Times*, and many similar works; in fact, to sum up what may be said on this point, I will merely add that this form of latchet, or cloak-pin, is neither figured nor described in that copious repertory of such objects, the admirable descriptive Catalogue of the Antiquities in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy, by the late Sir W. R. Wilde. After these remarks, however, the fact must not be allowed to pass unnoticed that the Taunton Museum contains an object bearing a near approach to these latchets, but of ruder form and workmanship, and with a straight instead of a curved stem. It has been described as a "Gwaell," or British brooch, found some years since in the Glastonbury turbaries, and it was presented to the Taunton Museum by the late Mr. Stradling, who refers to it in the Proceedings of the Somersetshire Society as "a curious British pin or brooch sometimes used after the arrival of the Phœnicians, for the purpose of fastening the robe at the neck."<sup>1</sup> Having quite recently been in correspondence with Mr. John Evans respecting the Taunton latchet or cloak-pin, I may mention that he has very obligingly sent me drawings of several "bronze pins" which he considers "bear a family likeness" to this object, which he speaks of as a "bronze pin longer and somewhat different in form from any thing of the kind which he has seen." He regards it as belonging to "quite the close of the Bronze Period, as its analogies seem rather with 'late Celtic' objects." Coming as they do from one of our highest living authorities, the value of these remarks, especially in assigning an approximative date to these objects, will be duly appreciated. In point of form, the Taunton latchet appears to me to hold an intermediate place between this British brooch and the Irish spectacle-brooch, resembling the former in having the open ring instead of the solid disc, and the latter in the partially curved character of its stem, as shown (one-third full size) in the engraving. The

<sup>1</sup> Proceedings of the Somersetshire Archaeological Society, vol. i, p. 51.



beautiful green colour and polished surface exhibited by these Taunton remains are due to their having acquired a patina or coating of malachite, formed on their surface in the long process of centuries, and which is rarely seen in greater perfection.

Various theories have from time to time been proposed to account for the singular fact that numerous groups of British remains similar to the present have so frequently been discovered buried in the way described in this instance. It was suggested by Stukeley that members of the Druidic order, or those holding the Druidic faith, resorted to this practice of "thus laying by these objects when they embraced Christianity."<sup>1</sup> It has been stated also that about the period referred to, several edicts were issued by the Roman senate; Phelps<sup>2</sup> refers to one A.D. 179, for the abolition of the Druidic superstition, or the suppression of Druidism. It would therefore seem not altogether unreasonable to suppose that in deference either to religious sentiment,<sup>3</sup> or to a mandate of the latter kind, the owners of such objects may have been led thus to conceal or dispose of them. The more modern view, which seems to enjoy present popularity, is, that these objects were the property of wandering artisans, amongst whom the strange practice prevailed of thus burying or concealing their "stock in trade." Whether this latter theory is more credible, or is to be preferred to either of the former, I leave others to decide, but would cite in reference to it the pertinent remark of Mr. Humphrey Wickham, who says, "although very many hoards of Celtic remains have from time to time been turned up in Great Britain, yet, I believe no melting

<sup>1</sup> *Archæologia*, vol. v, p. iii.

<sup>2</sup> *History and Antiquities of Somerset*, vol. i, p. 37.

<sup>3</sup> Even in recent times, the burial of these objects has been ascribed to religious influences. Thus, Worsae, observing how frequently the articles had

previously been purposely twisted and damaged, was led to the conclusion that they were thrown into turbaries or the place of deposit, "in accordance with the superstitious practice of the people, as a votive offering to their deities." (*Archæ. Cambriensis*, vol. vi, 1th series, p. 19.)

pot or crucible has ever been found among the articles deposited. From this I should infer that these hoards belonged not to artificers, but to resident tribes or families."<sup>1</sup> Before passing from the notice of these objects I feel I should be wanting in an act of justice to one no longer amongst us, if I omitted to point out how nearly their discovery had been already foreshadowed, and how completely it has served to confirm the predictions of the late Mr. W. A. Jones, who in a highly interesting series of papers, read at meetings of the Somerset Archaeological Society, expressed his belief that there was a British settlement on the ancient site of Taunton, and concludes his observations in these remarkable words. "For a confirmation or refutation of this hypothesis, we must wait until some lucky chance may bring to light the undoubted tokens of the occupation which we now regard only as probable." Such "undoubted tokens" of the confirmation of what Mr. Jones modestly termed his "hypothesis," I take to be the interesting group of objects to which I now have the honour of calling attention.

\* \* It may here be mentioned that a further "find" of British remains has recently been made on quite the opposite side of the town of Taunton to that on which the objects just described were discovered in the Union grounds in 1877. It was on the 30th December, 1879, that in the course of the construction of a sewer at *Sherford*, the workmen employed came upon a hoard of six bronze celts and a spear-head, all of which are now deposited in the Taunton Museum. Whilst this fact tends still further to establish the correctness of Dr. Pring's general view as to the existence of a British settlement on the site of Taunton, it is right to add, that in that part of his paper which treated of the British roads round Taunton (but which want of space compels us to omit) a British trackway was for the first time assigned to this locality at *Sherford*, and it must be regarded as satisfactory that the accuracy of this observation should thus, as it were, so speedily have received confirmation by the actual discovery, after the lapse of a few months, of British remains at this very spot.

<sup>1</sup> *Archæologia Cantiana*, vol. xi, p. 125.

## OBSERVATIONS ON THE SUPPOSED SWORD OF SIR HUGH DE MORVILLE.

By R. S. FERGUSON, M.A., F.S.A.

Some little time ago I was written to about a story that at Brayton Hall in Cumberland is preserved the sword with which Sir Hugh de Morville killed Sir Thomas à Beckett,<sup>1</sup> or rather with which Sir Hugh de Morville kept guard in the transept while the murder was being committed. The story goes on to say that the sword was formerly in Carlisle Cathedral, suspended over the grave of Hugh de Morville.

This fable, in its main features, has long been familiar to me. The sword in question is at Brayton Hall in Cumberland, the seat of Sir Wilfred Lawson, who tells me that Dean Stanley was here many years ago, and that he considered the story about the sword to be all nonsense. Sir Wilfred does not know how the tale ever got afloat. He says the sword is in the hand of an old figure of a man in armour, which has been in the house as long as he can recollect.

The story is worth examination, for it is connected with a gross and misleading error in the early history of Cumberland, which had its origin in the *Chronicon Cumbrie*, a brief chronicle formerly preserved in the Priory of Wetheral, and printed by Dugdale in the *Monasticon*. Mr. Hodgson Hinde, writing on the Early History of Cumberland in the *Archæological Journal*, vol. xvi, p. 234, and exposing the many inaccuracies of this *Chronicon Cumbrie*, says:—"Another mistake is the identification of Hugh de Morville, lord of the barony of Burgh, with his more notorious namesake, the murderer of Thomas à Becket. Hugh was a common name in the Morville family, as appears by various documents in which we meet with the name of Hugh de Morville, at dates and under circumstances which show that it could be neither of the above. Hugh de Morville of Burgh was the grandson of Simon de Morville, who was probably the brother, and certainly the contemporary, of Becket's assassin. The former survived to the reign of John; whereas the latter is stated by all the biographers of the saint to have died at Jerusalem, whither he had gone on a pilgrimage in expiation of his offence, and to have been buried in front of the Temple within three years of the murder. He was lord of Westmoreland, and of Knaresborough in Yorkshire, at the same time that Burgh was possessed by Simon, the grandfather of his namesake." This error was augmented and amplified in the much quoted manuscript history of Cumberland by John Denton of Cardew, written probably in the time of Queen Elizabeth, and brought down by

<sup>1</sup> Murray's *Handbook for Kent and Sussex* (1858), p. 168.

Mr. Denton to 1610. He there says, writing of the lords of the Barony of Burgh (Burgh on Sands) in Cumberland :—

“After W<sup>m</sup> Engayne succeeded S<sup>r</sup> Hugh Morvill, as son and Heir of Ada sole daur & Heir of the s<sup>d</sup> William. In the time of Hen: 2<sup>d</sup> this S<sup>r</sup> Hugh Morvill was of great possessions in Cumberland he was Lord of Burgh Barony Lassenby and Ishall. In Westmorland of Temple Sowerby Hofton &c. and about Wharton he had divers Lands. The great mountain Hugh Seat Morvill was called after him. He was one of the four Knights who killed S<sup>t</sup> Thomas à Becket Archbishop of Canterbury. After which Deed he came to great misery, He gave therefore the Rectory of Burgh to the Abbey of Holme Cultram which the Bishops of Carlisle Bernard Hugh and Walter did appropriate to the Monks. The sword that killed S<sup>t</sup> Thomas was at Ishall in my father's time and since remaineth with the house of Arundel. He was greatly hated of the Churchmen of his time, therefore they wrote many things to his Dishonour, hardly to be credited which I omitt. After great Repentance he died & left two daughters his Heirss Johan wife to Richard Wornn or Gerun (Gernon) & Ada wife first to Richard Luey 2<sup>nd</sup> to Thomas Multon and 3<sup>d</sup> to W<sup>m</sup> Lord Furnival.”

As Ishall or Isel belonged to the Hugh de Morville, who was lord of Burgh, it is clear that the sword seen there by Denton's father would do so too, and that Denton has libelled the sword just as the *Chronicon Cumbrie* libelled its owner.

Now, as Denton says that the belibelled sword “since remaineth with the house of Arundel,” how comes it, that a sword with a similar history, is at Brayton? As Ishall or Isel was the original seat of the Lawsons in Cumberland, it is easy to account for the legend shifting from one house to the other, and the sword that is at Brayton may be the one that Denton's father saw at Isel. But I am rather inclined to think it came from elsewhere.

In Aikton churchyard, Cumberland, is a fine monumental slab, which has on it, where a cross is usually found, a large two-handed sword, about three feet five inches long, with a cross piece eight inches long, the quillons being slightly bent towards the point of the sword. The sword and foliage carved round it are in high relief, a moulding runs along the edge of the stone, and on it at intervals occurs the dog tooth ornament. The sides of the slab are ornamented with foliage, and its date seems to be late XIIIth century. Be that as it may, the local legend is that this is the tomb of Sir Hugh de Morville, that this is the sword with which he killed à Becket, that he resided at Down Hall in the parish of Aikton, and that his sword was kept there until it was taken to Brayton. We come round again to the same error. The Sir Hugh de Morville, who owned Aikton and Down Hall, and left them to his daughter Johan Gernon, was the same man with the innocent Lord of Burgh, so that this sword, too, has been wronged.

I think it very probable that within the last 150 years some sword has been taken from Aikton church or Down Hall to Brayton Hall, more probable than that the sword now at Brayton is the one that Denton's father saw at Ishall. But, wherever that Brayton sword came from, sure am I that it is not the one with which Hugh de Morville of Westmoreland and Knaresborough kept the transept in Canterbury Cathedral while Thomas à Becket was done to death.



Not having seen the sword now at Brayton, I cannot say whether it has any claim to be of the date of the Hugh de Morville Lord of Burgh.

As for the connection of the sword with Carlisle Cathedral, it is clear that if the murderer was buried before the Temple at Jerusalem, he could not be also buried in Carlisle Cathedral, and the story of his sword having been there falls to the ground. A Sir Hugh de Morville may have been buried in Carlisle Cathedral, though there is no record of such burial. A Sir Hugh de Morville is buried in Great Salkeld church in Cumberland, and he is neither of the two I have been writing about.

Since writing the above remarks, Sir Wilfred Lawson has kindly sent me the sword for exhibition at the Institute. It turns out to be a basket-hilted broadsword, the blade is 2 feet  $8\frac{1}{2}$  inches long and the tang  $6\frac{1}{2}$  inches. The blade has on it a German motto—

“Gott bewahrt die aufrecht Schotten.”

I have also, by accident, lit upon the following passage in “the Ancient Family of Carlisle,” by the late Mr. Nicholas Carlisle, which explains what is the figure of a man in armour, mentioned by Sir W. Lawson. Writing of one Thomas Carlyle, an organ-maker and carver in Carlisle, who died in 1816, aged 83, Mr. Nicholas Carlisle says, “But his chief performance was finished in his sixty-seventh year (*i.e.*, 1801), when most men are suffering under the infirmities of age. This was a statue, as large as life of Sir Hugh de Morville, which he made for the late Sir Wilfred Lawson, Bart., of Brayton House in Cumberland. It is clothed in armour, and holds *the very sword* with which that celebrated knight assisted in delivering the country from Thomas à Becket the insolent Primate of Canterbury.”

This does not explain what reason the Sir Wilfred Lawson of 1801 had for connecting the broadsword exhibited at the Institute with Sir Hugh de Morville. Did he find it at Brayton? did he get it from Down Hall or Aikton? or did Thomas Carlyle get it for his patron from Carlisle Cathedral, where Thomas Carlyle did vast mischief, being the perpetrator of the ugly and doomed Bishop’s throne and pews. The broadsword was very likely left in the cathedral by some of the Highlanders who were imprisoned there in December, 1745. It is probably not much earlier in date.

## Original Document.

### A COMPUTUS ROLL OF THE RECEIPTS OF GLASTONBURY ABBEY IN THE YEAR 1515.

From the Muniments of JOHN FRANCIS FORTESCUE HORNER, Esq.,

Communicated by the REV. CANON C. W. BINGHAM.

Computus fratris Ricardi Whityng<sup>1</sup> Receptorum Casualium (Domino Abbati de) Glastoniâ provenientium a festo Sancti Michaelis Arch-angelî Anno Regis (Henrici) septimo Et anno Domini Ricardi Beer<sup>2</sup> Abbatis xxiii<sup>to</sup> usque ad (idem) festum tunc proximè sequens. Videlicet per unum Annum integrum.

*Nota.* De remananto nihil causa patet in Rotulo Computûs Anni precedentis.

		<i>li.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Recepta denariorum pro Baronis.	De preposito Glastoniæ -	xxiiij	v	i
	De preposito de Weston <sup>3</sup> -	xij	v	ij
	De preposito de Othery -	vij	x	vij
	De preposito de Myddelsowys -	vij	iiij	xi
	De preposito de Mells -	xxiiij		
	De preposito de Wryngton -	xxviiij	xviiij	
	De preposito de Southbrent -	xviiij	xiiij	
	De preposito de Lympleshame -	viiij	ij	vj obq
	De preposito de Barghes -	xi	xj	ij
	De preposito de Estbrent -	xxix	viiij	iiij
	De preposito de Asshecote -		xxx	viiij
	De preposito de Storminster -	xxv	viiij	viiij
	De preposito de Strete -		lv	
	De preposito de Baddebury -		xx	
	De preposito de Asshebury -	vi	iiij	xj
	De preposito de Uplyme -	xv	xij	vi
	De preposito de Kyngton -	xiiij	xvj	i
	De preposito de Buclond -	xix	ix	i
	De preposito de Cristomalford -	xv	vi	v

<sup>1</sup> Richard Whityng, the last Abbot of Glastonbury, whose execution in 1539 is so well known, appears to have been at this time the Bursar, or *Thesaurarius*, under his predecessor, Richard Beer.

<sup>2</sup> Richard Beer was installed in 1492. Thus Michaelmas, in his 23rd year, *i.e.*

1515, would synchronize with Henry VIII's 7th, ending April 21, 1516.

<sup>3</sup> All these manors are easily recognized by any one acquainted with the topography of Wiltshire, Somerset, and Dorset.

	<i>li.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
De preposito de Nettelton -		cij	ix
De preposito de Graynton -		xli	xi
De preposito de Idmyston -	xij	ix	ij
De preposito de Hame -	iiij	iiij	
De preposito de Withies -		v	
De preposito de Grutelyngton		vij	xi
De preposito de Wynterborne		vij	v
De preposito de Myddleton		xxiiij	iiij
De preposito de Domerhame	xlij	xv	xi
De preposito de Markesbury		xxxvi	i
De preposito de Walton		cij	ix
De preposito de Northelode		xxij	x
De preposito de Shapewyke	xviiij	vij	vij
De preposito de Estpennard		lix	iiij
De preposito de Godenhay		liiiij	iiij
De preposito de Baltonsbrugh	xi	xix	x
De preposito de Budecombe		xxxvj	x
De preposito de Pulton -	xxx	xvij	ij
De preposito de Doultynge		lvij	iiij
De preposito de Buddlecleghe	iiij	ix	ij
De preposito de Dychesyate		e	vj
De preposito de Marnhull	xvj	xiiij	vij
De preposito de Westpennard	vij	xviiij	iiij
De preposito de Mere -	vj	xij	
De Ballivo Villæ Glaston -	vi	xvij	v
De Ballivo Villæ de Newton		evij	vj
De Ballivo Villæ de Whitleigh	ix	iiij	xj
De Ballivo Villæ de Whitstone	xi	iiij	vj
De Ballivo Villæ de Brente -	vij	vij	ix
Sum' ccccij <sup>li</sup> xv <sup>d</sup> q. <sup>1</sup>			
Exitus personatum. De exitu personat' de Sowy	lxxij	iiij	ob
De firma personat' de Budeleigh -	xij		
De firma personat' de Baltonsbrugh	viiij	x	
De firma personat' de Doultynge	xviiij	xiiij	iiij
De firma personat' de Domerhame & Merton -	xxij	vj	viiij
Sum' cxxxiiij <sup>li</sup> xiiij <sup>s</sup> ob.			

Recepta foris. De Laurencio Dovell pro 52 pellibus } bonum pretium cujuslibet 3 <sup>s</sup>	7	16	0
Et de eodem pro 13 pellibus Bovicularum } pretium cujuslibet 2 <sup>s</sup>	1	6	0
Item de eodem pro 73 pellibus Vitulorum } pretium cujuslibet 2 <sup>d</sup>	12	2	
Item de Thoma Mayow pro 14 duodenis & 3 } pellium ovium a festo Sancti Michaelis Arch. usque festum Carniprivii pretium duodenæ 3 <sup>s</sup> 1 <sup>d</sup>	2	4	2

<sup>1</sup> The sum total of these figures, as they stand here, does not quite come out accurately; but there are some so faint in

the original that probably they may have been mistaken.

	<i>li.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Item de Willielmo Edwards pro 12 duodenis & 6 pellium ovium a festo Paschæ usque festum Natale Sancti Johannis Baptistæ pretium duodenæ 10 <sup>d</sup>		10	5
Item de eodem pro 12 duodenis & ij pellium ovium A festo Nat. St <sup>i</sup> Johannis Baptistæ usque festum St <sup>i</sup> Mich. Arch. pretium duo- denæ 21 <sup>d</sup>	1	1	1½
Item de eodem pro 16 pellibus Agnellorum -		1	0
De Incremento granorum in la Southend hoc Anno	23	0	5
De exitu Scabellorum (?) <sup>1</sup> Glastoniæ hoc anno -	1	3	4
De fratre Roberto Clerk pro redditu unius Hospicii in London infra Newgate ibidem vocati le Crowne, viz., pro termino nativitatis St <sup>i</sup> Johannis Bapt. in Anno Domini Ricardi Beer Abbatis Glastoniæ decimo nono	1	5	0
De eodem pro redditu dicti Hospicii pro Annis 20 <sup>mo</sup> & 21 <sup>mo</sup> dicti Domini Abbatis, viz., pro duobus Annis integris	8	13	4
De exitu terræ et tenementi nuper Nicholai Baronis in Langleigh in manu <sup>2</sup> domini exist- entium eo quod heres ejus infra ætatem existit	1	10	0
De exitu terrarum et tenementi nuper Petri Knogle in Myddelton Podymore in manu Domini existentium ratione minoris ætatis Leonardi filii et heredis dicti Petri hoc anno	1	6	5
De exitu terrarum & tenementi nuper Johannis Gerard in Asshecote simili modo in manu Domini existentium hoc anno	7	4	
De exitu terrarum & ten <sup>1</sup> nuper Johannis Basyng in Estpennard ratione minoris ætatis Willielmi filii & heredis predicti Johannis ultimi 13 <sup>s</sup> 4 <sup>d</sup> solutis Thomæ Hymerford pro quâdam annuâ pensione sibi per Cartam indentatam dicti Johannis concessam. Et ultra 13 <sup>d</sup> solutis militi de Templecombe, viz., pro capitali redditu	1	17	4
Et ultra 18 <sup>d</sup> quod Dominus perdonavit Johanni Adams de parte redditûs sui hoc anno. Et ultra 8 <sup>d</sup> solutis ad hundredam de Whitestone pro sectâ suâ ibidem boum <sup>3</sup> (?) per Annum relaxatâ			

<sup>1</sup> This word might be *Scabelli*, or *Scabellorum*. A conjecture has been made that it might be the *Shambles*. Du Cange, however, gives no such interpretation of the word : though he appears to identify it in one sense with *Scamellum*, a footstool. His main sense is, "Modus agri, quantum uno die excoli potest." Had the

Abbot anticipated the idea of Cottage Allotments ?

<sup>2</sup> This word is a conventional abbreviation in the original, possibly for "custodiâ."

<sup>3</sup> I am at a loss to decypher this word. Might it not be a service of so many days oxen for ploughing due to the Abbot ?

	<i>li. s. d.</i>
De exitu terrarum et ten <sup>i</sup> nuper Thomæ Samwell de Mells ratione minoris ætatis Johannæ filiæ & heredis ejusdem Thomæ. Viz: in Anno Dom <sup>i</sup> Ricardi Beer Abbatis 22 <sup>do</sup> 111 <sup>s</sup> 10 <sup>d</sup>	£ s. d. 5 6 10
Et non plus in illo Anno, quia per mortem Johannis Turner nuper Collectoris reddituum ibidem perduntur £4 8s 11 <sup>d</sup> eo quod idem Johannes tempore mortis suæ non habuit bona nec Catalla alicujus valoris ad satis- faciendum, &c.	
Et de exitu terrarum et ten <sup>i</sup> nuper predicti Thomæ Samwell ratione minoris ætatis Jo- hannæ filiæ et heredis ejusdem Thomæ hoc Anno.	10 0 6
De Johanne Foxe Custode <sup>1</sup> Sygnorum domini apud Mere pro 5 Sygnis ibidem venditis pretium capitis 3s 4 <sup>d</sup> hoc anno	16 8
De Camerario <sup>2</sup> Glastoniæ et cæteris Officiariis ex parte Conventûs pro Camerâ Domini, Cultellis, Speciebus, et aliis Domino debitis hoc Anno	10 6 8
De Johanne Hayward pro Anguillis provenienti- bus de exitibus Gurgitum de Haccheswere & Whitteswere venditis hoc anno.	14 0 0
De eodem pro aliis piscibus Domini Abbatis apud Mere venditis hoc Anno	5 0 0
De eodem pro Anguillis vocatis Snyggs <sup>3</sup> Ven- ditis ibidem hoc anno.	3 13 4

<sup>1</sup> There can be no reasonable doubt that this must be the Swanherd at Mere, but why cygnus should be spelt with an "S" I know not. ("C" is often put for "S," and so the converse may be the case).

<sup>2</sup> It is hard to understand why the *Camerarius*, who had charge of the dormitory, should pay the Abbot for its use,

or the *Cellerarius* for the knives, splices, &c.

<sup>3</sup> Snyggs, I presume to be a smaller sort of eel. "Snigglings for eels" was a kind of fishing not unknown, at least to the last generation: Halliwell has, "Snig, a small eel, North." The text proves that it was "South," too.

## Proceedings at Meetings of the Royal Archaeological Institute.

November 6, 1879.

The Rev. C. W. BINGHAM, F.S.A., in the Chair.

At this the opening of a new session the CHAIRMAN took the opportunity of congratulating the members on the conspicuous success of the Taunton Meeting, which held a place among the very best that the Institute had ever held. A great number of places of interest were visited, the meeting was largely attended by members of the Institute and persons of position in the county, and the general excellence of the papers read in the sectional meeting proved the wisdom of holding another meeting in the county of Somerset.

Mr. W. BURGES read a paper on "Il Caporale at Orvieto," which is printed in vol. xxxvi, p. 343. In the course of a general discussion which followed, Mr. Burges said that the enamels on the reliquary in question presented no traces of Byzantine art, but were the purest and best Gothic, as good, in short, as the finest English work.

Irrespective of its artistic value, Mr. Burges' paper is important in another way, for it satisfactorily disposes of a very puzzling mis-statement in Agincourt's *History of Art*. It is always a most difficult matter to correct historical or other inaccuracies when once they have been put into print. "Verify your references" was a favourite observation of the late Dr. Routh, for he knew how blindly one author copied another, and how fables were added to fables. So it happens, for instance, that Lady Godiva and Peeping Tom still flourish at Coventry, and that the men of Carnarvon still persist that Edward II. was born in the Eagle Tower, although both these bubbles have been long since exploded, and is it not rooted in the minds of the people that every cross-legged effigy necessarily represents a Crusader at least, if not a Templar, in spite of the many contradictions that this particular fallacy has received? Any corrections of loose statements in print may therefore be gladly welcomed, for if a fact has been once misrepresented in a standard work of reference its refutation is extremely difficult and often a matter of many years, probably because, as Grafton says, "foolishness is much regarded of the people where wisdom is not in place."

The Rev. R. BELLIS then read a paper "On some Mural Paintings lately discovered in the Church of St. Clement, Jersey." In connection with the subject of "Les trois Vifs et les trois Morts" the following inscription was found :—

"Helas sainte Marie et quesse

Ces troys mors qui t'õs cy hideulx

M'ont fait me plrẽ en gẽe trĩesse

De les vays ainxi piteulx."

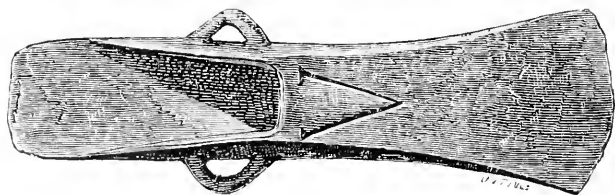




$\frac{1}{3}$  DIAM. OF ORIGINAL.



HALF LENGTH OF ORIGINAL



HALF LENGTH OF ORIGINAL

Antiquities from West Buckland, Somerset.



A discussion followed, in which Professor WESTWOOD, Mr. MICKLETHWAITE, and others took part. It was generally allowed that the paintings were of the early part of the fifteenth century, and that they presented no difference, other than what was purely local, from other work of this period.

Votes of thanks were returned to the authors of these papers.

### Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By Mr. W. BURGESS.—Photographs of the Reliquary at Orvieto.

By the Rev. R. BELLIS.—Tracings of Mural Paintings in the Church of St. Clement, Jersey, drawn by Mr. Charles Poingdestre.

By Mr. W. A. SANFORD.—A bronze torque, a bracelet and two celts from West Buckland, Somerset. These were found about 100 yards below the railway bridge that crosses the Tone, between Wellington and Taunton, on the Bristol and Exeter railway, and about forty yards from the river. They were found in digging a drain, together with a small quantity of charcoal and burnt bone, about four feet below the surface. There were no traces of a tumulus. The torque was broken in digging up and the missing portion of the bracelet was not found. Mr. Sanford informs us that two other bronze celts of the same character as those found with the torque and bracelet were discovered some years ago on the top of a low hill in the parish of Nynhead, about a mile and a half from the site of the West Buckland find, on a hill called Burrows, where are slight indications of earthworks. The late Mr. Warre traced a small "pah" on the hill, and polished flints have also been found in the valley of the Tone below it, also a British urn in one locality, Roman copper coins in another; and of an earlier period, but still at the same depth, the remains of mammoth and other prehistoric animals.

It is evident from the appearance and grain of the bronze that the torque<sup>1</sup> was twisted and not cast, the metal having been previously shaped for the spirals. The double looped celt is remarkable and very rare, not more than three or four having been found in England.<sup>2</sup> The bracelet is flat on the inside and not repoussé; it has apparently been cast in a mould, and the delicate marks cut with a tool.

By Mr. T. MARLOW.—An illuminated pedigree on vellum of the Moreland family; headed as follows:—

"A pedigree of the Name & Family of Merland now called Moreland wherein it appeareth their residence was in Somersetshire & that the Ancestors of this family for many years held the Manor of Orchardeleigh in Capite, as the records of King Edw. the 2 & Edw. the 3. here inserted specifie: Since w<sup>ch</sup> tyme they transplanted into other Counties vldt'. Gloucester Oxford & Wilts &c where also they were seized of diuers lands as in the descent following may be seene. Whereunto likewise is added the line of Walton a good family in y<sup>e</sup> County of Kent setting down their coat-armes, and marriages, with a continuance of descent vnto Christopher Moreland of Strowde and to Elizabeth his wife y<sup>e</sup> daughter of William Walton of Adlington in y<sup>e</sup> same County both liueing A<sup>o</sup> D<sup>ni</sup> 1647."

<sup>1</sup> See *Journal*, vol. v, p. 325; vi, 81; *Archæol.*, xi, 94; xxix, 372; *Proc. Soc. Ant.*, i, 234.

<sup>2</sup> See *Proc. Soc. Ant.*, 2nd ser., vol. v,

p. 398; *Journal*, ix, 387; x, 247; xxv, 246. For Irish examples see *Journal*, viii, 91; ix, 194; Wilde, figs. 274, 393; *Proc. Soc. Ant.*, iii, 232.

The pedigree is 8ft. 7in. long and 2ft. 6½in. wide, and is attested at the end as follows:—"The arms and descent of Christopher Moreland of Stroud. William Ryley Norroy, King of Arms." The pedigree ends with Frances, only d. of Christopher Moreland of Stroud; she was living in 1647.

By Mr. M. J. C. BUCKLEY.—A collection of embroidered ecclesiastical vestments of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. These comprised a dalmatic woven with the scene of the Annunciation regularly repeated, a chasuble exactly like one at Glastonbury, another of the same date as the Syon cope, restored with velvet of the seventeenth century, and another with the original velvet. Mr. Buckley gave a general description of these vestments, which were obtained from various churches in France, and Mr. Micklethwaite added some remarks.

By Miss A. CURTIS.—A piece of bead work representing the marriage of Charles II. with Catherine of Braganza. This formed part of the cover of a cabinet, and was formerly in the possession of the ancient Lincolnshire family of Kyme.

By Captain E. HOARE.—A MS. in pencil, apparently partly in cypher, possibly of the period of the Irish civil wars.

December 4, 1879.

The Rev. J. FULLER RUSSELL, F.S.A., in the Chair.

Mr. R. S. FERGUSON sent a paper "On the Supposed Sword of Sir Hugh de Morville," which was read by Mr. HARTSHORNE, and is printed at p. 99.—The Rev. J. M. GATRILL read a paper "On a recent discovery at Greenhithe," which will appear in a future number of the *Journal*. This careful account of a "Dane Hole" elicited some remarks from Sir H. LEFROY, who spoke of the positions of the skeletons that had been found, and the Rev. S. BARING GOULD compared the pit with one at Royston of the same general character. Thanks were voted to the authors of these papers.

### Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By Sir WILFRED LAWSON, Bt., M.P.—A basket hilted broadsword said to have belonged to Sir Hugh de Morville, and bearing the inscription, "Gott bewahrt die aufrecht schotten." This is no doubt a '45 broadsword,—not a claymore, which is distinctly a two-handed weapon, and the German inscription may be partly accounted for by the fact that there were many Jacobites in Austrian regiments at the time of the Rebellion; to one of these officers it may have belonged. With reference to the service of Scotchmen on the continent in earlier times, it may be mentioned that the Armorial de Sabre at Brussels contains many coats of Scottish families of distinction. A roll of arms at Paris is said to contain 124 Scotch shields.

By the Rev. J. M. GATRILL.—A human skull, pieces of pottery, &c. from a pit at Greenhithe.

By Mr. J. D. GRANT.—Vessels of Pottery and Stone Implements from an ancient cemetery in the Tinnevely district of the Madras Presidency. Mr. Grant communicated the following notes upon these objects:—

"There are, as far as I know, four of these ancient burying places in the Tinnevely district of the Madras Presidency; probably there are others undiscovered. They occur also, I believe, in other districts of Madras, but of those I know nothing, and will confine myself in the following notes to those of Tinnevely.

"The site of that in which the accompanying pots were found is a spur of land rising to a maximum height of fifty feet above the surrounding country, the selection having been made apparently with a view to the position being beyond reach of the river floods which now swamp the neighbouring lands. Above the limit of high floods from the Tamprapoomy river there are literally thousands of bodies buried.

"The other burying places referred to show similar peculiarities of site for apparently similar reasons. The soil is in all cases the same, disintegrated quartz, overlying quartz rock, which has occasionally been dug into to form a receptacle for the large pots.

"Next as to the position in which the pots are found. Interments seem to have been carried out on no system whatever, or at all events on so many different systems that it is difficult to trace any method. Pots were buried in some cases with their mouths visible on the ground surface; in other cases they were sunk four to five feet below ground. They varied in size from three and a half feet down to one foot in height. Some were full of stones and earth; some contained bones and small pots; some bones without small pots and *vice versa*. Most frequently, however, the following was the arrangement. A large pot was found with the mouth three quarters of a foot below the surface, its position being indicated by a few stones projecting, which had apparently been used to close the mouth. On examination of the contents the upper two feet or so were found to consist of earth and large stones tightly rammed, below which came bones, earth and small pots intermixed. The skull was found placed in the centre, about six inches from the bottom of the pot and upside down; around it were disposed the arm and leg bones, upright. Then within the circle of upright bones were found small pots, one or two being invariably quite close to the skull. The remaining bones of the body were packed (no other word better describes the arrangement) indiscriminately around the skull.

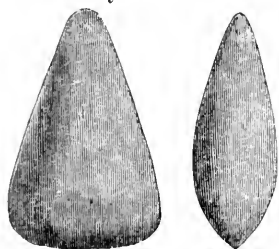
"Remains of iron implements, knives, spear-heads and a sword were found; but in only one, and that a very doubtful case, a trace of bronze. The small pots were generally empty; some contained a small quantity of fine dust, and one the unmistakeable remains of millet.

"The bones were extremely brittle, and it was almost impossible to get them out entire, but when this was effected, the bones were found perfect, the joints entire, and no sign of the bodies having been burnt or roughly dismembered. Even the small finger or toe bones and teeth were found.

"The skulls and bones were of ordinary size, somewhat larger than those of the average native of the district; the skulls were well shaped.

"It may be mentioned that on the hill, where these remains are buried, were found two stone implements of the annexed form, which are here engraved half full size. None of this shape, however, were found buried; the only stone implements found with the bones being a hone and a sort of pestle, such as might be used for grinding seeds.

"The present inhabitants of the district can throw no light on the subject. They say the race which adopted this mode of burial existed 16000 years ago, that they were

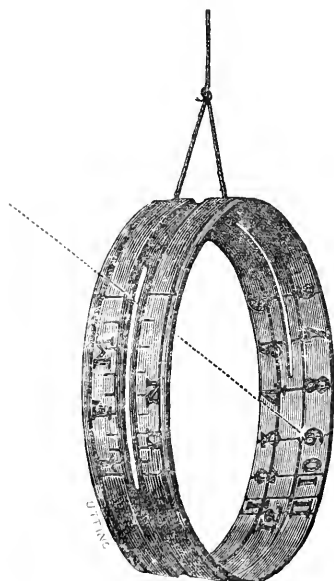


immortal, and year by year decreased in size, becoming more malignant as they grew older. They used also to seat themselves in the triangular recesses (used for lights) in the walls of houses and temples, from which positions they jeered at and insulted the passers by, till endurance was no longer possible, when they were seized, put into pots, and buried alive. A large quantity of these pots and their contents were sent to the Berlin Museum, and when the matter was reported to the Government of Madras, excavation was put a stop to, till such time as a systematic examination could be undertaken by some one qualified to conduct it successfully.

"To one who has read the foregoing, it seems scarcely necessary to add that I have no knowledge whatever of archaeology, and have recorded simply what was apparent to any observer of ordinary intelligence; this being so, I can offer no suggestion towards an explanation of this peculiar mode of burial."

By Mr. HAIR, through Mr. R. S. Ferguson.—A portable brass ring dial or *viatorium*, generally known as a poke or pocket-dial. Mr. FERGUSON communicated the following notes upon it:—

"It was found nearly sixty years ago in a bog in Dumfriesshire, in association with three silver coins, which are described as 'old sixpences,' but which have long been lost. The instrument consists of a brass hoop,



about two inches in diameter and half an inch in breadth, and having two holes, through which a string may be passed for its suspension. An external groove is cut round its circumference, and is perforated by two slits in direction of its length, each about one inch and a quarter long, and situate one on either side the holes for suspension. At the sides of one of these slits are the initial letters of the months of the winter half of the year, namely, I. F. M. in an ascending series, O. N. D. descending; at the sides of the other those of the summer half, namely, A. M. I. ascending, I. A. S. descending. On the concavity of the ring, opposite each slit, is a scale of the hours. A narrower and moveable ring, now lost, ran in the external groove, and had a small boss with a hole through it for the passage of a ray of light, as indicated

on the woodcut. This boss being set opposite the initial letter of any month, and the apparatus suspended opposite to the sun, the hour will be given with tolerable accuracy by the point of light impinging on the hour scale.

"On the exterior of the ring are the initials S. H. M., probably of the maker.

"Similar poke-dials are described in the *Reliquary*, vol. ii, p. 153

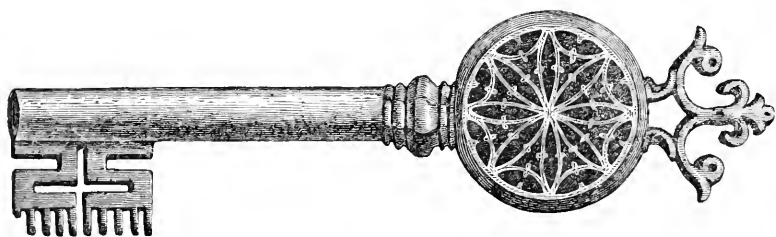
(with engraving). *Transactions Soc. of Ant.*, vol. iv, 2nd series, pp. 267, 442, 445. *Archæological Journal*, vol. xxvi, p. 184; *Journal British Archæological Association*, p. 263, vol. xix, p. 71. None of these seem exactly similar to the one now described. It differs from that engraved in the *Reliquary* in having the scale of months divided, and set half on each side of the holes for suspension.

"What are the letters M. H. S. set to the scale in this ring and in that engraved in the Reliquary?"

By Mr. W. J. BERNHARD SMITH.—Beads and bugles of rock crystal, onyx, lapis lazuli, cornelian, amazon stone, glass, enamel, &c., and nine copper coins of the date of the early part of the thirteenth century, all found together in the bed of a water course in Oude.

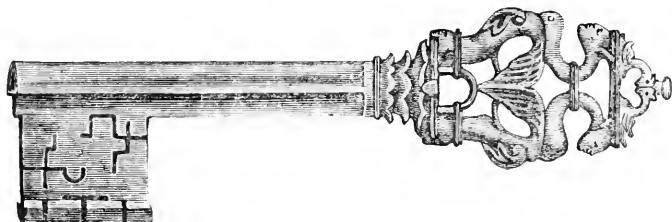
By Lient-General Sir H. LEFROY.—A grotesque head in terra-cotta, from British Honduras, wearing two large circular ornaments in the ears. It is shaded by a species of canopy, resembling the raised visor of a knightly helmet, with ornamentation, which implies that the idea was really derived from a Spanish helmet, and therefore suggests a date as late as the sixteenth century. Above the visor is a species of beak between two circular holes, or eyes, recalling the Minerva head on the pottery from Troy. The whole is nine inches high. Sir Henry Lefroy, also exhibited a large vase in terra-cotta.

By Mr. H. VAUGHAN.—A miniature, representing Peter Martyr, Italian work, early sixteenth century; two Gothic keys, Italian work, of which one is here figured. The length is six inches. The head is filled with



tracery patterns, that on one side being filed out of the solid, the other, of an entirely different design, being let in and braized. The delicate file work in iron of this period may be seen in great perfection in the hands of clocks, in which objects it was continued almost up to the present time, in ever diminishing beauty. But the fashion of stamping the shapes of clock hands out of thin plates of steel into very inferior forms has now quite supplanted a once beautiful art.

Mr. Vaughan also exhibited a French Renaissance key five inches long, in general form very like the so-called Strozzi key which was lately sold for the high price of £1,200.



The meeting was also indebted to Mr. Vaughan for the exhibition of a volume of the first copies of the *Spectator*, No. 446, showing the first stamped number.

By the CHAIRMAN.—Examples of painted glass Roundels, Flemish or German work, early in the sixteenth century.

The rumoured demolition of the remains of Tonbridge Castle was spoken of at the Meeting with much regret.

### Notices of Archaeological Publications.

LOCH ETIVE AND THE SONS OF UISNACH, with illustrations. London, Macmillan & Co., 1879.

The vestiges, myths, and traditions of the primitive races by which these islands were peopled before the dawn of authentic history, as well as of those of their kindred on the continent, are, year by year, increasing in interest. Several Welsh scholars have treated of the subject so far as the Principality is concerned, Professor Cowrie and others have done the same for Ireland, the Vicomte de la Villemarqué has written of the Cymri of Brittany, and Dr. Williams in his *Prehistoric Scotland*, and Mr. Skene in his most valuable, but as yet unfinished, work the *History of Celtic Scotland*, have done much for that country. Scotland, however, affords a vast field for investigation as yet very imperfectly explored, and it is with pleasure we have perused the work at the head of this notice. We regret that the author should have withheld his name, for, using his own words in a similar case, we say, "we like to know the name of one who does much good and loving work;" nevertheless his intimate acquaintance with the locality and affectionate interest in every remarkable object, whether of nature or art, marks him, clearly, as a native of the district. The "book," he says, "was begun as the work of holidays, and was intended to be read on holidays, but there is not the less a desire to be correct," and this desire is manifest in every page.

Loch Etive is one of the most important of the lakes which pierce the sides of the western highlands of Scotland. This and its neighbourhood form the scene upon which the work is based.

In early times a very close connection existed between Erin and Alba, by which names Ireland and Scotland were then known. Mr. Skene shews that the two countries were almost regarded as the same territory, from the free and unrestrained intercourse which took place between them, and according to tradition Loch Etive formed the retreat of the sons of Uisnach when they fled from Ireland in the following circumstances. The legend is briefly this: In Ulster lived a very beautiful damsel named Deirdre, whom Conor, King of Ulster, was bringing up to be his wife, but she cast her eyes upon Naisi, the eldest of the sons of Uisnach, a powerful noble of that country, and made, what we should deem, unmaidenly advances to him. Naisi could not resist the temptation to make her his wife, and taking his beautiful bride, with his two brothers Ainli and Ardan and all his sept, he fled from the power of Conor and settled in the Glen of Etive. Naisi was well received in Alba and became as great a man there as he had been in Erin, and built, or

had built, for him and his brothers a fort which still bears their names, Dun Mac Uisneachan, the Fort of the Sons of Uisnach. Meanwhile Conor affected great regret at the loss of his gallant young chieftains, and sent Fergus, another chieftain, to induce them to return. By fair promises he effected this object, but when Conor got them into his power he treacherously slew them, but he did not secure Deirdre, for by her own hands "she died on the graves of the sons of Uisnach."

The Fort of the Sons of Uisnach is a place of considerable interest, and the site of many misty legends which, together with those attaching to other spots in the district, bearing the names of Naisi, Deirdre, &c., it is our author's object, as far as possible, to clear up. This is one of those vitrified Forts which have only very lately been brought under notice. It is situate on the top of a hill on a platform about 250 or 300 yards long, and about 50 yards broad. The sides of the hill are either actually precipitous or very steep. Vitrified walls are found along the outer edge of the platform, except where there are absolute precipices; and on the western side an inner wall runs along about nine feet within the outer, but "the vitrification is never carried inside where more refined work was required." The dwelling houses were within the enclosure, the apartments not being rectangular. Excavations have been made among the debris, but little has been found except bones of common animals. The only antiquities discovered were an annular iron brooch and some bronze wire. At a point of the north wall was, however, dug up a piece of enamelled bronze,  $1\frac{1}{4}$  inches in diameter, in form resembling a cap or cover, having a hollow on one side into which something might have been fitted. On the other side it is ornamented with concentric circles of red enamel, the centre being a light yellow. It is of the *champlevé* class.

Our author remarks that the vitrified forts were built by men who "quite understood the mode of putting dry stones together in layers, and says a part of the vitrified mass, *in situ*, was overlying a built portion of a wall. Vitrified walls take us far back, but not necessarily beyond the early centuries of the Christian era, since one existing near St. Briene, in Brittany, was evidently built after the Romans had shewn their skill there." These vitrified Forts are not found in Ireland, and were introduced from the east of Scotland to the west. Professor Black states, in a letter printed as an appendix, that there are in Scotland many kinds of stone which can, without much difficulty, be melted or softened by fire to such a degree as to make them cohere together, and, as the whole country was anciently forest, material was abundant for fusing the stones.

In Connel Moss was found a lake dwelling, described as based upon a platform of birch-trees, evidently cut with a sharp axe, and therefore subsequent to the stone age. Probably it is not of any very great antiquity, for old habits and practices would linger long in this remote region. Many cromlechs and other relics of pre-historic times are described, but we must not pursue the subject farther, and conclude with a hearty commendation of the work to all who love the poetical myths and antiquities of our Celtic Ancestors, and like to see them lovingly treated. We have only to add that the work is well and fully illustrated.



INQUISITIO COMITATUS CANTABRIGIENSIS, nunc primum e Manuscripto unico in Bibliotheca Cottoniana asservato typis mandata ; subjiçitur INQUISITIO ELIENSIS, cura N. E. S. A. Hamilton, Londini : Impensis Regiæ Societatis Litterariæ apud Io. Murray, 1876.

The work before us, for which we are indebted to the Royal Society of Literature, contains the Original Returns made by the jurors upon which the Domesday Book for the county of Cambridge is based, and it forms a very important addition to our knowledge of the condition of that county at the time the Survey was made. This valuable and unique record is preserved in the British Museum (Cott. Tiberius A. VI.) and though previously known to a few antiquaries, it has been strangely neglected until brought under notice some years ago by Mr. Nicholas Hamilton, the present able Editor, who was at that time officially connected with the Museum. Who knows what other literary treasures we may not, unwittingly, possess in our public and private collections !

The document is cited by Selden, Gale, and some other writers on Domesday, and is bound up in the same volume as the *Inquisitio Eliensis*, which relates only to the lands held by the Monastery of Ely, and it is most remarkable that the latter should have been selected by the late Sir Henry Ellis for publication by the Record Commissioners in the beginning of the present century, whilst this far more important document, containing as it does, the Lay as well as Ecclesiastical Fees for the county of Cambridge should have been entirely overlooked.

There can be no doubt that the record now brought to light, which is in the handwriting of the period, of which fac-similies are given, contains the original inquisition for Cambridgeshire from which the Exchequer Domesday was compiled. Like the Exeter Domesday, which was printed by the Record Commissioners, the details are given much more fully than in the Exchequer Book, which is merely an abridgement, and contains all the particulars upon which the jurors were commanded to enquire. Mr. Hamilton prints this Record and the Exchequer Book in parallel columns, so that the difference between them may be seen at a glance, whilst an examination of the text will disclose numerous particulars, of considerable interest, with respect to which the Exchequer Domesday is silent, and it will clear up many points upon which that record is obscure.

To make the work more complete is added a map shewing the situation of the places mentioned in the text, and also a reprint of the *Inquisitio Eliensis*, which the Editor has very carefully collated with two MSS. in Trinity College, Cambridge, noting at the foot the various readings ; and he has further printed several documents from the ancient Cartularies of Ely, " which refer to the method employed in obtaining the Survey, and which cannot fail to strike the reader as being of a very remarkable nature."

Very full and complete Indices are appended which greatly add to the value of the volume. They are arranged under three heads : Names of Persons ; names of Places ; and a selection of Subjects which the Editor considered likely to interest, and to be useful in researches of a miscellaneous character.

REGISTER OF THE RECTORS AND FELLOWS, SCHOLARS, EXHIBITIONERS AND BIBLE CLERKS OF EXETER COLLEGE, OXFORD, with illustrative documents and a History of the College. By the REV. CHARLES WILLIAM BOASE, M.A., Fellow and Tutor. Oxford, 1879.

Amidst many difficulties Mr. Boase, by learning, diligence and perseverance, has succeeded in producing a very valuable work. The Preface itself is most interesting. It contains a succinct history of the College from its foundation, as Stapledon Hall, in 1314 by Walter Stapledon, Bishop of Exeter, to the present time. The author cites Bishop Stapledon's original statutes of 1316, showing that the advantages offered therein to comparative poverty were the means of bringing forward many men who attained to great eminence. Whilst allowing that there was some narrowness in the old system, he urges "that the way to rise was not closed to the poor, and that the Universities in the middle ages, and in much later times, had some of the character of a popular body in which learning and study were recommendations." Throughout the whole of this Preface not only is a great deal of light thrown upon the condition of the College and University at all periods, but there are many incidental notices of considerable general historical value, and especially is this the case in such notices as relate to religious matters from the time of Wicliffe to the Revolution, in which matters the College, of necessity, took an active part.

With respect to the construction of the Register of Rectors and Fellows, Mr. Boase states that it has not been an easy matter, the old compilations, for reasons of various kinds, being very defective. There are no contemporary lists of Fellows prior to the commencement of the College Register on 25th October, 1539. The previous names, Mr. Boase says, are given as they stand in the accounts of the Rectors for each term, and as a Fellow is only named when his commons are diminished by his going out of residence for a time the lists are anything but complete, especially as some of the Rectors' accounts are missing. Notwithstanding these difficulties, from the sources available to him Mr. Boase has compiled a very valuable list of Rectors and Fellows. From the foundation of the College until 1384 the Rectors were elected annually, though, being eligible for re-election, they were sometimes chosen for two or three years in succession, but at that date the appointments were made perpetual. To each name, in addition to the election to Fellowships and Degrees, Mr. Boase has been able to append some very interesting notes of the subsequent career of the several persons named, and very often after the middle of the sixteenth century, the date of their birth and their parentage together with the social status of their parents. The list of the Scholars, Exhibitioners and Bible Clerks, for reasons stated, is more imperfect than the former list. Both these lists however, as far as they go, in addition to other advantages are very valuable for genealogical purposes, and the work should be in the library of every genealogist.

It is noted that Arabic numerals began to be used in the Rectors' accounts about 1374, usually employed for purposes of distinction. This is the earliest date known to us of the use of these characters except the two instances brought under the notice of the Institute in 1850 by the late Mr. Hunter : *Archaeological Journal*, vol. vii, p. 84.

# The Archaeological Journal.

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JUNE, 1880.

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## THE LAND OF MORGAN.

CONCLUDING PART.

By G. T. CLARK.

Earl Gilbert was but twenty-three years old at his death in June 1314, and had survived his father nineteen years. By his wife Maud, who appears to have been a daughter of John, son of Richard de Burgh, Earl of Ulster, he had one son, John, who died just before his father, and was buried at Tewkesbury in the Lady chapel. With the earl therefore ended the main line of the great house of Clare, Earls of Gloucester and Hertford. The countess declared herself not only pregnant but quick with child, a statement which gave rise to some very curious legal proceedings between her and the husbands of the sisters and presumptive co-heirs, nor was it until 1317 that the dispute was settled and all hope of issue given up. The case was raised by Hugh le Despenser, husband of the elder co-heir, who prayed for a division of the estates and tendered homage. On this the countess pleaded pregnancy, and offered herself to a jury of matrons under a writ "de ventre inspiciendo," for which, however, Despenser did not move. The question of law as to how long it would be proper to wait was one of extremity, "novum et difficile," some holding that no child born eleven months after the reputed father's death could be really his. The king referred the matter, by a writ of privy seal, to the chancellor and two justices, who advised a reference to Parliament. It was, however, referred to certain doctors of the canon law, and finally came before Parliament in the quinzaine of Easter, 1317, when the statement of pregnancy was abandoned, and it was admitted that by the course of nature the countess "non

posset dici a predicto comite impregnata." The king then accepted the homage of the husbands, all the sisters being married.

Under the Close Roll of 8th Edward II, 1314-15, an assignation of dower was made upon the countess. Upon the Welsh lands she had £440 3s. 1½d., and to make up one third of the issues of Great Marlow, Bucks, £64 12s. 0½d.; total, £504 15s. 2d. She had the castle, manor, and vill of Caerleon, the manors of Llyswini and Llevenyth, and lands in Edlegarn and Little Tintern, besides lands in Berks, Gloucester, Norfolk, Oxford, Suffolk, Surrey, and Wilts.

The returns of the king's escheator shew who were reputed the heirs of the earl, and what lands he held in capite. The returns, being from many counties, were very numerous, but most stated that, saving the pregnancy of the widow, the heirs were the three sisters, then of full age. Some, however, include Isabel, the earl's half-sister, on which point it was decided, "*et quia in aliquibus inquisitionibus continebatur, quod Isabella, prout soror et haeres præfati comitis, simul cum prædictis Alianora et Margareta consideratum fuit, etc. . . . at inquirendum, etc.*" . . . and the further return stated, "*quod non fuit aliqua Isabella soror prædicti comitis que debuit succedere in aliqua parte dictæ hereditatis, sed quod præfata Alianora, Margareta, et Elizabetha fuerunt sorores, etc.*" . . Isabel was of course legally, though most unjustly, excluded, by the surrender of the estate and its re-settlement on the earl's second marriage.

The earl's executors, Richard de Rodney, Ithel de Caerwent, and Richard de Byflet, had a writ to give seizin to the heirs, 15th June, 1317. They had already, 5th July, 1314, got possession of the personalty. On the earl's death, the "*sigillum deputatum*" for the land of Glamorgan was placed in the king's hands, who gave it, 23rd July, 7th Edward II, to Ingelram de Berenger, custos of the land, who, 28th October, 1314, came to the Exchequer and gave it up to the barons.

The actual partition was a tedious business, and "*pendente lite*" the estates remained in the king's hands, and certain "*custodes*" managed them. John Giffard of Brimmesfield, called "*Le Rych*," an active soldier much

concerned in Welsh affairs, had charge of the castles of Glamorgan and Morgan. His father, also John Giffard, had held St. Briavels, 47th Henry III, and Dynevor, 18th Edward I, and seems to have held Brunlais in right of his first wife, Maud Clifford. The younger John was custos of Dryslwyn, 2nd Edward II, and was taken at Borough Bridge and executed 1322. Various details of administration were settled by the king. 7th August, 1314, he granted to Geoffrey de Aysham, the late earl's confessor, the issues of the vacant See of Durham. 14th September, 1314, Bartholomew de Badlesmere was in charge of Glamorgan, and all the officers of the Lordship were to have the same fees as in the time of the earl. Also he is to store the castles. The fees, it appears, were—To the sheriff 100 marcs yearly, two robes, and £6 for an additional horse; to the comptroller, £6 13s. 4d., and 40s. for robes; to the constable of Cardiff Castle, £4 6s. 8d., and £12 for robes; to the constable of Llantrissant Castle, £13 6s. 8d.; of Caerphilly, £40, and for robes £5. The constable of the Tower of London is to receive and hold Morgan de Avene, who will be delivered to him by William de Braose. Morgan was still in the tower 13th July, 1316, when there was some mention of his bails. 14th March, 1315, Badlesmere was to appoint Llewelyn ap Griffith (ancestor of Lewis of Van and Green meadow), to a bailliewick such as he held in the time of the late earl, if he be fit for it. 15th March, the Welsh of Morganok have petitioned the king that the hostages in custody with Badlesmere should be allowed such sustenance from the lands as they were accustomed to have from Earl Gilbert and his ancestors. The king asks how this was, and if the petition be well founded the practice is to be continued. At the same time, 14th March, Llewelyn ap Griffith states that the "Forcelettum de Blank Mouster," our tower of Whitechurch, is "in nullo (novo) edificatum," and that there is a mill there with profits attached to it. The king directs that Llewelyn is to have the "forcelettum," but that Badlesmere is to do with the mill as seems best. The "forcelettum" seems eventually to have reverted to the chief lord, but the land near it still is held by Llewelyn's descendent, Mr. Lewis. Llewelyn further pleads a promise from Earl

Gilbert of 10 marcs rent, of which he has received two by gift in Egloswladus (Capel Gwladys). He also complains of having been unjustly harassed. In 1317, 15th May, Edward orders this to be set right, and the eight marcs to be paid out of the issues of Glamorgan. John, Bishop of Llandaff, also puts in a claim for the tythe of grants of the "new land" in all the extra parochial parts of Dene forest granted by the late king on account of the poverty of the See; and, because there is a question about the boundaries, Ralph de Monthermer, as custos of the Forest, is to see to the matter. In this 8th Edward II, eleven men of Tiriaath were remitted 50 marcs of their fine for rebellion, and those of Neath 200 marcs. They seem to have paid 50 marcs, 3rd Edward II, out of a fine of 200 marcs, and the men of Neath 200 marcs out of 500 marcs, through Badlesmere. To William de Berkerolles is remitted 10 marcs, to John le Noreis £10, and to Robert de Greyndon £10. Also to Leysan de Avene was allowed 40 marcs if he could shew that, as he said, he had expended so much of his own money when directed to defend Kenfig; also a similar payment of 50 marcs to Payn de Turberville. The Abbot of Caerleon stated that Earl Gilbert had taken great part of his land under an exchange, but had not fulfilled the agreement. He had £10 on this account from the issues of Glamorgan.

The same mild and just policy marks all the king's decisions in these matters. The men of Senghenydd complained that the housebote and heybote they had under the earl were taken away by Badlesmere, who had sold the "bosc." In this also they were to have satisfaction. 1st December, 1315, Turberville is to be custos of Glamorgan, with charge of the castles, and to take fealty from all who held of the lordship, whether in Glamorgan or Pembroke. Robert de Greyndon, however, was made sheriff in the lands held by Gilbert de Clare of the king in capite. He held office from the death of Earl Gilbert to the Assumption of the Virgin, 10th Edward II, and had £10 for his expenses against the Welsh. The remissions had reference to the past rebellion, but there was still much local discontent, which in this year broke out in East Glamorgan under the leadership of Llewelyn Bren, a landowner on the left bank of the Taff, within the hill

country. 9th February, 1316, the sheriffs of Gloucester and Somerset, and John de Wysham, constable of St. Briavels, were to provide men and victuals for a force to put down the rising, and Stephen le Blund is to provide the money. 13th February, Humphrey de Bohun was to take the command. Peace was at once restored. 23rd March, Bohun was ordered to send Llewelyn Bren, his wife and sons, Griffith and Gevan, to the Tower, where they still remained, 17th June, 1317. Also, 26th March, Wm. de Montacute, Hy. de Pembrugge, and Robert de Grendon were to sit and take fines in Glamorgan for the breach of the laws. Bail was taken for Llewelina, wife of Llewelyn, for David, Meuric and Ruyn ap Llewelyn, Howel ap Ivor, Ywaun ap Ivor, Llewelyn ap Madoc, Madoc Vachan, Grono ap Res, and Res Miskyn, all, probably, relations or neighbours of Llewelyn Bren. John Giffard is to pay Greyndon's fees as sheriff. For services during the rising, the king gave to Rimus Bol of Sheghere, the land of Sheghere which Rimus Vaughan had held under the earl. To Wm. Fleming was committed the custody of Llantrissant Castle and the forest of Miskyn as bailiff. Also Maurice de Berkeley was to be a justice of South Wales, with the custody of all the king's castles not given to others.

The king's lenient conduct was not appreciated, and ascribed, not unjustly, to his weakness. 20th September, 1316, he informs the Bishop of Llandaff that he hears that many outlaws and other malefactors frequent the Church of Llandaff, and are there received and kept, going to and fro at their pleasure, and committing robberies, etc., in those parts. The bishop is called upon to apply a remedy.

5th November. Letters patent inform the men of Glamorgan that John Walwayn and John Giffard were assigned to receive arrears of fines in those parts for the redemption of life and limb, upon their goods and chattels, under the awards of Wm. de Montacute and his fellows in the year preceding. Of the same date was a writ for the delivery of all the Welsh concerned in Llewelyn Bren's rising who had paid the fines awarded by Montacute, but the effect of the disturbance was long felt, and as late as 1224-5 the Prior of Goldcliff was in arrear

with his tythe on account of Llewelyn Bren's excesses. The Close Roll of 5th February, 1316, states that Ralph de Monthermer and Joan his wife, the king's sister, by charter, at the request of Edward I, granted to Morgan ap Meredith all his land of Edlegarn for life, for £15 yearly, and he was to pay for the remaining lands above that value, but Morgan now states that when Earl Gilbert took seizin he removed him from Edlegarn and in its place gave him Cogan-more hamlet for life, worth not above £10, as the recent inquisition shews, on which Morgan prays that in consideration for his services, past and future, he may be allowed 100s. in land. To this the king consented, and ordered Turberville to see to it.

The three sisters in behalf of whom "*divisus est comitatus nobilissimus in tres baronias*," were all married, and their husbands continued to press for the division of the spoil. They were—1. Alianor, aged twenty-two in 1314, married in 1312 Hugh le Despenser, and on his death, William Lord Zouch of Mortimer. 2. Margaret, aged twenty-one in 1314, married first, Piers Gaveston, and afterwards Hugh d'Audley, the younger. 3. Elizabeth, married first, John, son and heir of John de Burgh, Earl of Ulster, next Theobald Verdon, and finally Roger d'Amory.

As, in the partition, the Lordship of Glamorgan, the Castles of Cardiff and Caerphilly, and the patronage of Tewkesbury, fell to the elder sister, her descendants by Despenser were regarded as continuing the line of De Clare, so far as regarded Glamorgan, and their history alone belongs to the history of that county.

Gaveston, the husband of Margaret de Clare, was a Gascon knight, brought up with young Edward, until the king, seeing his excessive and mischievous influence over the prince, removed him, February 1307, just before his death, and banished him from England. Edward, become king, at once recalled him, and 29th October, 1307, betrothed him to Margaret de Clare, to whom, immediately afterwards, he was married, at Berkhamstead, an appanage of the Earldom of Cornwall just granted, 6th August, to Gaveston. The new earl's follies and arrogance, and his alternate prosperity and adversity belong to the history of the reign. He was beheaded 19th June, 1312,



and the long list of his possessions occupies five pages in the *Fœdera*. Edward buried him with great ceremony at Langley, and himself placed two palls of cloth of gold upon his tomb. By Margaret he left a daughter, Joan, whom he had proposed to betroth to Thomas, son and heir of John, Lord Wake. Wake, however, married elsewhere without the king's licence, for which he was fined heavily. Joan was then betrothed by the king to John, son of Thomas de Multon, Lord of Egremont, both then very young. Edward promised her £1000 portion, and she was to have a jointure of 400 marcs per annum. The £1000 was paid as a fine by Wake to Multon, 11th Edward II. Joan probably died early, for she is not again mentioned, and Multon married another lady, 14th Edward II.

Hugh de Audley, whom Margaret next married, was son of Hugh, a cadet of the Barons Audley, of Heleigh Castle. She was then styled widow of Piers Gaveston, and having become a coheirress, she had by partition, 11th Edward II, the castle and tower of Newport, the manors of Stowe, Rempney, Dyneley, and Maghay, the hamlet of Frenebothe (Ebbw), and the commote of Wentloog. Thornbury also came to her, and much English property. Thus the Monmouthshire portion of the lordship was cut off from the Glamorgan part. 15th Edward II, Audley was in arms for Thomas of Lancaster, and was taken at Boroughbridge, but pardoned owing to his wife's interest.

20th Edward II. Maria, widow of William de Brewose held in dower one-third of the manor of Buckingham and of the hamlet of Burton ? parcel of it, of the heritage of John de Brewose, all which, together with two parts of the said manor and hamlet are held of Hugh de Audley and Margaret his wife, of the heritage, etc., and John is of full age. This was no doubt a part of the old Giffard estate, inherited by the De Clares.

7th Edward III. Audley was fighting against William le Zouch of Mortimer. He served in Scotland, and 23rd April, 1337, was created Earl of Gloucester by patent to him and his heirs. He was allowed a grant out of the issue of the earldom instead of the usual third penny. As Earl of Gloucester he was much employed by Edward

III in war, and held a command at Vironfosse. 14th Edward III, he was in the sea fight at Sluys. 16th Edward III, he went into Brittany with a retinue of 100 men at arms, a banneret, 20 knights, 78 esquires, and 100 mounted archers; a princely retinue. 17th Edward III, he was in Scotland.

Audley died 1347, leaving by Margaret one daughter, Margaret, aged thirty years. She married Ralph, Lord Stafford, and carried to that family Thornbury and large estates in Monmouthshire and elsewhere, which descended to the Dukes of Buckingham of the name of Stafford.

Notwithstanding the terms of the patent the earldom was dropped on his death, nor was it again revived in his descendants.

Elizabeth de Clare, the third sister, was much the greatest lady of the three. To her was adjudged the Honour of Clare, with lands in Dorset and Monmouth. She married, 1, John de Burgh, Earl of Ulster, who died 1313, and by him was mother of William, Earl of Ulster, whose daughter and heir Elizabeth, living 1355, married Lionel, 3rd son of Edward III, in whose person were revived his wife's honours, he being created Earl of Ulster and Duke of Clare or Clarence. Their daughter Philippa married Edmund, Earl of March, and through her the House of York derived its claim to the throne.

Elizabeth married secondly, at Bristol, 3rd February, 1315, Theobald de Verdon, otherwise Butler, as his second wife. The marriage seems to have been clandestine, and the lady by no means coy. De Verdon was charged before Parliament with having on the Wednesday after the 2nd of February, 1315, 18th Edward II, forcibly abducted Elizabeth, widow of John de Burgh, and the king's niece, from the castle of Bristol, where she was lodged in ward to the king, having been summoned thither from Ireland. His defence was that he never entered the castle, but that Elizabeth came forth a league from it to meet him, when they were married. He gave bail to meet the charge. De Verdon was of Newbold-Verdon and a baron, and had probably made the lady's acquaintance in Ireland, where he was justiciary. He did not long survive, dying 27th July, 1316. He was buried at Crokesden, co. Stafford, leaving Elizabeth

pregnant with a daughter, Elizabeth or Isabel, born on St. Benedict's day following her father's death, and coheir with her two half-sisters of the Verdon estates. Dugdale makes her marry Henry, Lord Ferrers of Groby, who did homage for her lands 5th Edward III, and died 15th September, 17th Edward III, by whom she had William, Lord Ferrers. She survived Ferrers, and, says Dugdale, died 25th July, 23rd Edward III. It appears that in her grants, Elizabeth the elder did not use the name of Verdon, but styled herself Elizabeth de Burgh, Lady of Clare.

On the death of Theobald de Verdon Elizabeth married a third husband, Sir Roger d'Amory, baron of Amory in Ireland, to whom about that time, 10th Edward II, Edward granted Sandal in Yorkshire, and manors in Oxford and Surrey, and soon afterwards, in 1319, Nicholas de Verdon prayed to be admitted to the lands of his late brother Theobald. In d'Amory Elizabeth gained a husband who was able to protect her through most of the troubles of the latter part of the reign of Edward II.

14th and 15th Edward II, he was Governor of the castles of Ewias-Lacy, Gloucester and Bristol, and warden of Dene Forest. He also had Knaresborough Castle. He was, on the whole, opposed to the Earl of Lancaster, and acted with Badlesmere and Pembroke, binding himself in 1317 by a bond for £10,000, to do his best to lead the king to be governed by those lords. In 1320, however, he joined the general body of the discontented, probably from dislike to the Despensers, and 8th December, 15th Edward II, 1321, a writ was issued for his arrest, which preceded his death but a few months, he dying at Tutbury, 1322, when his body was given up to his widow, who buried him at Ware Priory.

Edward at first seized his lands for rebellion, but speedily relented, and the Close Roll, 2nd November, 1322, directs that Elizabeth de Burgo is to have her lands in divers counties. Soon afterwards, however, 7th January, 1323, it is declared that, whereas Elizabeth de Burgo, the widow of Roger d'Amory, knight, the king's niece, has receded from his presence without licence, her lands are to be seized.

By Roger d'Amory Elizabeth had one daughter, Elizabeth, who married John, Lord Bardolf, aged 17, 3rd Edward III, who made proof of age and had livery of his lands, 9th Edward III. The marriage took place, 10th Edward III. Bardolf was an active soldier and saw much service. He died 3rd August, 1371. Besides two daughters, Isabel and Agnes, mentioned in their grandmother's will, they had William, father of Thomas, Lord Bardolf, who was returned as cousin and heir of Sir Roger d'Amory. He also inherited lands from Elizabeth de Clare.

Elizabeth de Clare was the foundress of Clare Hall, Cambridge. She died 4th November, 1360, leaving a will, dated 25th September, 1355, of great length, and disposing of large personal property. It has been printed by Nichols in his royal wills. She therein styles herself as before Elizabeth de Burgh, Dame of Clare, and directs her body to be buried with the Nuns Minorites in Aldgate. She founded masses for the weal of de Burgh, Verdon, and d'Amory, 'Mes seignours;' and left legacies, among a host of persons, to Nichol. d'Amory her executor, and to John de Clare. 'A ma sale apelle' Clare Hall she left £40 and some plate, the endowment being already completed. To the two Orders of Brothers at Cardiff she left £6, and she mentions her heritage in Clare, Dorset, and Monmouth. Her seals are well known to those curious in such matters, and have often been engraved. One, given in Montague's Guide to the Study of Heraldry, has a central roundel charged on an escutcheon with 3 cinquefoils for Bardolph, and round it 8 roundels charged, 1 and 5 with a plain cross for De Burgh; 2 and 6, a castle for Castile; 3, barry undy a bendlet for d'Amory; 8, a lion rampant for Leon; and 7, three chevrons for Clare. Another seal has in the centre d'Amory, and on roundels placed about it England, Clare, de Burgh with a file of 3 points, and a fret for Verdon, while four intervening roundels carry Castile and Leon for her grandmother Eleanor of Castile.

And thus came to an end the great house of De Clare. The Despensers continued the female line in Glamorgan through various vicissitudes, transmitting it finally to the Beauchamps, whence it merged in the Nevilles, whose

heiress marrying Richard Plantagenet gave occasion to his becoming Duke of Gloucester, on whose death as Richard III at Bosworth, the Lordship escheated to the crown.

During a part of the reign of John, and the whole of those most eventful periods in Welsh history, the reigns of Henry III and Edward I, and for much of that of Edward II, the De Clares were Lords of Glamorgan, and upon Glamorgan they mainly relied for their immense political power. Their wealth, indeed, they drew from their English estates, and especially from those comprising the Honours of Clare and of Gloucester, but it was the possession of the land of Morgan that enabled them to take a position often opposed to and always independent of their sovereign. The position, no doubt, had its sources of weakness as well as of strength; the sons of Morgan, brave in arms and unbridled in their zeal for liberty, were always ready to take advantage of a change of masters, of a minority, or of any weakness of purpose in the reigning earl, but at other times, when the lord was firm and moderately just, they were not indocile subjects, and followed him and served him faithfully in war. In another respect the history of Glamorgan, under the house of Clare, bears upon a very interesting section of the history of England. Under the early Norman sovereigns, the lords of the Welsh marches acquired powers utterly inconsistent with the good government of the whole kingdom, powers such as the great feudatories on the continent so long exercised to the serious detriment of the kingdoms of France and Germany. The Earls of Gloucester and Hereford, the Lords de Braose, of Mortimer, Warren, and the Earls of Chester, under a weak and imprudent prince, such as Henry III, threw the whole kingdom into disorder, and gave a refuge to those barons whose estates lay more at the mercy of the crown. These powers the great Edward set himself to work to resume. His conquests were not merely nor mainly over the Welsh, but in reducing the Welsh to submission, he destroyed the main source of the power, as well, indeed, as of the weakness of the marcher lords, and long before the close of his reign, he had so consolidated the principality with England, that even the weakness and folly of his son were unable altogether to break it up.

NOTE—The six papers forming the Land of Morgan having appeared, at varying intervals of time, in four of the volumes of the *Archaeological Journal*, the following table may be found useful for reference. They are intended to serve as an introduction to the History of Glamorgan from its conquest and partial occupation by the Normans.

#### ARCHAEOLOGICAL JOURNAL.

Vol. xxiv, p. 11.

The Land of Morgan : Its Conquest and its Conquerors. Part I.

Vol. xxxv, p. 1.

The Land of Morgan : The Chief Lords. Part II.

Vol. xxxv, p. 313.

The Land of Morgan : The Earls of Gloucester. Part III.

Vol. xxxvi, p. 117.

The Land of Morgan : The Earls of Gloucester and Hertford. Part IV.

Vol. xxxvii, p. 30.

The Land of Morgan. Part V.<sup>1</sup>

Vol. xxxvii, p. 117.

The Land of Morgan. Concluding Part.

<sup>1</sup> This has been wrongly numbered as Part IV.

ON AN INSCRIBED VOTIVE TABLET FOUND AT BIN-  
CHESTER (THE ANCIENT VINOVIUM), CO. DURHAM,  
IN 1879.

By the Rev. Prebendary SCARATH, M.A.

The name and position of Vinovium will probably be familiar to many who have taken an interest in Roman remains in the North of England, and have examined Mr. Maclauchlan's survey of the line of the Watling Street, made for Algernon, Duke of Northumberland. It will be seen from the survey that it is situated at a bend of the river Wear, in the county of Durham, and lies on the opposite or northern side of that river, directly facing the park of the Bishop of Durham, at Bishop Auckland. The position is very strong, the ramparts well defined, and it has been described by Camden, and by Burton in his commentary on Antonine. It is given by the geographer Ptolemy as one of the cities of the Brigantes, and is mentioned together with Epiacum (Lanchester), and Cateractonium (Caterick), being placed between them. In past years several interesting inscriptions have been found there, and they have been recorded, and may be seen in Hübner's "Britanno-Roman Inscriptions," vol. vii, of the *Corpus I.L.*, edited by Professor Mommsen.

The station is well known to local antiquaries, and has been described by the county historian Hutchinson, who mentions the remains that were brought to light, as the bank above the river Wear, on which it is situated, gave way, and slipped down to the level of the river.

No attempt had been made to investigate this station until the year 1878, when permission was obtained to uncover the remains, and ascertain what indications of former occupation still existed.

The proprietor of the land, the Bishop of Durham, and the tenant, equally concurred in the desire for investi-

gation, which has taken place under the auspices of Dr. Bruce, and the Rector of Byer's Green, the Rev. R. E. Hooppell, LL.D.

The latter gentleman has read a very interesting account of the result of the exploration of the station to the Society of Antiquaries, Newcastle-on-Tyne (February 26th, 1879), which has since been printed.

This has been followed by an account of the Votive tablet discovered in the autumn of the present year (1879). Unhappily a portion of the tablet has been broken off and lost, but the part that remains enables the whole to be for the most part accurately restored.

The inscription is as follows (the missing portion is included in brackets):—

[AES]CVLAPIO  
[ET] SALVTI  
[PRO SALV]TE. ALAE. VET.  
[TONVM] C.R. M. AVRE.  
[L.CRV]S[OCOMAS. ME.  
[V. S] L. M.

Read thus—To Esculapius and Salus. For the health of the Ala (or Wing) of the Vettones, Roman citizens, Marcus Aurelius Crysocomas (or Habrocomas) Physician, willingly and deservedly pays his vows.

The tablet is erected to Æsculapius and Salus, and is dedicated by a Physician, whose cognomen must be left to conjecture, as the first portion of the name is lost, and the letters OCOMAS only remain, which may be variously supplied as in the above rendering.

The chief interest of this inscription consists in its being a further testimony to the fact that the Roman troops in Britain were supplied with medical officers, and secondly, it leads to the presumption that the Ala of Vettones, or body of Spanish cavalry, were stationed at Vinovium.

Some years since a very interesting essay was written by the late eminent physician, Sir James Y. Simpson, Bart., on the subject "Was the Roman Army provided with Medical Officers." This is now published with his other Archæological Essays (1872).

In this essay a number of inscriptions are given, some being similar to the Binchester "find."—(See Gruter, supposed to be found at Rome.)



ASCLEPIO ET  
SALVTI  
COMMILITONVM  
SEX TITVS ALEXANDER  
MEDICVS . CHO . V . PR.  
DONVM DEDIT

Line erased on stone

AVG . VIII.  
T. FLAVIO SABINO<sup>COS.</sup>

On this stone the name of Domitian is erased, in whose reign it had been cut, but the year is marked by the name of the consul, T. Flavius Sabinus. This places the date before the end of the first century, at which time we see that the Roman army was supplied with medical officers. Sextus Titus Alexander, Physician to the 5th Pretorian cohort, offered a gift to Esculapius and to Salus, or for the health of his fellow soldiers.

The wording of this inscription is different to that lately found at Binchester. This latter has the words PRO SALVTE after the name of the god Salus, as may be inferred from the TE remaining in the third line, but the inscription given in Gruter has these words omitted, and the divinity Salus seems to have a two-fold meaning; another similar inscription is given in Gruter (p. 68, 2) where PRO SALVTE is also omitted after SALVS.

The North of England has been somewhat rich in Roman monuments, erected either by, or in commemoration of, medical officers connected with the army.

At Housesteads (Burcovicus), in Northumberland, was found a very perfect monument to ANICIVS INGEVNVS, who died at the early age of XXV, and is styled MEDICVS ORDINARIVS of the first Tungrian cohort.<sup>1</sup>

At Lanchester (Epiacum), not far distant from Binchester, being the next station northward in the line of the Watling-street, a Greek inscription to Esculapius was found, put up by Titus Flavius Titianus, the *χιλιαρχος* or tribune. It is also inscribed in Latin,<sup>2</sup> but is imperfect.

Another Greek inscription was found at Chester, and is dedicated by Hermogenes a physician, to the gods the perpetual healers;<sup>3</sup> only a part of the altar remains.

<sup>1</sup> See Bruce's *Roman Wall*; also *Lapidarium Septentrionale*.

<sup>2</sup> See Hübner's *I.B.L.*, No. 431.

<sup>3</sup> See Hübner's *I.B.L.*, p. 48.

It has been supposed that the dedicator was physician to the Emperor Hadrian, and it is about the date of that emperor.

Physicians appear to have held various ranks in the Roman armies.

Thus we have *Medici Alarum*, *Medici Cohortum*, *Medici Legionum*, also *Medicus Duplicarius Triremis* (one of the proofs that medical officers were on board the fleets also).<sup>1</sup> I need not mention the other titles which were not essentially military or naval.

Vegetius, when describing the duties of the "*Prefectus castrorum*," mentions that they extended over the sick soldiers and those physicians who had the care of them.<sup>2</sup>

The next point which is of interest in this newly-found inscription is, that it commemorates the *Vettones* or Spanish cavalry, from the province of Salamanca, between the Douro and the Tagus.

They are mentioned by Lucan in his *Pharsalia*, book 4, "*Vectonesque leves, profugique a gente vetustâ Gallorum*," and Silius Italicus also mentions them (*Punic War*, book 3), and celebrates the swiftness of their horses.

They are mentioned in several inscriptions found in Britain, one at Bowes in Yorkshire,<sup>3</sup> one found in Bath,<sup>4</sup> another lately found at Brecon,<sup>5</sup> and one at Chester. This latter is now in the British Museum, and is an altar dedicated *FORTVNAE REDVCI AESCVLAP. ET. SALVTI EJVS*.<sup>6</sup>

Eight inscribed stones have been found at Binchester; and three of these, including the one here described, mention the *Vettones*.

The monumental stone in Bath seems to have been erected to a soldier of the *Vettonian Ala*, who had come there for the benefit of the hot springs, and died; and that found at Bowes commemorates the restoration of a building which had been burned, and was restored under the supervision of a Prefect of the *Vettonian Ala*. Binchester is not more than eighteen miles from Bowes,

<sup>1</sup> See *Inscrip. Lat. Select. Orelli*, Turici, 1828, 3507, 3508, 448, 4996, 3648; also Gruter, *Inscrip. Rom.*, p. 68 and 269, *Museum Veronense*, p. 120.

<sup>2</sup> *Vegetius*, lib. ii, cap. 10.

<sup>3</sup> See Horsley's *Brit. Rom.*

<sup>4</sup> See *Aquæ Solis*, p. 64.

<sup>5</sup> See *Archæological Journal*, vol. xxxvi, p. 161; also *Lapidarium Walliæ*, pl. 42, fig. 3, and p. 76.

<sup>6</sup> See Hübner's *I.B.L.*, p. 48.

and it is not improbable that the Vettonian Ala, of which he was prefect, was stationed at Vinovium.

An altar, now in the Chapter library at Durham, found at Bincchester, is dedicated by MARCVS VALERIVS FVLVIANVS PRAEFECTVS EQVITVM. Another is a sepulchral monument to an officer named NEMONTANVS, a decurion, corresponding to our captain of cavalry, both officers stationed at Vinovium; and we have other inscriptions on which the letters VETT occur at Bincchester.

A tile has been found with the letters NCON. The first or *left*-hand stroke of the last letter is detached from the v, this has been read both as IV and as N, and the whole lettering as either:—

Numerus Cohortis quartæ,  
or    "    "    Concordientium,  
or    "    "    Consaturentium,

Dr. Hooppell supposes this to indicate a company of the Vettonian Ala recruited in the neighbourhood of Concordia<sup>1</sup> or Consabrum, cities of Spain, near the Vettonian borders, if not within them.

Other tiles have the mark NCON, where the *right*-hand stroke is detached instead of the left, and this seems to confirm the reading; but more tiles may be found and the uncertainty cleared up.

Dr. Hooppell has, in his lecture<sup>2</sup> given at Bishop Auckland, enumerated all the discoveries made in the recent excavations.

He seems to have come to the conclusion that the site was occupied before Roman times by the Brigantes, the ancient inhabitants of this part of Britain. Traces of their ramparts still remain, and the Roman walls of the station have been erected on some portions of the British camp. This succession of structures has been noticed in other places in Britain, which I need not here enumerate. There seems also to be proof that the station after being occupied and fortified by the Romans, afterwards fell into neglect and partial ruin, and was again re-edified at a later period of Roman dominion. Three distinct periods of occupation are therefore to be traced.

<sup>1</sup> See *Orelli Inscriptions L.S.C.*, Tur. 1828, No. 4082.

<sup>2</sup> "Vinovium the buried Roman city, as

revealed by recent explorations."—Times and Herald Office, Bishop Auckland.

During the excavations this line of the ancient ramparts has been explored, and also the main street of the camp. Baths were known previously to have existed, but more have been laid open, and important buildings have been traced within the enclosure. Coins and a variety of pottery and other objects have been discovered. The coins seem to throw light upon the period of Roman occupation.

I cannot but think that great praise is due to those who have promoted these very interesting investigations, and for the careful way in which every discovery has been recorded. Much probably remains to be discovered, and other inscriptions not less interesting than the one here described, may reward the toil of uncovering.

There is much more yet to be gathered from researches within the stations which accompany the lines of Roman roads. The recent discoveries at South Shields,<sup>1</sup> as well as at Binchester, should stimulate efforts elsewhere. A great deal has come to light since Horsley collected into one volume the fragmentary remains of Roman power in Britain.

If we compare the *Britannia Romana* with the 7th vol. of the *Inscriptiones Britannia Latinæ*, we see how many inscribed stones have been found and chronicled within less than a century, and as the sword is uncovered from the sites which have lain so long unmarked or unexamined, who can say what confirmations of history and what new light may not arise upon a period of our history, fraught with the highest interest to every inhabitant of Britain?

P.S.—Since writing the above I have seen an account of the Saxon Church at Escombe, in the co. of Durham, lately brought into notice through a paper by the Rev. Dr. Hooppell, in the last number of the Journal of the British Archaeological Association (vol. xxxv, pt. iv, p. 380). In it he says “The walls of the church are, as will be concluded from their thickness, exceedingly massive. They are built of Roman stones brought from the neighbouring Roman station (about two miles off) of Vinovium. Many of them have the peculiar Roman broaching or

<sup>1</sup> See *Archæological Journal*, vol. xxxvi. p. 156, 7, 8.

tooling upon them. One has a pellet within an annulet, another has the letters

## LEG. VI.

As the stone stands in the wall, these letters are inverted. Many more evidences of Roman work may exist in the stones at present undiscernible, as the whole church, with the exception of the west end, was covered in early times (probably in the early English period) with rough-cast plaster, the falling off or removal of which in some places has revealed those mentioned." As the preservation and repair of this interesting church is contemplated, and funds are being raised for the purpose, we may hope that further discoveries may be made. The building has a double interest: first, as one of the few remains of Saxon architecture remaining in Britain; and secondly, as being built out of the materials of a still earlier structure of Roman date.

# ROMAN INSCRIPTIONS DISCOVERED IN BRITAIN IN 1879.

By W. THOMPSON WATKIN.

During the year a fair average number of inscriptions have been found in various parts of the kingdom, a few of them being of great interest.

I will commence with Bath, where, in February, a portion of a sepulchral stone was found in York Street, during some improvements for the drainage of the mineral water springs, near the ancient Roman baths. It was built up into a wall. The letters remaining were—

Q . POMPEIVS  
ANICETVS  
\* \* \* . . . . .

There are some portions of letters remaining at the commencement of the third line, which look like CVI, but they are too much worn and shattered to be pronounced upon definitely. I am indebted to the Rev. H. M. Scarth for a copy of the inscription.

At Caerleon, a portion of an inscription recently found (though not last year) and preserved in the museum there, was sent to me by Professor J. O. Westwood, asking for a reading. The extant portion was—

\*SDEMEX  
VOTOPO  
VSVIT

My reading of this was (*ciu*) *sdem ex voto posuit*, which is adopted by Professor Westwood in the *Lapidarium Walliae*. It is on the broken base of an altar.

Early in the year I was favoured by Mr. A. D. Berrington of Pant-y-Goitre, Abergavenny, with a rubbing of an inscribed stone found in “restoring” the church of Llanbadarn Fawr, in Radnorshire. It was necessary, during these operations, to take the walls of the church down and dig at least three feet below the original

foundation. It was then found that a number of dressed stones and lumps of concrete were built into the walls, especially at the west end. Among them was a stone fifteen inches in length by five-and-a-half inches wide, inscribed—

>VAL. FLAVINI

*i.e. Centuria (Val)erii Flavini*—"The century of Valerius Flavinus." The letters are elegantly cut, and undoubtedly of the style of the Higher Empire. There is every reason to believe that the stone came from the Roman *castrum* at Castell Collen, on the banks of the Ithon, within two miles distant. It is of the class termed by Professor Hübner, *tabellae ansatae*, and is the first Roman inscription recorded to have been found in Radnorshire. It was found in 1878, and is now built up into the inside wall of the church porch.

I am also indebted to Mr. Berrington for a copy of the inscription found on a stone at Goldcliff, near the mouth of the Usk—which is now in the possession of Mr. Octavius Morgan, at his seat "The Friars." It is a slab of lias limestone, the material of which the cliff above the spot where it was found is composed, and was found in November, 1878, projecting from the wharf (or grassy land outside the sea-wall) "near the point of the proper left of the mouth of Goldcliff Pill," at a spot where several feet had been carried away by the tide. It was lying at some little depth in the soil, and bones were near it. The inscription is—

COH. I  
D. STATORI  
M / M

The reading of this seems to be *Coh(ortis) I centuria Stator(ii)*, but the last line as it stands seems inexplicable. The stone was found in ground belonging to Eton College, by the provost of which, Mr. Morgan was allowed to retain it, and he intends to deposit it in the Caerleon Museum.

In my list of inscriptions for 1878, I referred (*Journal*, vol. xxxvi, pp. 165-6) to the inscription No. 150 in Dr. Hübner's list (*Corpus Inscr. Latin.* vol. vii), which was found at Llanio, Cardiganshire. The reading of it, given by Sir R. C. Hoare, was COH. II. A . . . FVP, and that by

Sir S. R. Meyrick (*Cardiganshire*, pl. 5, fig. 9), which I did not at the time quote, was—

COH . II-A 'TVR  
TAH I

I expressed the decided opinion, based upon a drawing received from Professor Westwood, showing the upper part of the letters ST after COH . II . A that COH II ASTVRVM was intended. This is not only confirmed by the appearance of the letters TVR in Sir S. R. Meyrick's plate, but also by the recent discovery of a stone built into the south wall of the tower of Llandewi Brevi church, about a mile distant, which is said by Professor Westwood to have borne the inscription—

MIBVS  
I . AST

Of course this is a mere fragment, but from the engraving of the stone given in the *Lapidarium Wallie*, I take the first letters remaining to be AN *ligulate* instead of M, and that the word has been (M)ANIBVS when entire. The stone was nearly circular and was ten inches in diameter, but has unfortunately been removed, and was "sought for in vain during the Lampeter Meeting" of the Cambrian Archaeological Association in 1878. That COH II . AST has been in the second line seems certain. This is the second instance of the presence of auxiliary forces in South Wales, the other being that of the *Ala Hispanorum Vettonum*, named in my last list.

At York, during the past year, there was found a fragment of an inscribed stone tablet bearing the letters—

TRAIANV  
AVG . P

It is evidently part of an inscription, containing either the titles of Trajan or of his successor Hadrian (*Trajanus Hadrianus*).

A second stone found in the same city is described by the Rev. Canon Raine (to whom I am indebted for copies of both this and the previous inscription) as "a label with a double front, under a large head, which has stood originally, it is thought, at the corner of some large tomb." On it are the letters

DM | CE

The letters DM evidently stand for *Diis Manibus*.



An interesting discovery also occurred at Lincoln in April during the progress of the new drainage works. It was that of a Roman milestone, found standing apparently *in situ*, at the intersection of the four great streets of the Roman city, its exact centre. The form of the stone is that of a square pillar, with chamfered angles seven feet four inches high and one foot four inches wide. The inscription upon it, which is rudely and not deeply carved, runs thus—

IMP. CAES  
MARCO  
PIAVONIO  
VICTORI  
NO. P. FEL. INV  
AVG. PONT. MAX  
TR. P. P. P.  
AB. L. S. M  
P. XIII.

Several of the letters are ligulate, but in the above copy I have untied them. The expansion is plainly—Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) Marco Piavonio Victorino P(io) Fel(ici) Inv(icto) Aug(usto) Pont(ifici) Max(imo) Tr(ibuni-tia) p(otestate) p(atri) p(atriae). Ab L(indo) S(egeloco) m(ilia) p(assuum) xiiii. The only other stone found in Britain bearing the name of this emperor, who reigned A.D. 267-8, was found at Neath, in Glamorganshire, and is now preserved at Swansea. It is also a milestone. In the fifth Iter of Antoninus, *Segelocum* is stated to be fourteen Roman miles from Lincoln, and between that city and Doncaster.<sup>1</sup>

I am also indebted to Mr. A. D. Berrington for a copy of an inscription (fragmentary) upon a portion of a tile found at the Roman villa at Bignor (Sussex), and now preserved there. It is

{ORSVE~}

and the letters are *about* four inches high, the s being within an o.

At Escombe, near Binchester (co. Durham), Dr. Hooppell informs me that there has been found built up into the wall of the old church there (of Saxon date) a stone inscribed—

LEG. VI.

*i.e. Leg(ionis) Sextae.*

<sup>1</sup> See *Journal*, xxxvi, 281,

At Binchester itself, during some excavations, two inscriptions were found. The first occurs on a votive tablet of grit stone, much broken on the proper right. In its present state it is twenty-three inches in height, sixteen inches wide at the top, and ten inches wide at the bottom. It would appear to have been originally about eighteen inches wide, and its thickness is about six and a-half inches. On it were sculptured figures of Aesculapius and Salus; the former, larger than the latter, is grasping the left hand of the latter with his right hand; his left hand is on the neck of a serpent coiled round some object. The first portion of the inscription is over the head of Salus, and the remainder beneath the feet of the figures. Dr. Hooppell kindly sent me a squeeze of the inscription, sending another at the same time to Dr. Hübner, and as in the case of the "Regina" monument at South Shields, our readings were identical. The portion of the inscription remaining was—

...	VLAPIO
...	SALVTI
.....	TE . ALAE . VET
.....	C . R . M . AVRE
.....	OCOMAS . ME
.....	L . M .

The reading of this is—(Aesc)ulapio (et) Saluti (pro salu)te Alae Vet(tonum) C.R.M. Aure(lius) . . . . ocomas Me(dicus) . v . s . l . m .

Though recognising ". . . . ocomas" as a portion of the *cognomen* of the dedicator, I would not suggest the probable name. Dr. Hooppell suggested GLOSSOCOMAS, a friend of his suggested CHRYSOCOMAS, whilst Professor Hübner considered that HABROCOMAS was the correct name. The latter is probably the real *cognomen* of the dedicator. My friend, Mr. H. C. Coote, F.S.A., gives this opinion also.<sup>1</sup> The letters c . r . in the inscription stand of course for *C(ivium) R(omanorum)*. The v and e in VET are ligulate, whilst the usual formula, *V(otum) S(olvit) L(ibens) M(erito)* is the expansion of the last four letters.

The only other example in Britain, of a dedication to

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Coote remarks "Habrocomas" is no doubt the *cognomen*; being a *medicus*, he had been a slave, and that name is

common enough for men of that station. The Rev. H. M. Searth suggests *Urrso-comas*.

Aesculapius and Salus, occurs upon an altar found at Chester in the last century, and now preserved in the British Museum. Salus appears separately upon an altar found at Caerleon (and now preserved there), but with the additional title of "Regina;" whilst the only other *Latin* inscription to Aesculapius occurs at Lanchester (the next station to Binchester). It is repeated in Greek on the back of the altar. Another inscription to Aesculapius, but in Greek only, was found at the station at Maryport (*Axelodunum*), and is now preserved at Nether Hall.

The only inscription certainly found in Britain, which names a *medicus*, was discovered at Housesteads (*Bor-covicus*) on the Roman wall. Another inscription naming a *medicus* is preserved in the museum of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland at Edinburgh, but it is doubtful whether it was found in Britain.

It was not previously known that the *Ala Vettonum* (a Spanish cavalry regiment) had been quartered at Binchester. As I have pointed out in my paper on the "Roman Forces in Britain," it was in this country in A.D. 104, as we know from the Malpas *tabula* of Trajan, and inscriptions by it have been found at Bath, near the Gaer at Brecon, and at Bowes, the latter being of the time of Severus.

The second inscription found at Binchester occurred upon a flue tile, which was stamped

MPP.

I consider this to be simply the stamp of the maker, perhaps *M(anu) P(ublii) P(etronei)*, but Dr. Hooppell and others have proposed different readings.

In vols. xxxiii, p. 250, and xxxv, p. 72 of the *Journal*, I have given particulars of a fragment of a *Tabula Honestae Missionis* found at Walcot, near Bath, in 1815. Mr. Lysons' drawing of it, of which I obtained a copy, is also engraved in the *Journal*, vol. xxxiv, p. 318. During the present year I was favored by Mr. C. Roach Smith with a rubbing of the fragment, which he had received from the late Mr. Fox, surgeon, of Huntingdon. It appears that the fragment came into Mr. Fox's possession, and with a large collection of other interesting objects, was purchased at his death by the Literary and Scientific Society of Huntingdon, in whose Museum it now is. I am indebted

to Mr. Gilkes, the Hon. Sec. of the Institution, for another rubbing of it. After considerable correspondence on the subject and a minute inspection of the fragment by several antiquaries, it seems certain that the first line of the side given first in the plate in the *Journal*, instead of being IIA should be ETIA, and thus stand probably for either *Cohors I Asturum* or *Cohors I Alpinorum*. In the second and next line, instead of ET. III A, as I have given it from Lysons, in Mr. C. Roach Smith's rubbing (taken some years ago), the letters are ETXII, with what looks like part of an s following, but the Huntingdon antiquaries give as their opinion that the letters *now* seem to be ETIIP, so that it is uncertain what cohort is named. I am inclined to think that it may have been ET. X. HISP.

On the other side of the plate, where, following Lysons, I have given III ARTIDIO, both Mr. Smith's and Mr. Gilke's rubbings, and also the opinion of the Huntingdon antiquaries coincide in giving THARTIDIO.

But the great value of the inscription consisted in its giving us, what from the word PROCVLEIAN, followed by the words CVI P(RÆEST), was considered to be the *Ala Proculiana*, a cavalry regiment, previously unknown in the Britanno Roman army list. That this hypothesis was correct, the next discovery that I record will prove.

In the month of June Mr. John Clayton commenced excavating the southern gateway of the station of *Cilurnum*, upon the wall of Hadrian, of which he is the owner. Many interesting remains were found of the gateway itself, but amongst the *debris* of the eastern guard chamber, and four feet above the level of the original floor, there were found the remains of two *Tabulae Honestae Missionis*. Of one, the greatest part remained, of the other, merely a fragment. The portion of the former which remains is in two fragments, one of considerable extent, the other only a small one. Like all the other *tabulae*, these fragments have the inscription on both sides of the plate, the repetition of the inscription on one side being at right angles to that on the other side. By these means much of what is missing on one side is restored from the other. The inscription on the nearly perfect *tabula* is as follows:—

## INSIDE.

imp eacs diri HADRIANI f diri trajani part n  
 diri nerveæ prON T Adirs hadrianus an—  
 Toninus arg PIVS pont max tr pot viiii  
 IMP ii COS III p p  
 EQ ET PED qui mil in al iii et coh xi q a arg  
 GAL PROC ET I . . . . . et i hisp aster et i  
 CELT ET I HISP ET i ad dacor et i ad classica  
 ET I FID ET II GALL et ii et vi nervior et iii  
 BRAC ET III LING et iii gallor et sent in  
 BRITTAN SVB PAPIRIO aeliano gringre et vig stip  
 EMERIT M HON missione quorum nomina subscripta  
 SVNT C R QVI EORVM non haberent dedit et  
 CONVB CVM VXORIBVS quas tunc habebissent  
 CVM EST CIV IIS Data decumtaxat singeli  
 . . . . .

## OUTSIDE.

imp CAESAR DIVI HADRIANI F DIVI  
 trajani PART NEPOS DIVI NERVAE PRO  
 nep t aelivs HADRIANVS ANTONINVS  
 arg pirs PONT MAX TR POT VIII IMP II COS III  
 p p eqrit et pEDIT QVI MILITAVIT IN ALIS III  
 et cohort XI qrae APPELL AVG GALL PROCVL ET I  
 . . . . . ET I HISP ASTVR ET I CELTIB  
 et i hisp et i AELIA DACOR ET I AELIA  
 CLASSICA et i fid CARD ET II GALLOR ET II ET  
 VI NERVior et iii BRAC ET III LING ET III GALL  
 ET SVNT IN BRITANNIA SVB PAPIRIO AELI  
 ANO QVINQRE et viginti STIPEND EMERIT  
 . . . . .

The capital letters shew those that are in existence on the fragments, those in small type are supplied as far as the names of the *corps* are concerned from the opposite side, whilst some of the *formulae* are supplied from other examples.

The *tabula* is of the reign of Antoninus Pius, and the words TR . POT . VIII . IMP . II . COS . III prove it to be of the date A.D. 146. It is in favor of three *alae* and eleven cohorts. The name of one of the *alae* is lost; of the others, the abbreviations used are AVG . GALL . PROCVL and I . HISP . ASTVR. The latter is well known from the Rivington *tabula*, and from the *Notitia*, being mentioned in the latter, as stationed at Benwell (*Conclercum*), on the wall of Hadrian, where they have left a number of inscriptions. The other *ala* appears to be that named in the Walcot fragment. We now learn that it bore the prefix of *Augusta*, and was composed of Frenchmen, or rather was of Gallic origin. It doubtless derived its title of *Proculeiana* from the officer who first raised or commanded it. The whole of the eleven cohorts named are well known to have been in Britain. Seven of them occur

in the other *tabulae*, but the *Cohors Aelia Classica* was previously known from the *Notitia* only, whilst the *Cohors I Aelia Dacorum* and *Cohors IIII Gallorum* were known from the *Notitia*, and the inscriptions they have left, but occur in none of the previously discovered *tabulae*. The *Cohors II Gallorum* was previously only known by the inscriptions which it has left at Old Penrith.

Another interesting fact which we gather from the *tabula* is the name of a new Imperial Legate or Governor of Britain, Papirius Ælianus. Whether this legate was the immediate successor of Lollius Urbicus, who we know was in Britain between A.D. 138-144, is a matter of uncertainty. Nothing else is known of him.

The portion of the other *tabula* found at the same time, contains on one side merely a few words of the opening *formula*, and on the other a few letters of the closing *formulae*. They are—

VITRAIANIPAR	HO
TAEIIVS	ROM
IFMAX	VXQV
.....	EVIC.

It appears to be also of the reign of Antoninus Pius, and on the reverse the abbreviations are more condensed than in the other *tabula*. For instance the letters vx.qv. I take to indicate VXORIBUS QUAS, whilst the letters underneath them are very puzzling; the first one in the line instead of being E may probably be a rude CI ligulate.<sup>1</sup>

During the same excavations there was found, built into the wall of the eastern guard-chamber of the gateway, a stone bearing the inscription—

LEG . VI . VI .

The letters were not very deeply cut, and were not of the fine character of the inscriptions of the higher empire.

In his recent excavations at the *castrum* at Irchester, the Rev. R. S. Baker found a piece of wall plaster with portions of a few letters, of what appears to have been a Greek inscription, but nothing satisfactory can be made out.

There is at present preserved at Easton Grey, near Malmesbury, by Graham Smith, Esq., a Roman inscribed

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Clayton, to whom I am indebted for a photograph of these *tabulae*, informs me that their ultimate destination is the British Museum.

and sculptured stone, which is said to have come from a Roman station in the neighbourhood called "White Walls."<sup>1</sup> The sculpture consists of four standing figures, in a recess flanked by short columns, and surmounted by a pediment. On the latter appear the letters

CIVILISIVIS

After the first s all the letters except the second s are indistinct. The I. in the inscription has a very rustic character, and looks like a reversed s, but the other letters are fairly well cut.

I am indebted to the Rev. Dr. Raven of Yarmouth for a sketch of this stone, taken some time since. Without further information I cannot hazard an opinion upon its nature. I have been inclined to read the inscription as CIVILISIVIS, but only conjecturally venture upon this reading. Dr. Raven writes to me concerning the stone-- "The subject seems without question to be the submission of the barbarian chief Civilis, who has his hands fixed in front of him, apparently in some kind of frame. Of the other figures, the leader bears a scroll, the second (probably) the centurion's virga, the third a scourge of some kind (?)"<sup>2</sup>

A few weeks ago, a small portion of the MSS. of the Rev. John Watson, M.A., F.S.A., rector of Stockport, and a well-known antiquary of the last century, were sold by auction in Manchester. In one of the volumes was an account of a journey to Bath in 1776, at the end of which was a list of Roman inscriptions found in Bath, with which the writer was acquainted. He names Dr. Hübner's Nos. 36, 37, 43 and 46, and another one inedited and thus described—

"The following was dug up about the year 1776 out of the foundation of Westgate House in Bath. The stone was two feet three inches long and one foot three inches wide. Uncertain where lodg'd."

A . ESVOY  
Es CAN  
I EN  
DM

<sup>1</sup> It is engraved by Sir R. H. Hoare in his "Ancient Wilts." *Roman Era*, p. 100.

<sup>2</sup> This sculpture seems of a much later

period. Can it refer to the Governor of Britain of the name of Civilis sent over in A.D. 367.

It is evidently wrongly copied. Is it a dedication to Aesculapius? I am indebted to my friend Mr. J. P. Earwaker, F.S.A., for this information.

Mr. Robert Blair has lately brought into notice two leaden seals preserved in the Newcastle-on-Tyne Museum, and which originally came from the station of *Bremenium* (High Rochester). They are of the same class as those found at Brough (*Verterae*) and at South Shields. They bear the following rude inscriptions—

(1)		(2)	
Obv. MV	Rev. CF1	Obv. s PH	Rev. HD or IVV
I )D	T X		

The year has been rich in *re*-discoveries.

It had for some time been generally thought that the milestone bearing the name of the Emperor Numerianus, found near Kenchester (Dr. Hübner's, No. 1165) about the year 1800 had been lost, but I am glad to say that it has again come to light. The credit of its *re*-discovery belongs to the Rev. H. Cooper Key, rector of Stretton, who, at the request of Mr. A. D. Berrington, enquired into the matter. As its full history is now known it may be as well to make the same public. The stone, which in its present state is about twenty-four inches high by eighteen wide, has the bottom broken off and the upper part damaged. It is about five inches thick, rough at the back, and formed of the coarse sandstone of the country. It was found at Old Weir, about a mile from Kenchester, in the yard of the farm-house at the former place by the Rev. Chas. J. Bird, F.S.A., rector of Mordiford. By him it was removed to Mordiford Rectory. He died about 1848 at a great age, and all his collections were dispersed except this stone, which was retained at Yarkhill by his son, the resident clergyman. At his death there was another sale, when the stone was purchased for five shillings by the Rev. Mr. Brown, rector of Dormington, who had married Mr. Bird's daughter. At Dormington it is still preserved, and was minutely inspected by Mr. Berrington in October last, and a squeeze taken of it by the same gentleman. The fifth line has been the only doubtful one since the inscription was first known. Before starting to see it Mr. Berrington asked me what to look for in this line. I



replied that I imagined that the letters represented part of the name of the neighbouring station of *Ariconium*, probably ARICO instead of . RP . C . D as previously given. Mr. Berrington confirmed partially my reading. He makes the line to read / . RIC . LII. This seems to mark the distance from VRICONIVM (Wroxeter), which is given in the Itinerary of Antoninus as fifty-one miles from *Magna* (Kenchester), and the remaining mile from Kenchester to Old Weir would make the agreement between the stone and the Itinerary exact. It is also noticeable that the name of Numerianus is spelt as Numorianus, the whole inscription being—

IMP . C  
MAR . AVR  
NVMORIAN  
O  
/RIC . LII

The first letter v in the fifth line has been nearly altogether lost through damage to the corner of the stone, but the second stroke of the letter is partly visible. There appears never to have been more than the letter o in the fourth line.

In my list of inscriptions for 1877 (*Archæological Journal*, vol. xxxv, p. 68), I briefly described a Roman altar found at Hereford. It was formerly preserved at the old Hereford Museum, on the Castle Green, but had been lost sight of for some years, having been concealed by ivy and other creeping plants, on the exterior of the building. It has lately, owing to the exertions of Mr. J. T. Owen Fowler, been re-discovered and removed to the Hereford Free Public Library and Museum, now standing on the staircase of that building. From the Committee Minutes of the Hereford Permanent Library, it has been found that after the meeting of 4th June, 1822, the following entry was made:—

“The Roman altar was discovered in 1821, when the foundations of the Subscription Billiard Room, adjoining the Hereford Permanent Library were being dug, and it was placed by Mr. John Allen, junr., in the open space belonging to the library as a curious relic of antiquity. The inscription is almost obliterated, but the word DEO may still be made out.”

Though faint, the same word is still visible—the whole of the lettering which can be made out being—

DEO  
 . M I V  
   I S  
     II  
 . . . . .  
 . . . . .

The inscription, appears to have consisted of six lines, and cannot be a dedication to Minerva as previously suggested by Mr. Scarth. The altar is three feet four-and-a-half inches in height, and the letters are elegantly carved.

The third re-discovered inscription was that found at Bowness (Dr. Hübner's No. 952) on which a communication appeared from me in vol. xxxvi, pp. 422-4 of the *Journal*. Its correct reading, as finally established by Dr. McCaul, is—

. . . . . ONIANVS DEDICO  
 SED DATE VT FETVRA QAESTVS  
 SVPPLEAT VOTIS FIDEM  
 AVREIS SACRABO CARMEN  
 MOX VIRITIM LITTERIS.

I suggested the following collocation : —“ Sed date fidem ut foetura suppleat quaestus votis,” the meaning being — “ But (ye gods) give us your assurance that the production (of the animal dedicated) shall crown our vows with gains.”

“Aureis sacrobo mox viritim litteris.”

“I (the dedicator) will commemorate the vow in golden letters.”

I also pointed out, in the above named article, that the inscription was in Trochaic Septenarian verse—the name of the dedicator I take to be some such name as Vettonianus—but Mr. W. T. Arnold, author of “Roman Provincial Administration,” writes to me that “Nonianus seems to be clearly preferable to Vettonianus, both from the size of the stone, and also more particularly because ‘Nonianus dedico’ is just the rhythm we want in that particular line, the verses being, as they are, cut into halves throughout. In fact, I would suggest that the neatness with which the man’s name, and the verb of dedication fitted into the metre, was the original cause which suggested a metrical inscription.”

The stone is now in the Carlisle Museum.

The fourth re-discovered stone (Dr. Hübner's No. 417) has been found built up in the barn of a farm-house at Newtown, near Old Mawbray, Cumberland. The reading given in Hutchinson's "Cumberland" of the inscription is

L . TA PRAEF . COH . II PANNON . FECIT

but the three first letters appear to be LIA, the stop after the L being apparently an accidental mark—as it is below the level of the other stops in the line. At present the second letter resembles an I, if it has been a T the upper part has gone. But the most peculiar fact is, that the inscription is on *two* stones built up in a line with each other—the R in PRAEF being the commencement of the inscription on the second. There is room on the first stone for other letters before LIA, but they appear to have never existed. The letters on both stones are of the same size and character, so that the inscription now stands as

LIA . P | PRAEF . COH . II . PANNON . FECIT .

The stone has been purchased for Mr. Senhouse, to be deposited with his collection at Nether Hall, Maryport. It has no doubt, as Hutchinson stated, been obtained from the Roman *castrum* at Beckfoot, which has recently, through the zeal of Mr. Joseph Robinson, been partially laid bare. I am indebted for the above information to Mr. R. S. Ferguson, F.S.A.

In February, there was found in Tottenham Court Road, London, during some excavations, a marble tablet with a figure of a gladiator in relief, inscribed —

. . NIA MARTIA  
AH . TΩ . ANΔPI

This stone which is engraved in vol. xi of the *Archæologia*, p. 48, and given by Dr. Hübner at p. 21 of his vol. vii of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, had been lost for upwards of a century, being first noticed among the ruins of a house in Islington. I have no doubt that it originally was brought over as a curiosity from the continent, and is not a Britanno Roman inscription at all.

I have again to add a few previously discovered inscriptions which Dr. Hübner has overlooked in his work. In the list of stones found at the *castrum* at Tomen y Mur, Merionethshire, these three inscriptions are omitted,

(1)  
D PERPETVI  
P. XXII

(2)  
D IVLI  
PERPETVI  
P. XXXV.

(3)  
D. M  
BARRECI  
CARANTEI.

The two first are built up, with Dr. Hübner's Nos. 144 and 1339*a*, in the terrace wall of Tan-y-bwlch Hall, near Festiniog. All four of the stones are twelve inches by ten, and are engraved by Professor Westwood in plate 74 of the *Lapidarium Walliae*.

The third of these, which is fig. 4, pl. 78, in Professor Westwood's work (though no letter press description of it appears to be given), is undoubtedly of the Roman period, and evidently reads *D(iis) M(anibus) Barreci Carantei*, the TE in CARANTEI being ligulate. The names would seem to be British, Latinised.

At Cirencester there have been for many years in the museum, two Roman tiles found with others in that town and inscribed in very large and fine letters

I. H. S.

but Dr. Hübner omits them.

Of the three Roman altars found at Adel, near Leeds, and preserved in the vestry of the church there, two are inscribed, though Dr. Hübner only gives the one dedicated to Brigantia. The other is inscribed



Standing by themselves simply, it is difficult to interpret the meaning of these letters, unless *Diis Deabus* be what is meant.

On a Roman cup found at Chichester, and now preserved in the museum at that city, there is scratched

LVPO. X.

In my last annual list of inscriptions (*Archæological Journal*, vol. xxxvi, p. 166) I noticed a small fragment found at *Segontium* (Caernarvon), bearing the letters SE. It is engraved by Professor Westwood (fig. 6, pl. 81) in the *Lapidarium Walliae*, where he says the letters are three-and-one-third inches in height, but he also engraves (fig. 5, pl. 81) another fragment found at the same place, bearing in letters nearly four inches high, the letters

A. M.

which seems to have formed part of one of the upper lines of the same inscription. The latter, from the size and elegant carving of the letters, must have been a fine one.

In vol. xxxv of the *Journal*, p. 290, I have given, but erroneously, the name of Q. ATTINVS as occurring on "Samian" ware found at Herringfleet, in Suffolk. It turns out however, that the inscription is on a bronze vessel, and reads

QVATTENVVS . F .

(*Vide Proc. Suffolk Archaeological Institute*, vol. iii, p. 406, and compare with *Journal of British Archaeological Association*, vol. xxxv, p. 438).

Two other inscriptions, which have remained inedited, and probably, in one case at least, will remain so, have to be noticed. The first was found at Lowgill, on the line of the Roman road between Ribchester and Overborough, under the pavement of the road, and about the year 1824 was in the possession of Mr. Court, of Lowgill (Raithmell's *Overborough*, second edition, 1824, Appendix No. ii, p. 134). I am making enquiries as to whether it is still in existence.

Of the second, Professor Westwood, at p. 183 of the *Lapidarium Walliæ*, says—"In the roof of one of the chambers of Caernarvon Castle, on the south side and towards the eastern end of the castle, is a stone, which appears to bear an inscription, pointed out by Sir Llewellyn Turner during the meeting of the Association in 1877, but of which I have not been able to obtain a drawing."

In vol. xxxiii, p. 259 of the *Journal*, I gave a copy of an inedited fragment of a tombstone found at Ellenborough (Maryport). I there stated that the *praenomen* of the deceased was Ælius. I should have said that Ælius was the *nomen*, and the whole I would read *Diis Manibus Sacrum Ael(ii) (Acili)ani*.

I have a word to add with regard to one of the inscriptions given by Dr. Hübner, No. 153. From a copy of this, preserved in the Lansdowne MS., 825-84, in the Bodleian Library, which agrees more with the copy given in Jones' *History of Brecknockshire* than with that in the *Gentleman's Magazine* (both of which Dr. Hübner gives), I would read the first line of the first part (DIIS . M)ANIBVS, the second I would read VAL . ARMIGER . . .

(we have an *Aurelius Armiger* named in an inscription found near Walton Castlesteads, Cumberland) ; the third line is uncertain. In the second division of the inscription I think we have in the second line PIENTIS in a ligulate form, and the third line I take to be FIL . FEC.

In the centurial inscription found at Manchester, of which I treated in vol. xxxiv, pp. 141-2 of the *Journal*, there is, as I then said, "a figure which seems like a note of interrogation reversed," preceding the P in the last line. I have since noticed that this resembles one half of the figure (Ω) which occurs in a centurial inscription (Dr. Hübner's, No. 172) found at Chester. The last-named figure, Dr. McCaul (*Brit. Rom. Insc.*, p. 119) considers as indicating the direction of the *limes*, "either from east to west or *v. v.*," and I think he is right. In that case the figure on the Manchester stone indicates something similar.

Dr. Hübner's No. 1307, which for a long time had been lost sight of, is, it seems now, in the possession of Mr. Robert Fitch, F.S.A., of Norwich, a well-known antiquary.

P.S.—An altar was also found at Binchester during the past year about fifteen inches high, inscribed

MATR  
TRAMAR  
EQVITAL  
VETTCR  
VSLM .

*i.e.*, *Matr(ibus) Tramar(inis) Equit(es) Al(ae) Vetto(num) C(ivium) R(omanorum) V(otum) S(olverunt) L(ibentes) M(eritis)*; the translation being "To the Transmarine Mothers, the Cavalry of the *Ala Vetonum*, Roman Citizens, perform their vow willingly to deserving objects." The inscription is much worn, and for a long time was not detected. Both it, and the one mentioned previously, dedicated to Aesculapius and Salus, are preserved in the museum of the University of Durham.

I am indebted to the Rev. R. E. Hooppell, LL.D., for the copy of another inscription found in October, 1879, during some sewerage works at Chester le Street. It is the right hand portion of a large tablet about (probably) one fifth of the whole, the terminations of the lines being all that remains. It runs thus

.....	EQQ
.....	ERRITQ
.....	NDVXIT
.....	LO . IN
.....	DIANI . LEG
.....	VLLIN . CoS

The last line is complete enough to give us the date of the inscription ; it would commence with the abbreviation AVG . PR . PR following the name of the legate in the previous line. The remainder would be SABIN . II . ET ANVLLIN . CoS . and proves that the stone was erected in the year A.D. 216 when "Sabinus for the second time and Anullinus " were Consuls. From the first line it is probable that either a praelect of horse (PRAEF . EQQ) or the soldiers (*equites*) of a cavalry regiment raised the stone. The portion of the second line, which ought to have been left, has been, as in many other cases, purposely erased, as it contained the epithet *Antoniniana* which the regiment had assumed from the reigning emperor (Caracalla). The erasure, however, I opine took place some years afterwards, when Elagabalus was murdered, and the epithet which had been assumed by many regiments in compliment to him also was obliterated on account of his unpopularity. The third line is a puzzle ; unless there has been an error of the mason, ERITQ(VE) would have been easier to understand. In the fourth line, we have I think "conduxit," as there seems to be part of the o attached in a ligulate form to the first stroke of the N. The fifth line is doubtful ; it may have been (A . SO)LO . IN (*struxit*) or IN (*stante*), but in the face of *conduxit* in the previous line it is difficult to give the true reading. The next line is plainly . . . DIANI . LEG . the AN being ligulate, and has contained the name of the imperial legate in the genitive. His *cognomen* has been some such name as *Secundianus*, *Aufidianus*, or *Gordianus*.

There was also found in the autumn of 1879, amongst the ruins of a Roman building at Titsey, Surrey, a walling tile inscribed—

the probable expansion of which is APENDINI, as a *cognomen*.

Dr. Hübner appears to have omitted from his list of “*Tegulae*” the tiles stamped

LCC

found in the Roman villa at Bignor. (*Vide Gent. Mag.*, Aug. 1818, p. 175.)



## DUNSTER AND ITS LORDS.

By H. C. MAXWELL LYTE, M.A., F.S.A.

### PART II.

The name of Luttrell first occurs in history in the later part of the twelfth century. Like the generality of ancient surnames, it has been spelt in many different ways, the most ordinary forms being Loterel, Luterel, and Luttrell. The fact that a certain Robert Lotrel was in Normandy in 1195, rather favours the theory that the family was of Norman origin.<sup>1</sup> However this may be, it is not from him but from his contemporary, Geoffrey Luttrell, that the Luttrells of Dunster Castle trace their descent. During the absence of Richard I in Palestine, this Geoffrey Luttrell took part in the unsuccessful rebellion of John, Earl of Mortain, and was consequently deprived of his estates in the county of Nottingham.<sup>2</sup> He was reinstated, however, on the accession of the Earl of Mortain to the English throne, and from that time until his death he seems to have been constantly employed in the King's service.<sup>3</sup> In 1201, he was appointed one of the overseers of the expenses incurred in the enclosure of the royal park of Bolsover.<sup>4</sup> In 1204, he was sent into Ireland with a recommendatory letter to the archbishops and bishops, and received £10 for his maintenance.<sup>5</sup> In the following year he went to Poitiers in charge of the King's treasure, and in 1210, he held the responsible office of paymaster of the navy.<sup>6</sup> In 1215, he

<sup>1</sup> "Magni Rotuli Scaccarii Normannie" (ed. Stapleton), vol. i, p. cxxx. It is almost needless to remark that the so-called Roll of Battle Abbey, in which the name of Lotterell appears, has no real historical value.

<sup>2</sup> Thoroton's "History of Nottinghamshire," p. 62. Pipe Rolls, 6 and 7 Richard I, co. Notts.

<sup>3</sup> Thoroton, p. 63. Pipe Roll, 1 John,

"Rotuli de Oblatis," vol. i, pp. 51, 460, 552, 556, 565.

<sup>4</sup> Pipe Roll, 2 John, co. Notts. Charter Roll, 2 John, m. 7.

<sup>5</sup> "Rotuli de Liberate," p. 83. Patent Roll, 6 John, m. 6.

<sup>6</sup> Close Roll, 7 John, m. 5. "Rotuli de Liberate," pp. 176, 179, 185, 188, 194, 202, 206, 208, 213, 227-230.

was sent on an embassy to Pope Innocent III, partly to explain the arrangement that had been made about the dower of Queen Berengaria, and partly to denounce the barons who had extorted Magna Charta from the reluctant king. In one of these commissions he is styled "*nobilis vir*."<sup>1</sup> He received several grants of land from his royal patron, but the real foundation of the future wealth of the Luttrell family was laid by his marriage with Frethesant, daughter and coheirress of William Paganel.<sup>2</sup> Although this lady's father only belonged to a younger branch of the Paganel family, she received as her inheritance from him, seven knights' fees and a half, in the counties of York, Nottingham, and Lincoln.<sup>3</sup>

Sir Geoffrey Luttrell appears to have died on his journey to Rome in 1216, leaving a widow and a son named Andrew, who was under age at the time. The widow soon married a second husband, Henry de Newmarch, lord of Bentley, and the custody of the heir was granted to Philip Marc, a man of some importance in the midland counties, who had been one of the confidential advisers of King John.<sup>4</sup> As might have been expected, the young Andrew Luttrell was made to marry a daughter of his guardian, Petronilla by name.<sup>5</sup> He had livery of seisin in 1229, when he succeeded not only to the estates of his father and mother, but also to the whole inheritance of his grandfather William Paganel, whose second daughter Isabella had died without issue.<sup>6</sup> A few months later, he unexpectedly received a considerable accession of property on the death of his third cousin, Maurice de Gaunt, the heir of the elder branch of the Paganel family.<sup>7</sup>

It has already been remarked that Dunster Castle has only once passed by sale from one family to another since the Norman Conquest. The manor of East Quantockshead,

<sup>1</sup> Rymer's "*Fœdera*," vol. i, pp. 137-140.

<sup>2</sup> Close Roll, 7 John, m. 6. Fine Rolls, 5 and 6 John. Pipe Rolls 13 and 15 John, co. Warwick. Patent Roll, 17 John, m. 18.

<sup>3</sup> Pipe Roll, 13 John.

<sup>4</sup> "*Excerpta e Rotulis Finium*," vol. i, pp. 9, 83. "*Testa de Nevill*." Close Rolls 2 Henry III, p. 2, m. 8, and 3 Henry III, m. 7. Pipe Roll, 3 Henry III, co. Warwick.

<sup>5</sup> Close Roll, 2 Henry III, p. i, m. 10,

and p. 2, m. 8. Patent Roll, 3 Henry III, p. 2, m. 2. Dugdale's "*Monasticon*," vol. vi, p. 877. Petronilla Luttrell presented Robert Luttrell to the living of Bridgeford A.D. 1267. Register of Archbishop Giffard, quoted in Dodsworth's MS.

<sup>6</sup> Close Roll, 14 Henry III, m. 20.

<sup>7</sup> Pipe Roll, 15 Henry III, co. Lincoln. Close Roll 16 Henry III, m. 11. Dugdale's "*Baronage*," vol. i, p. 725. Dugdale's "*Monasticon*," vol. vi, p. 878.

nine miles to the east of Dunster, affords a yet more remarkable instance of the continuity of land tenure in England, its present owner, Mr. G. F. Luttrell, being the lineal descendant of Ralph Paganel, who held it in the reign of William the Conqueror. At the time of the Norman invasion, Merlosuen, Sheriff of Lincolnshire, held the manor of Irnham and other estates in that county, several manors in Yorkshire and in Devonshire, and the manors of Stockland, East Quantockshead, East Bagborough, Hewish, and Newhall, in the county of Somerset. Before the year 1085, his estates had fallen into the hands of Ralph Paganel, a Norman, at whose death the greater part of them passed to his eldest son William, the founder of the priory of Drax. William Paganel left issue an only daughter Alice, who married, firstly, Richard de Courcy, and secondly, Robert de Gaunt, brother of Gilbert de Gaunt, Earl of Lincoln. By her second husband this lady had an only daughter Avice, who married Robert, son of Robert Fitz-Harding, and by him had a son Maurice, sometimes called Maurice de Gaunt, and sometimes Maurice Paganel. Though twice married, Maurice de Gaunt left no children, and on his death in 1230, his estates were divided. Those which he had inherited from his father passed to Robert de Gurney, son of his half-sister Eva, whilst those which he had inherited from his mother passed to Andrew Luttrell, whose mother, Frethesant, had been grand-daughter or great-grand-daughter of Alexander, the youngest son of Ralph Paganel the Norman.

The fine paid by Andrew Luttrell for the right of succession, amounted to one hundred marks.<sup>1</sup> In 1243 he paid £55 towards the aid for making the king's eldest son a knight, £25 being charged on the twelve knights' fees and a half of Maurice de Gaunt, and £30 on the fifteen knights' fees of William Paganel of Hooton Paganel.<sup>2</sup> In 1242, he was summoned to perform military service against the French.<sup>3</sup> He was Sheriff of Lincolnshire for about six months, in the thirty-fifth year of Henry III, but in the following year he paid three

<sup>1</sup> See the elaborate paper on "Holy Trinity Priory, York," by Mr. Stapleton, in the York volume of "Proceedings of

the Archaeological Institute."

<sup>2</sup> Pipe Roll, 38 Henry III, co. York.

<sup>3</sup> Rymer's "Foedera," vol. i, p. 246.

marks in order to be excused from serving as justiciary, sheriff, bailiff, or juror during the remainder of his life.<sup>1</sup> He also obtained from the King right of free-warren on his father's estates at Gamston and Bridgeford in Nottinghamshire, and right to hold a weekly market at Irnham, the head place of the barony of Maurice de Gaunt.<sup>2</sup> It is probable that he for the most part resided at one or other of these places, and that he transferred the manor of Hooton Paganel to his eldest son Geoffrey during his own life time.<sup>3</sup>

There are at Dunster Castle three small undated deeds by which Andrew Luttrell granted the manor of East Quantockshead with the advowson of that church to his younger son Alexander and his heirs in tail, on condition that they should render yearly a pair of gilt spurs or 6*d.* at Whitsuntide.<sup>4</sup> This grant was confirmed by Geoffrey Luttrell, and in October 1269, Sir Roger de Somery, son of Maurice de Gaunt's widow, released all his right in East Quantockshead to Alexander Luttrell.<sup>5</sup> Thus was established the Somersetshire branch of the Luttrell family.

Andrew Luttrell died in 1269, and was succeeded by his eldest son Geoffrey already mentioned.

There is no need, however, in this place to follow the history of the main line any further. It will suffice to say that the Luttrells held the barony of Irnham until 1417, when Sir Geoffrey Luttrell died without male issue. The inheritance passed through successive heiresses to the families of Hilton, Thimelby, Conquest, and Arundell, and the Lord Clifford, who sold the manor of Irnham a few years ago, was the direct representative of Andrew Luttrell and of Ralph Paganel. There is in the parish church of Irnham a monument, which may be that of Geoffrey Luttrell, who died about the year 1269, and a very fine sepulchral brass of his great-grandson, Sir Andrew Luttrell, who died in 1390. But to the artist and to the antiquary, by far the most interesting memorial

<sup>1</sup> Thoroton's "History of Nottinghamshire," p. 63.

<sup>2</sup> Charter Rolls, 30 Henry III, m. 6, and 36 Henry III, m. 10.

<sup>3</sup> Patent Roll (Gascony), 37 and 38

Henry III, p. 2, m. 8.

<sup>4</sup> Box xxii, No. 1.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* A translation of Geoffrey Luttrell's charter is given by Mr. Stapleton, p. 143.

of the Luttrells of Irnham is the famous Psalter, which was illuminated for a third Sir Geoffrey Luttrell about the year 1330, and which now belongs to Mr. Weld, of Lulworth Castle.<sup>1</sup>

Alexander Luttrell, of East Quantockshead, held land at Hickling in Nottinghamshire as well as in his own county.<sup>2</sup> In 1266 he received from the King the custody of the person of his elder brother, who had lost the use of his reason.<sup>3</sup> Sir Geoffrey Luttrell died about four years later, and Alexander being thus released from the duty of looking after him, embarked for the Holy Land in the retinue of Prince Edward.<sup>4</sup> He died either in the Crusade of 1270 or very shortly after his return.<sup>5</sup> His widow, Margaret, who married secondly Giles de Fishbourne, had for her life a stone-roofed house opposite to the hall of the manor of East Quantockshead.<sup>6</sup> Sir Alexander Luttrell had two sons, Andrew and John, and a daughter, Annora.<sup>7</sup>

Sir Andrew Luttrell, the eldest son, was in 1301 summoned to perform military service against the Scots.<sup>8</sup> His wife Elizabeth was probably a daughter of Warin de Ralegh.<sup>9</sup>

His son and successor, another Alexander, was in 1326 called upon to account for his neglect to take knight-hood.<sup>10</sup> Three years later he presented to the living of East Quantockshead an acolyte named Andrew Luttrell, who obtained leave of absence from the bishop in order that he might prosecute his studies at the University.<sup>11</sup> In 1341 Sir Alexander was appointed collector of the duties on wool in the county of Somerset, and in 1363 he and some of his neighbours borrowed money from the

<sup>1</sup> The best accounts of the Luttrells of Irnham are those given by Mr. Stapleton in the paper already noticed, and that given in the "Vetusta Monumenta," vol. vi, where there are six plates of engravings from subjects in the Luttrell Psalter.

<sup>2</sup> *Heralds' College MS.*, Vincent, vol. vii, ff. 53, 88.

<sup>3</sup> *Patent Rolls*, 50 Henry III, m. 25, and 52 Henry III, m. 3.

<sup>4</sup> *Patent Roll*, 54 Henry III, m. 8, 11. Rymer's "Fœdera," vol. i, p. 484.

<sup>5</sup> *Fine Roll*, 1 Edward I, m. 21. *Close Roll*, 2 Edward I, m. 3.

<sup>6</sup> "Rolls of Parliament," vol. i, p. 5. *Pipe Roll*, 6 Edward I, co. Somerset. *Close Roll*, 1 Edward I, m. 5.

<sup>7</sup> *Heralds' College MS.* Picture of Our Lady, f. 97. *Fine Roll*, 1 Edw. I, m. 20.

<sup>8</sup> "Parliamentary Writs," vol. i, p. 351.

<sup>9</sup> *Dunster Castle Muniments*, Box xxii, No. 1.

<sup>10</sup> "Parliamentary Writs" (ed. Palgrave) vol. ii, part i, pp. 743, 751.

<sup>11</sup> *Registers of Bishops John de Droghensford and Ralph de Salopia at Wells.*

Company of the Bardi, the great Florentine financiers.<sup>1</sup> On the marriage of his eldest son Thomas with Joan, the daughter of Sir John Palton in 1343, he undertook to give them a yearly rent of £10 from East Quantockshead, and to settle certain lands on them, on condition that Sir John Palton should become responsible for their maintenance and should pay him the sum of two hundred marks.<sup>2</sup> Five years later he conveyed to Sir John Palton, and to his son and his daughter-in-law, Thomas and Joan Luttrell, the manor, and the advowson of the church, of East Quantockshead for an annual rent of forty marks and of a robe worth forty shillings. He at the same time reserved to himself for life a hall with chambers adjoining, a stable in the outer court at East Quantockshead, and the right to gather hay and fuel, and to take one half of the fines and heriots of the manor.<sup>3</sup>

In 1360, Thomas Luttrell settled the manor of East Quantockshead on himself and his second wife Dionysia and his own heirs.<sup>4</sup> The date of his death is unknown, and there is no evidence to show whether Sir John Luttrell, who succeeded him, was his son or his brother. This Sir John Luttrell was created one of the original Knights of the Bath when that illustrious Order was established by Henry IV, two days before his coronation in 1399.<sup>5</sup> Five months later, the same king assigned to his "beloved and faithful Knight," Sir John Luttrell, whom he had attached to his own person, an annuity of £40 for life from the revenue of the county of Somerset.<sup>6</sup> Sir John Luttrell was Sheriff of Dorset and Somerset in 1400.<sup>7</sup> In the month of May, 1403, he took up arms in the king's behalf, "to resist the malice of a certain Henry Percchay, Knight," and, when on the point of starting, made a will by which he directed that if he should die without issue before returning to his mansion at East Quantockshead, his estates should pass to his "cousin," Sir Hugh Luttrell.<sup>8</sup> The event showed that he acted wisely in

<sup>1</sup> Close Roll, 16 Edward I, p. 1, m. 15, in dorso. Dunster Castle Muniments.

<sup>2</sup> Dunster Castle Muniments, Box xxii, No. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid, Box xxii, No. 2.

<sup>5</sup> Holinshed's "Chronicle," vol. iii, p. 511.

<sup>6</sup> Patent Roll, 1 Henry, IV, p. 1, m. 26.

<sup>7</sup> Fuller's "Worthies."

<sup>8</sup> Dunster Castle Muniments, Box i, No. 15.

making his will, for he died within the next few weeks.<sup>1</sup> In him the direct line of the Luttrells of East Quantocks-head came to an end.

A younger branch of the family had been settled in Devonshire for about sixty years. A certain Sir John Luttrell, who was probably a son of Sir Andrew Luttrell of East Quantockshead, had license in 1337 to buy land at Chilton, in the parish of Thorverton.<sup>2</sup> He styled himself "Lord of Chilton," and his manor was sometimes described as Chilton Luttrell.<sup>3</sup> This Sir John was appointed a Commissioner of Array in 1347 and in 1359, and he sat as one of the members for Devonshire in the Parliaments of 1360 and 1368.<sup>4</sup> His wife Joan survived him, and died in 1378 or 1380.<sup>5</sup>

Their son, Sir Andrew Luttrell, married Elizabeth Courtenay, widow of Sir John de Vere, a lady of the most illustrious lineage.<sup>6</sup> Her father Hugh, Earl of Devon, one of the companions in arms of Edward III, and one of the original members of the Order of the Garter, was head of the noble family of Courtenay. Her mother Margaret was daughter of Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford and Essex, Lord High Constable of England, "the flower of knighthood, and the most Christian knight of the knights of the world," by Elizabeth his wife, daughter of King Edward I.<sup>7</sup> One

<sup>1</sup> Dunster Castle Muniments, Box xxxvii, No. 43. As East Quantockshead was held under the Luttrells of Irnham and not in chief, there are no inquisitions post mortem for any members of the Luttrell family of that place.

<sup>2</sup> *Inquisitiones post mortem*, 11 Edward III, No. 9. Dunster Castle Muniments, Box xxiv, No. 1. Sir John Luttrell of Chilton has sometimes been mistaken for his uncle John Luttrell, whose wife's name was Rose. There were apparently two other persons of that name living in the reign of Edward III, viz., John Luttrell, who was Chancellor of the University of Oxford in 1320, and John Luttrell, who is mentioned with his wife Catharine in a deed of 1369. Wood's "Antiquities of Oxford." *Heralds' College MS.*, Picture of Our Lady.

<sup>3</sup> Oliver's "Monasticon Diocesis Exon," p. 123.

<sup>4</sup> Carte's "Gascon Rolls," vol. ii, p. 39. Patent Roll, 33 Edward III, m. 4, in dorso.

<sup>5</sup> *Inquisitiones post mortem*, 1 Richard II, No. 22, and 8 Richard II, No. 26.

This lady is in some pedigrees described as a daughter of Lord John Mohun of Dunster, and it is possible that her father may have been John de Mohun the third, who died in 1330. She does not appear, however, in the list of his children made by a monk of Newenham during the early part of her life. See Appendix E. Nor is there any other contemporary evidence to show that she was by birth a Mohun. It is probable that this surname was assigned to her at random by some herald who wished to show a connection by marriage between the two families that have held the Barony of Dunster. Robert Glover, the herald, is certainly wrong in describing the wife of Sir John Luttrell of Chilton as Isabella daughter of John de Mohun.

<sup>6</sup> Dunster Castle Muniments, Box xxxvii, No. 39. *Inquisitiones post mortem*, 19 Richard II, No. 48.

<sup>7</sup> There is among the muniments at Dunster Castle a table of the descendants of Humphrey de Bohun, drawn up in the reign of Henry VI.

of her brothers, was, like her father, an original Knight of the Garter, another became Archbishop of Canterbury, another Lieutenant of Ireland, and another Governor of Calais. Through her sisters she was connected with the Lords Cobham and Harington. Sir Andrew Luttrell, who was by birth only a cadet of a younger branch of the baronial family of Luttrell of Irnham, was, by his marriage, raised to a higher position in the social scale. In 1359 he and his wife received from Edward III a grant of an annuity of £200 for the term of their joint lives, for the maintenance of their station, and the grant was confirmed by Richard II immediately after his accession to the throne.<sup>1</sup> In 1361, Sir Andrew and Lady Elizabeth Luttrell went on a pilgrimage to the famous shrine of St. James of Compostella.<sup>2</sup> For many years the latter was in close attendance on her cousins, Edward the Black Prince and the Fair Maid of Kent his wife. In consideration of her faithful services to them, she obtained from Richard II a continuance of the annuity of £200 after the death of her husband, which occurred before the year 1375.<sup>3</sup> With part of her savings she purchased the manors of Feltwell, co. Norfolk, and of Moulton, Debenham, and Waldenfield, co. Suffolk, and the right of appointing two of the canons of the priory of Flitcham.<sup>4</sup> In 1373 she received a grant of free-warren in her different manors, but she appears to have sold those of Feltwell and Moulton a few years later.<sup>5</sup>

By far the most important transaction in the life of Lady Elizabeth Luttrell was her purchase of the right of succession to the castle and manor of Dunster, and the manors of Minehead and Kilton, and the Hundred of Carhampton, after the death of Lady Joan de Mohun. For this she paid a deposit of £200 in February, 1374, and a further sum of £3133 6s. 8*d.* on or before the 20th of November, 1376.<sup>6</sup> Even if these sums were multiplied

<sup>1</sup> Patent Rolls, 33 Edward III, p. 2, m. 25, 1 Richard II, p. 5, m. 37, and 4 Richard II, p. 3, m. 7.

<sup>2</sup> Close Roll, 35 Edward III, m. 22.

<sup>3</sup> Patent Roll, 4 Richard II, p. 3, m. 7.

<sup>4</sup> Dunster Castle Muniments, Box xxxvii, Nos. 38, 39.

<sup>5</sup> Charter Roll, 47 Edward III, m. 11.

Dunster Castle Muniments, Box xxxvii, Nos. 40, 41.

<sup>6</sup> Dunster Castle Muniments, Box i, No. 7. Hamilton Rogers's "Sepulchral Effigies of Devon," p. 198. Her father had many years before bought the Devonshire estates of Sir John de Mohun, Lord of Dunster. Close Roll, 29 Edward III, m. 27.



by twenty to bring them to their present value, the price paid would, at first sight, appear utterly inadequate, but it must be remembered that Lady Joan de Mohun reserved her life interest in the whole of the property. As she did not die until 1404, the Luttrells did not get any advantage from the transaction until nearly thirty years after the payment of the purchase-money. Lady Elizabeth Luttrell herself did not live to take possession of the future home of her descendants, as she died in 1395.<sup>1</sup> She was buried in the Benedictine Church of St. Nicholas at Exeter.<sup>2</sup> Edmund Stafford, Bishop of Exeter, in August, 1395, ordered public prayers to be offered throughout his diocese for the souls of Margaret Cobham and Elizabeth Loterel, sisters of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and as an encouragement to the faithful to pray for them, granted an indulgence of forty days.<sup>3</sup>

Sir Hugh Luttrell, son of Sir Andrew and Elizabeth, may be styled the second founder of the family. He was a man of great worth, and was honourably employed by three successive Kings of England. In consideration of his services to Richard II, he, in 1391, received a grant of a yearly pension of £20, payable out of the confiscated English revenue of the priory of St. Nicholas at Anjou.<sup>4</sup> Seven years later he was warden of the forest of Gillingham.<sup>5</sup> Like his relations the Courtenays, he afterwards attached himself to the cause of the House of Lancaster. In 1401 he was made steward of the household of Queen Joan, and soon afterwards Constable of Bristol Castle and Warden of the forests of Kingswood and Fulwood for life.<sup>6</sup> In 1401-2, he went into Normandy to act as Lieutenant of Calais, and while there he was appointed one of the commissioners to treat with the French.<sup>7</sup> At the end of 1403 he was sent as Ambassador to the Duke of Burgundy.<sup>8</sup> Several of his letters from abroad on state affairs have been preserved.<sup>9</sup> In the following

<sup>1</sup> *Inquisitiones post mortem*, 19 Richard II, Nos. 47, 48.

<sup>2</sup> Dunster Castle Muniments, Box, xxxvii, No. 42.

<sup>3</sup> Hamilton Rogers's "Sepulchral Effigies of Devon," p. 330.

<sup>4</sup> Patent Roll, 15 Richard II, p. 1, m. 31.

<sup>5</sup> Patent Roll, 22 Richard II, p. 2, m. 20.

<sup>6</sup> Lipscombe's "History of Bucks,"

vol. iii, p. 523. Patent Roll, 14 Henry IV, m. 22.

<sup>7</sup> Carte's "Gascon Rolls," vol. ii, pp. 185, 186. "Royal and Historical Letters," vol. i, p. 188.

<sup>8</sup> Carte's "Gascon Rolls," vol. ii, p. 186.

<sup>9</sup> "Royal and Historical Letters," vol. i, pp. 170, 177, 186, 188, 194, 197, 202, 204. British Museum, Add. Charter 1397.

April he was sworn a member of the Privy Council, and a few weeks later he was appointed Mayor of Bordeaux.<sup>1</sup> His own affairs soon required his presence in England.

On the death of Sir John Luttrell in 1403, Sir Hugh became undisputed owner of East Quantockshead, and on the death of Lady Joan de Mohun a year later, he took possession of Dunster Castle. He was not, however, allowed to enjoy it in peace. The heirs of John de Mohun, the last lord of Dunster, namely, Elizabeth, Countess of Salisbury, the Duke and Duchess of York, and Sir Richard Strange, challenged the validity of the sale, and commenced legal proceedings to recover the inheritance of which they had been deprived. On the 14th of May, 1406, the King nominated nine judges to hear the cause. A contest against such powerful adversaries must have sorely tried the courage and the resources of Sir Hugh Luttrell, but he obtained a timely loan of £50 from the Abbot of Cleeve. It was no small advantage to him that he was at the time one of the members for the county of Devon. On the 19th of June the House of Commons sent up a petition that the question at issue might be referred to four peers of the realm and all the justices. Both parties agreed to this on condition that the arbitrators should swear before the King to do justice according to law before the 1st of November, without favour or prejudice. The plaintiffs made choice of the Lords de Ros and Furnivall, and the defendant of the Bishops of Exeter and St. David's, who duly took the prescribed oath. The Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, the Chief Baron of the Exchequer, and five other judges took the oath on the 5th July, before the King and the Lord Chancellor at the London house of the Bishop of Durham. The famous Sir William Gascoigne, chief justice, was for some reason absent. On the 22nd of October, Sir Laurence Drue was substituted for the Bishop of Exeter. The case was heard at some length, but the arbitrators could not be induced to give judgment because the parties were still at issue. The House of Commons again took the matter in hand, with a scarcely disguised bias in favour of Sir Hugh Luttrell, whose "poor estate,"

<sup>1</sup> "Proceedings of the Privy Council" (ed. Nicolas), vol. i, p. 223, Carte's "Gascon Rolls" vol. i, p. 189.

they said, could not stand protracted litigation. They, therefore, prayed that the special assize might be discharged if the plaintiffs could not make good their claim within a given time. They prayed, moreover, that if the plaintiffs had recourse to the ordinary process of law, no one should be allowed to serve on the jury who did not possess lands to the value of at least 40s. a year. They ended by declaring that the estates in question were of great value, and that the parties interested were powerful persons, so that "speedy mischief and riot" might arise if special precautions were not taken. To this it was replied that the sheriff of the county of Somerset should be sworn to impanel the most capable and impartial persons that could be found within his bailiwick.<sup>1</sup> The trial took place at Ilchester in Michaelmas term, the plaintiffs contending that the estates had been entailed on the heirs of the body of John de Mohun and Joan his wife, and that his subsequent conveyance of them to the feoffees, who sold them to Lady Elizabeth Luttrell, was, therefore, invalid.<sup>2</sup> Their suit, however, after being argued at considerable length, broke down, and Sir Hugh Luttrell was recognized to be the lawful lord of Dunster.

From 1405 to 1415 Sir Hugh Luttrell appears to have remained in England, where he was successively member for Devonshire, a Commissioner of Array for Somersetshire, auditor of the accounts of the Treasurers of the Wars, member of Parliament for his own county, and a commissioner for the repression of the Lollards.<sup>3</sup> A special messenger was sent to him in haste on the escape of his cousin, Sir John Oldecastle, Lord Cobham, from the Tower of London.<sup>4</sup>

When Henry V determined to prosecute the war against France with new vigour, he was glad to avail himself of the services of so experienced a warrior as Sir Hugh Luttrell. On the fall of Harfleur, Sir Hugh was appointed councillor to the English Governor of that place, and his duties appear to have detained him there while his comrades were distinguishing themselves on the

<sup>1</sup> "Rolls of Parliament," vol. iii, pp. 577, 578, 597.

<sup>2</sup> Year Book, Michaelmas, 8th Henry IV.

<sup>3</sup> Patent Roll, 6 Henry IV, p. 2, m.

15, in dorso. "Rolls of Parliament," vol. iii, p. 577. Patent Roll, 1 Henry V, p. 5, m. 23, in dorso.

<sup>4</sup> "Issues of the Exchequer" (ed. Devon), p. 331.

battle-field of Agincourt.<sup>1</sup> In consideration of the sum of £286, he, in 1417, agreed to serve the king in the French war at the head of a body of soldiers, consisting of one knight, nineteen esquires, and sixty archers.<sup>2</sup> About the same time he was recommended by the Privy Council as one of the fittest persons for the office of "Knight Constable."<sup>3</sup> In 1418 he was made Governor of Harfleur. He was present at the siege of Rouen, and as the tide of success ran more strongly in favour of the English, he was deputed to treat for the surrender of the hostile towns of Monstreville, Dieppe, Fecamp, and Avranches.<sup>4</sup> He was about the same time promoted to be Great Seneschal of Normandy, and as such, he, in 1420, received authority over all the English officers in France and in Normandy.<sup>5</sup> He seems to have returned to England in the course of that year, as he was chosen one of the members of Parliament for the county of Devon. In the following year he was nominated steward of the household of the queen of Henry V.<sup>6</sup>

During Sir Hugh Luttrell's long periods of absence in Normandy, his wife Catherine Beaumont, widow of John Strecche, remained in England, staying sometimes at Dunster Castle, and sometimes at her mother's house at Saunton in Devonshire. John Luttrell, their eldest son, acted as treasurer and overseer of the accounts, and as such, enjoyed a yearly allowance of £10. He was from time to time assisted by the advice of Peter Courtenay, Thomas Beaumont, Hugh Cary, and other relations and friends. A receiver-general and a steward, who each received £5 a year besides their board, collected the rents and payments due to their lord, and maintained the establishment at Dunster. The receiver-general also transmitted great quantities of provisions and other necessaries to Normandy. Fish of various kinds, salmon,

<sup>1</sup> Hall's "Union of the families of Lancaster and York," p. 45.

<sup>2</sup> Herald's College MS., Vincent, vol. xxix, f. 55.

<sup>3</sup> "Proceedings of the Privy Council," vol. ii, pp. 204, 232.

<sup>4</sup> Carte's "Gascon Rolls," vol. i, pp. 277—279, 295, 296, 325, 333. Norman Roll 6 Henry V, p. 1, m. 13, in dorso,

p. 2, m. 1, and m. 9. Harleian MS. 1586, f. 85.

<sup>5</sup> Norman Roll, 8 Henry V, p. 1, m. 28, in dorso. There are at Dunster several letters from "Hugh Luttrell, Knight, lord of Dunsterr and Gret Seneschall of Normendie," addressed to his receiver-general at Dunster.

<sup>6</sup> Lipscombe's "History of Bucks," vol. iii, p. 523.

ling, "scalpin," conger, hake, and milwell, was salted and packed in barrels for convenience of transport, and when, in 1420, six oxen and thirty "muttons" were placed on board ship, they were stowed into large "pipes." The "lardynere" received 20*d.* "for syltyng and dyghtyng of al ye flesshe." On the same occasion 3*s.* 7*d.* was paid for "mattys and naill boght for to make a caban in ye ship for savyng of ye corne and of ye malt." On other occasions the wheat and the barley-malt were packed in barrels, like the beans, the green peas, the oats, and the candles. The provisions were embarked sometimes at Poole, sometimes at Southampton, and sometimes at Minehead, Roger Kyng a shipman of the last place being frequently employed. On one occasion a barge, known as the "Leonard of Dunster," was specially chartered to sail from Minehead to Bordeaux. It would appear that Sir Hugh himself was on board, and that he took with him five live oxen, and two pipes of beer for consumption on the voyage. The expenses of the trip to Bordeaux and back, including the repair of the anchors, sails, etc., amounted to £42 3*s.* 1*d.*, but as Philip Clopton the master of the barge received £40 10*s.* from certain merchants for the freight of their wine on the return journey from Bordeaux to England, Sir Hugh had only to pay the difference between these two sums. Roger Kyng, too, used to bring back wine with him, which Lady Catherine Luttrell was glad enough to buy.<sup>1</sup>

The fishermen of Minehead used to exercise their vocation, not only in the Bristol Channel, but also off the eastern coasts of Ireland. Several of them, tenants of Sir Hugh Luttrell, were in 1427 captured near Carlingford, by a Spaniard named Goo, and carried to Scotland, when they were imprisoned in Bothwell Castle. They were not released until a special letter was sent to the King of Scotland in the name of Henry VI.<sup>2</sup>

Sir Hugh Luttrell came home from time to time, but his visits to Dunster were generally of short duration. When he was there in 1416 or 1417, he had his chariot repaired, and various payments were made on his behalf for the stuffing of saddles, for stirrups, poles, reins,

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix H.

<sup>2</sup> Rymer's "*Fœdera*" (Toulson), vol. x, p. 382.

buckles, and a whip. One of his horses that fell ill was doctored with verdigris and white wine. He was in England again at the end of 1419, and he spent Christmas with his family at Dunster. He left again by way of Domerham, Southampton, and Portsmouth.

On this, or on another of his journeys to Harfleur, he took with him all the portable ornaments of his private chapel, and a good deal of plate. Among the pieces of silver that he left at Dunster was "a coppe ynamed Bath," a "copp ynamed Courtenay," "an hie coppe ycoveryd with fereris yplomyd," the Courtenay crest, "a coppe with an egle ygylt in ye pomell," "a tastour," "an ymage of Synd Jon of sylver and gylt," and "a spone and a verke for grene gyngyn."<sup>1</sup> Part of his plate had come to him from his grandmother, the Countess of Devon, and part probably from his uncle, Archbishop Courtenay.<sup>2</sup> In 1416 he had himself paid £54 to the executors of Sir Ivo Fitzwarren, for certain silver vases.

Various repairs and alterations were made in the fabric of Dunster Castle in Sir Hugh Luttrell's time. In 1417 a mason was summoned from Bridgewater to advise about the re-building of the hall, and two years later part of the walls of the hall and of the Castle was pulled down. A new building was at the same time begun near the hall. Free-stone was brought from Bristol, and lias-stone delivered at Watchet, was conveyed thence to Dunster, by sea. Sir Hugh's own horses and oxen were employed to drag it up the steep hill to the Castle. The workmen were provided with "crowes, mattokkes, pycoyses, wegges, spades, shovylles," and "sleigges" made for the purpose, and were placed under the direction of an overseer.<sup>3</sup> It can scarcely be doubted that the "*novum edificium*" then begun was the gatehouse which spans the approach to the Castle from the north-west. Some antiquaries, having regard only to the architectural features and the character of the mouldings, have assigned this building to the time of Richard II. Others again, taking Leland as their authority, have referred it to the time of Henry VII, nearly a whole century later. It would appear, however,

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix II.

<sup>2</sup> Wills at Somerset House, Rouse,

f. 15. Sommer's "Canterbury" (1703).  
Appendix, p. 331.

<sup>3</sup> See Appendix II.

that the true date lies midway between the two which have been suggested. On the one hand, it is highly improbable that Lady Joan de Mohun, who was the owner of Dunster Castle throughout the reign of Richard II. would have made a costly addition to the fabric, after having arranged that the property should, at her death, pass into the hands of strangers. On the other hand, it is easy enough to account for Leland's mistake. On the occasion of his hurried visit to Dunster, he was doubtless informed that the gatehouse was built by Sir Hugh Luttrell, and he may have ascertained by personal observation that the last of the series of shields over its western arch bore the arms of a Sir Hugh Luttrell, who married Margaret Hill, and died in the twelfth year of Henry VIII. He accordingly wrote, without hesitation:—"Sir Hugh Luterelle, in the tyme of Dame Margarete, his wife, sister to the olde Lord Dalbeney, made a fair toure by north, cummyng into the Castelle." It did not occur to him that there had been two Sir Hugh Luttrells, and that the sculptured shield might be of a later date than the rest of the structure. The gatehouse seems to have been designed as much for domestic as for military purposes. It abuts against, and partly incorporates one of the flanking towers of the older Edwardian gateway.

The household accounts of Sir Hugh Luttrell mention an upper and a lower Castle, the former of which, generally known as "le Dongeon," contained a chapel and a kitchen, and had at least one tower. In the lower ward, near the new gatehouse, stood the Hall, separated from a second chapel by wooden "enterclos" and "haches," and lit by glazed windows. There was a lantern on the steps leading to the hall, and a bell hung overhead. The accounts also make mention of Dame Hawys's Tower, the tower over the entrance, the portcullis, the room between the gates, the gatekeeper's room, the lord's room, the constable's room, the store-house, and the stables.<sup>2</sup> A street on the west of the gate house was known as "Castel-bayly," and twelve acres of sloping ground on and around the Tor were known as "Casteldyche pastour."<sup>3</sup> The Bark on

<sup>1</sup> "Itinerary," vol. ii. p. 71.

<sup>2</sup> See Appendix H.

<sup>3</sup> Dunster Castle Muniments. Box viii.

No. 2. Dunster Church Book, f. 14.  
Inquisitiones post mortem, 6 Henry VI,  
No. 32.

the south of the Tor, lying partly in the parish of Dunster, and partly in that of Carhampton, was, in the 14th, 15th, and 16th centuries, always described as "the Hanger Park," or "le Hanger," obviously in reference to its hanging woods. Mention is occasionally made of a "New Park." Like his predecessors, the Mohuns, Sir Hugh Luttrell had a larger park at Marshwood, in the parish of Carhampton, near the sea.<sup>1</sup> The accounts show that he built a new lodge at the rabbit-warren ("*cunicularium*"), of which the name only remains in Conygar, a hill on the north side of the town of Dunster. He kept his dogs at a house hired for the purpose.<sup>2</sup>

The number of retainers living in the castle varied according to circumstances. When Sir Hugh Luttrell first took up his abode there, he had a steward, a chamberlain, and a cook, and fifteen henchmen and servants, who received wages ranging from 10s. up to £2 a year apiece. Lady Catherine Luttrell had one damsel in attendance on her, and there was one laundress for the whole establishment. Master John Odeland and John Scolemaster who were successively staying at the castle in 1424, may probably have come to teach some of the younger members of the family.

Sir Hugh's married daughters and his daughter-in-law, the wife of John Luttrell, sometimes came as guests, but when Lady Elizabeth Harington took up her quarters at the castle for several months in 1424, she had to settle with the steward for the board of her whole retinue.<sup>3</sup> Messengers who brought letters or presents of venison, boar, capons, porpoises, salmon or melet, were entertained and amply rewarded. It is worthy of remark that in 1405 the Prior of Dunster was able to offer Lady Catherine

<sup>1</sup> Dunster Castle Muniments, Box i, No. 4, Box ix, No. 2, Box xvi, No. 3. Inq. p.m., 6 Henry VI, No. 32.

<sup>2</sup> The following are some of the places in Dunster that are mentioned in deeds of the reigns of Edward II, Edward III, Richard II, and Henry IV:—"Galloke-strete," "Dodde brugge," "Est strete," St. George's Street, the well of St. Leonard on the north side of Grobbefast, "la Chippyngstret," "Water street," "Mac-homes brigge," "Skybardselyf" "Portmanes Acre" (Dunster Castle Muniments, Box viii, No. 2), "le Chesell de Karemore,

(Box x, No. 1), "deux acres de terre en la hangre qui gisent entre la fosse de les vignes de l'une partie, et le chemin qest appelle Brooklane de l'autre partie," "Prestlonde" (Box, i, No. 4), "le Conynger" (Dunster Church Book, f. 7).

<sup>3</sup> Savage describes this lady as cousin and next heir of Sir John Luttrell of East Quantockshead. It does not, however, appear how she was related to him. She was the wife of John Harington, the fourth baron of that surname. Her husband was son of Sir Hugh Luttrell's first cousin.



four bushels of green peas on the 20th of December. Seven days later Sir Hugh gave 8s. 4d. to three tenants of John Cobleston, and six of his own tenants, and to a number of children from Minehead, who played before him. At the following feast of the Epiphany he gave 1s. "to the Clerks of St. Nicholas." Richard Popham, a lawyer, received 6s. 8d. for his professional services. One of the rolls of accounts preserved at Dunster gives details of all the food bought from day to day in the course of a twelve-month from the 27th of June, 1405.<sup>1</sup>

Sir Hugh Luttrell had two sons, John and William,<sup>2</sup> and four daughters Elizabeth, Ann, Margaret and Joan. When in 1406 the first-named of these daughters married William Harleston, Sir Hugh settled on them and the heirs of their bodies the manor of Debenham in Suffolk, the bridegroom on his side settling rents worth 40 marks a year on the lady, and paying down the sum of 125 marks.<sup>3</sup> Two years later Ann Luttrell was married to William Godwin the younger, and each party brought into settlement rents worth £20 a year, and Sir Hugh undertook to pay 100 marks in instalments.<sup>4</sup> In 1412 Margaret Luttrell was betrothed to a certain John de Cotes, and her father undertook to provide them their two servants and their two henchmen (*chivalers*) with meat and drink for the first year after the marriage. He also promised to give £20 to his daughter "*pour sa chambre*," and 100 marks to his future son-in-law, who in return undertook to settle lands worth £20 a year on the issue of the marriage.<sup>5</sup> The fourth daughter took the veil at Shaftesbury.<sup>6</sup>

Sir Hugh Luttrell died on the 24th of March, 1428, and was buried at Dunster in a manner fitting his rank. Among the persons who attended the funeral were sixteen poor men and women who wore jupes and capes of black

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix H.

<sup>2</sup> Robert Luttrell, ancestor of the Luttrells of Luttrellstown, co. Dublin, is stated by Lodge and Burke to have been a younger son of Sir Hugh Luttrell of Dunster. This however is extremely doubtful. Mr. Stapleton suggests that the Irish Luttrells were descended from an illegitimate son of Geoffrey Luttrell, the minister of King John. When Simon Luttrell, of Luttrellstown, was raised to

the peerage in the reign of George III, he chose as his titles Baron Ingham and Earl of Carhampton, as if he were connected with the Luttrells of Lincolnshire and of Somersetshire.

<sup>3</sup> Dunster Castle Muniments, Box xxxvii, No. 6.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 48.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 44.

<sup>6</sup> See Appendix H.

and white cloth.<sup>1</sup> A monument was erected to his memory on the north side of the high altar, in the thickness of the wall that separated the chancel from a small outlying chapel.<sup>2</sup> Two of the lancet windows that formerly gave light to the chancel were blocked up to make room for it, and the northern chapel was about the same time rebuilt in the Perpendicular style. The only evidence indeed of the existence of an earlier chapel on the site is a massive stone altar which can hardly be later than the first part of the thirteenth century. There are fair grounds for believing that this was "the lower chapel of St. Laurence;" mentioned in the agreement of 1254 between Reginald de Mohun and the Prior and Convent of Bath. The effigy of Sir Hugh Luttrell, beautifully carved in alabaster and relieved with gilding, shows him accoutred in plate armour. The arms and legs have been broken off, and other parts have been shamefully mutilated. On the left side of this effigy lies that of Lady Catherine Luttrell, also wanting the arms, and much defaced. The lady is represented as wearing a sideless dress, through the openings of which may be seen the girdle of the kirtle, and over all a mantle fastened in front by cords which pass through open "fermeules" or loops. A long veil hangs down from the top of the head.

It might have been expected that the name of the Great Seneschal of Normandy, the first of the Luttrells that lived at the castle, the builder of the gate-house, would have been so well known at Dunster, that there could be no question as to the fact that he and his wife were the originals of the alabaster figures on the north side of the chancel of the conventual church. Yet every modern writer, without exception, who has mentioned the monument of Sir Hugh and Lady Catharine Luttrell, has described it as that of Sir John de Mohun and his wife. The mistake appears to have arisen out of the exaggerated respect that has been so generally paid to the authority of John Leland. It has been pointed out already that Leland fell into error as to the date of the

<sup>1</sup> *Inquisitiones post mortem*, 6 Henry VI, No. 32. See Appendix H.

<sup>2</sup> The open cresting along the top of the monument has been copied from a fragment found in the ground close by

during the recent restoration of the Church. One of the carved cusps was found in the Priory garden, the others are new.

gate-house at Dunster, and his account of the monuments in the church shows that he cannot have committed his notes to paper on the spot. He writes :—

“The late Priorie of Blake Monkes stode yn the rootes of the north-west side of the Castelle, and was a Celle to Bathe.

“The hole Chirch of the late Priorie servith now for the Paroche Chirch. Afortymes the Monkes had the Est Parte closid up to their use.

“In the north part of this was buried undre an Arche by the high Altare one of the Luterelles, or, as I rather thynke, of the Moions, for he hath a Garland about his helmet, and so were Lordes of old Tymes usid to be buried.

“There ly ij images on the South Side of the Chauncelle of one of the Moions and his wife ; and therby lay an image of one of the Everardes Gentilmen first there set up by the Moions, yn token wherof they had a parte of the Castelle to defende by service ; the image lyith now bytwixt ij arches or Boteres in the Chirch Yarde.

“The Maner Place of the Everardes was and yet ys at Aller in Carnetun Paroche a mile from Dunster Castelle.

“Carntoun is shortly spoken for Carantokes Towne, wher yet is a Chapel of this Sainet that suntyne was the Paroche Chirche.

“There lyith one Elizabeth, wife of one of the Luterelles, afore the high Altare under a playne stone.”<sup>1</sup>

Not one of the four monuments here mentioned is accurately described. The Everarde monument, of which no traces now exist, can scarcely have been placed between two arches in a churchyard. The incised slab of Lady Elizabeth Luttrell, who died in 1493, is at Dunster—not at Carhampton. The only early monument on the south side of the chancel at Dunster is that of a nameless lady of the thirteenth century, without any husband by her side, while that on the north has the figures of a knight and his lady. Such being the case, Leland’s hesitating words “I rather thinke” are not worth much as evidence.

James Savage, the author of the “History of the Hundred of Carhampton,” tried to show that the effigies of the knight and the lady were those of John de Mohun, whom he wrongly styles “the second,” and Ada Tiptoft his wife. A living antiquary perceiving that they could not possibly be of so early a date as the year 1330, has suggested that they may have been intended to represent the last of the Mohuns of Dunster and his wife Joan de Burgwash.<sup>2</sup> Against this it may be urged that the nobleman in ques-

<sup>1</sup> “Itinerary,” vol. ii, p. 71.

<sup>2</sup> Hamilton-Rogers’s “Sepulchral Effigies of Devon,” p. 112.

tion gave distinct instructions for his burial at Bruton; that his widow made elaborate arrangements for her burial in her own chantry at Canterbury; and that she would have had no inclination to set up a cenotaph for him and for herself at Dunster after selling to a stranger the right of succession to all her estates in the West of England.<sup>1</sup> The costume, moreover, of the knight, the "orle" or wreath round his bascinet, the "demi-placcates" covering his breast, the sword-belt hanging diagonally across his body, the six overlapping "taces" or plates round his waist and hips, and the "tuiles" that protect his thighs, show clearly that he lived in the first part of the fifteenth century. The collar of SS. round his neck, furthermore marks him out as a person attached to the court of one of the Lancastrian kings. No Lord of Dunster, except Sir Hugh Luttrell, answers to this description.

Inquisitions were held in the counties of Somerset, Devon, Wilts, Dorset, and Suffolk, after the death of Sir Hugh Luttrell, and it was found that his son and heir John was upwards of thirty-four years of age.<sup>2</sup>

Sir John Luttrell had not long been in possession of his estates before he received the following letter from Sir John Stourton, claiming repayment of the money disbursed by him on account of the inquisition on Sir Hugh Luttrell taken in Wiltshire:—

"My ryght worshipfull and with all myne herte wel-belovoid cosyn y recomande me to yow beseeching yow that ye woll be remenbrid of the litell money that I dude paie by the hondes of Robert Colyngborn whiche yo toward me in your name as for the speed of your diem clausit extremum in the counte of Wiltes and by the advys of your cervaunt whiche laborud for hit in your name which drawith in all to the summe of iiiiij/ ix s id which y prairie yow that ye do sende me in as hasty tyme as ye godely may consideryng my nede ate this present hoeure that I have for my goyng obir see. And the holy Trinite yow evir conserve to his plesaunce and your ryght greet joy and confort

"Your cosyn John  
"Stourton Knyzght."

The little bill was duly discharged, and the valet of William Wadham, who brought it to Dunster, received a

<sup>1</sup> "Lego animam meam Deo, et corpus meum do sepeliendum in Prioratu canonicorum regularium de Bruton." Will of Sir John de Mohun dated 3 nones September,

1342. Dunster Castle Muniments, Box xxxvii, No. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Inquisitiones post mortem, 6 Henry VI, No. 33.

gratuity of 20*l.* One of Sir John Luttrell's first acts was to buy a barge for his own use, and to stock it with provisions. The price of it was £80, which he arranged to pay, in instalments, to an Irishman, named Foughler. In 1429 or 1430, he made a very minute addition to the fabric of the Castle, which can be identified with tolerable certainty. Finding the gatehouse erected by his father somewhat insecure, he resolved to strengthen it by building the two buttresses, which are still to be seen on the north side. Most of the stone was brought from Croydon Hill, about two miles distant, a small quantity only being quarried for the purpose in the Hanger Park. The building was accomplished in a fortnight, by two masons, from Wootton, and one labourer, whose wages were, respectively, 18*l.*, 14*l.*, and 11*l.* a week. The hire of a cart and four horses, with the wages of the carman, amounted to 1*s.* a day. About the same time one of the rooms adjoining the gateway was lined with cement, so that it should serve as a storehouse for salt. Among the visitors who stayed at Dunster in Sir John's Luttrell's time we may notice his sister Joan, and another nun of Shaftesbury, his cousin, Lady Elizabeth Courtenay, and a certain Walter Portman, who came to speak about a law suit against Philippa, Duchess of York, and other business. Sir John was on good terms with his Bishop, John Stafford, of Bath and Wells, and on one occasion he bought four hundred buckhorns at Exeter, as a present for him. He did not, however, long enjoy his ample worldly possessions, for he died on the 30th of July, 1430, having only survived his father by a little more than two years. He left behind him a widow, Margaret, who was by birth an Audley, and an only son, James, then about three years of age.<sup>1</sup> His funeral seems to have taken place at Dunster, though in the following year his anniversary was solemnly observed at Bruton by the Prior, fifteen canons, two secular priests, and various townsmen. There is no monument at Dunster or elsewhere, to his memory, or to the memory of his widow, who survived him by about seven years.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Inquisitiones post mortem, 9  
Henry VI, No. 51. Dunster Castle  
Muniments, box i, No. 29.

<sup>2</sup> Inquisitiones post mortem 17  
Henry VI, No. 11.

During the first part of the minority of the heir the estate was burdened with the maintenance of two widows, Lady Catharine Luttrell, his grandmother, being in receipt of an annuity of £100, derived chiefly from the manors of Minehead and East Quantockshead. Lady Margaret, his mother, seems to have been rather pinched for money, for she had to make over some of the family plate to her mother-in-law, and certain other silver vases and worsted-work to her receiver-general in part payment of his bill. She resided, for the most part, at Carhampton.<sup>1</sup> Soon after he came of age, James Luttrell effected an entail of the castle and manor of Dunster, of the manors of Minehead, Carhampton, and Kilton, and of the hundred of Carhampton, with a view to his marriage with Elizabeth, daughter of his guardian, Sir Philip Courtenay, of Powderham.<sup>2</sup> The wedding took place in the private oratory, or chapel of Powderham Castle, by special permission of Bishop Lacy, in 1450.<sup>3</sup> Two of the shields sculptured over the western arch of the gatehouse at Dunster show the arms of Luttrell impaled with those of Courtenay. The first commemorates the marriage of Andrew Luttrell with Lady Elizabeth Courtenay, who purchased Dunster from Lady Joan Mohun; the second commemorates the marriage of their great-grandson with another Elizabeth Courtenay, and heralds may notice that in the second instance the label on the Courtenay shield bears nine labels as a mark of cadency, the Courtenays of Powderham, being a younger branch of the family then represented by the Earl of Devon.

It was in James Luttrell's time that the laymen of Dunster resolved to build or rebuild the central tower of their parochial church. They seem to have been collecting money for the purpose for several years, for as far back as 1419, a certain William Pynson bequeathed forty shillings towards the new bell-tower, twenty shillings towards a new bell, and half-a-mark towards a new rood-loft.<sup>4</sup> In 1443 a contract was made between

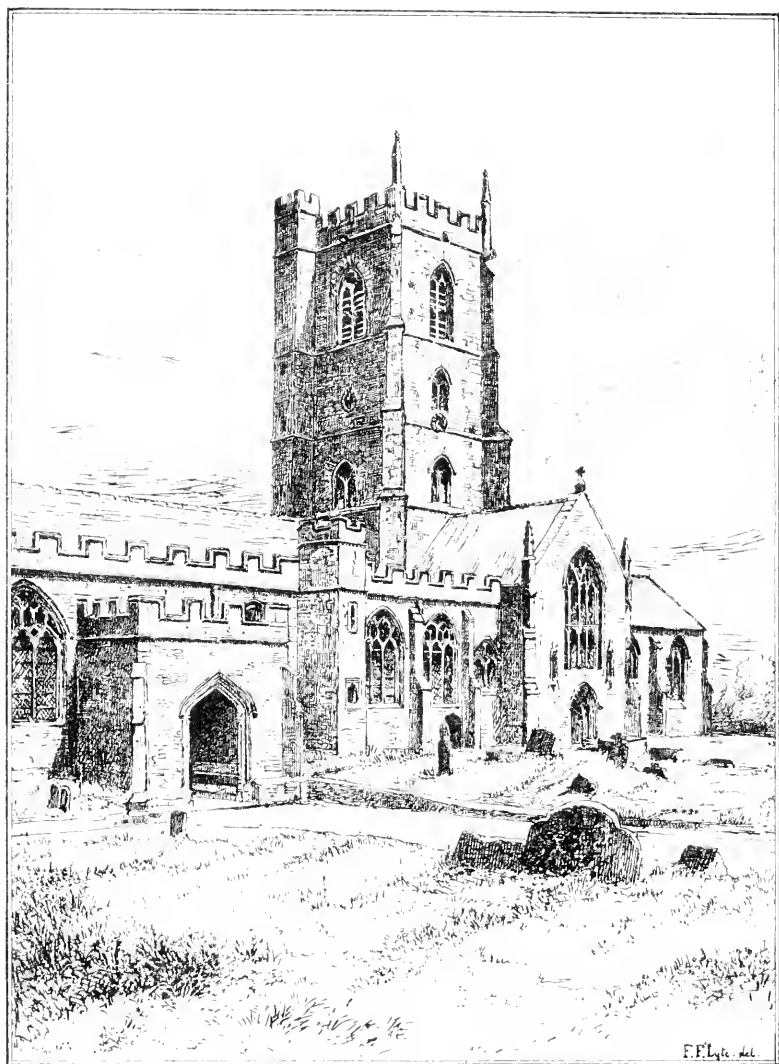
<sup>1</sup> See Appendix H.

<sup>2</sup> Dunster Castle Muniments, Box i, Nos. 23, 24. Patent Roll, 27 Henry VI, part 3, m. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Oliver's "Ecclesiastical Antiquities in Devon," vol. i, p. 28.

<sup>4</sup> Dunster Church Book, f. 12.





DUNSTER CHURCH.  
from the South West.



the parish of Dunster and a certain John Marys of Stokgursy, for the erection of a tower an hundred feet high, within the next three years. The "patron" or design, which was supplied by a freemason named Richard Pope, showed a French buttress at three of the angles and a "vice" or corkscrew staircase at the fourth, with battlements and four pinnacles on the summit. There were to be two windows on the first floor and four windows at the bell-bed, and three gurgoyles. The parish undertook to provide all ropes, pulleys, wynches, and other necessary implements, and to deliver the building materials in the transept of the church from time to time. Inasmuch, therefore, as Marys was not put to any expense in this respect, his remuneration was fixed at the low rate of 13s. 4*d.* a foot.<sup>1</sup> Some alterations must have been made in the contract afterwards, for the present tower does not attain to the full height of an hundred feet, nor do the windows quite correspond to the specifications of 1443.

In one of the later years of the reign of Henry VI, Alexander Hody, who was probably the son of Thomas Hody, who had been receiver-general of Sir Hugh Luttrell, drew up a statement of complaint against James Luttrell, Esquire. According to the account there given, Luttrell sent a man to Hody's wife to ask where her husband was to be found, and she, suspecting no deceit, told him where he would be for the next three days. Luttrell then seized one of Hody's servants "and putte hym in his castell of Dunster by the space of a nyghte, so that the seyd servaunt should not make knowliche to the seyd Alisaunder of the unfeythfull disposission of the seyd Jamys." The story proceeds:—

"In the mornyng there upon the seyd Jamys with the nombir of xxxv persones and moo with bowys beyng bente and arowys in thier hendys by hym unlawfully gaderyd, wente to the house of Thomas Bratton Squyer fadir in lawe to the seyd Alisaunder, where and atte which tyme she saide here husbände would be, and there sowght hym purposyng to have murderyd and sleyne the seyd Alisaunder.

"Item the seyd Jamys ande his servaunts to the nombir of 24 persones arrayed with dobeletts of defence, paletts, bowys, arrowys, gloyvys and speris to . . . . and ther John Coker servaunt to the seyd Alisaunder bete and woundyd so that the seyd John was in dispeyre of his lyfe."

<sup>1</sup> Dunster Church Book, f. 10. See Appendix I.

"Item the seyd Jamys with his servaunts and othir to the nombir of 44<sup>th</sup> persones and moo of grete malice forthought purposyng to murdyr and slee the seyd Alisaunder, entryd the castell of Taunton and ther the Constabillaye of the same and all the dorys ther brake, and entrid serchyng after the seyd Alisaunder, and 7 sponys of silver of the seyd Alisaunder and 5 ivery knives and other godis of the seyd Alisaunder toke and bare aweye and apon the wyfe of the seyd Alisaunder asaute made, bete, and with here daggers manasyd to slee, and so would have do, ner by grace of God one of ther felishipp lette hit, and Walter Peyntoir servant to the seyd Alisaunder cowardly with dagger nye to the dethe smote, and apon Sir Roberd preste to the seyd Alisaunder asaute made and hym by the here to the grounde pluckyd betyng hym with the pomelles of ther swerdis."

"Item the seyd Alisaunder askyth of the seyd Jamys 100 marke in money of the dette of Richard Luttrell whos administrator of goodis and cattall the seyd Jamys ys.

"Item he askyth of the seyd Jamys 17*s.* 6*d.* remaynyng unpayyd for potts of silver & gilte for a gretter summe of moneye by the seyd Alisaunder to him sold."<sup>1</sup>

James Luttrell was soon afterwards engaged in a strife of far greater moment, for in 1460 he took up arms on behalf of the House of Lancaster. He fought against the Duke of York at Wakefield on the last day but one of that year, and he was knighted on the field of battle.<sup>2</sup> Seven weeks later he again served under the victorious banner of Queen Margaret at the second battle of St. Albans, but he there received a wound of which he died on the fifth day. He left a widow and two sons, Alexander and Hugh, both under age and apparently well provided for by various entails and settlements.<sup>3</sup> The first parliament of Edward IV however passed a sweeping decree against all the chief adherents of Henry VI, Sir James Luttrell being reckoned among those who "with grete dispite and cruell violence, horrible and unmanly tyranage murdered" the Duke of York at Wakefield, was included among the traitors who were to "stand and be convycted and attainted of high treason and forfeit to the King and his heires all the castles, maners," and other lands of which they were possessed.<sup>4</sup> Edward IV had evidently anticipated this decree, for the accounts of the receipts and expenses of his bailiff at

<sup>1</sup> Dunster Castle Muniments, Box xxxvii, No. 16.

<sup>2</sup> Herald's College MS., Le Neve (quoted by Narcissus Luttrell).

<sup>3</sup> Inquisitiones post mortem, 1 Edward IV, No. 43. William of Worcester's

"Annales," printed in "Wars of the English in France," Rolls' Series, vol. ii, p. 776.

<sup>4</sup> "Rolls of Parliament," vol. v, pp. 177, 179.

Dunster begin as early as the 16th of March, 1461, twelve days only after the accession of the House of York.<sup>1</sup> In June, 1463, the king granted to William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, and his heirs in tail, the honor, castle, manor and borough of Dunster, and the manors of Minehead, Kilton, East Quantockshead, and Iveton, together with the hundred of Carhampton, and other lands in the county of Somerset, the manors of Chilton and Blancombe in Devonshire, the manors of Stonehall and Woodhall in Suffolk, and all other lands and tenements in those counties lately forfeited to the crown by the treason of Sir James Luttrell.<sup>2</sup> The Earl of Pembroke was beheaded by the Lancastrians in 1469, and in 1472 the king committed the custody of Dunster and of other estates just mentioned to Ann, Countess of Pembroke, during the minority of her son.<sup>3</sup> In 1475 the young earl obtained quiet possession of all his lands, and the cause of the Luttrells seemed hopeless indeed.<sup>4</sup> During the long years of their adversity we only hear of them twice, firstly when Lady Elizabeth Luttrell, the widow of Sir James, stood as godmother to a son of the Duke of Clarence, born at Tewkesbury in 1476, and secondly when Edward IV in a relenting mood allowed Hugh Luttrell son of Sir James, to receive the reversion of a moiety of the manor and market of Debenham in Suffolk, which had been settled by Sir Hugh Luttrell on the issue of his daughter Elizabeth Harleston.<sup>5</sup> Alexander Luttrell, the eldest son of Sir James, died in obscurity.

<sup>1</sup> Dunster Castle Muniments, Box i, No. 27.

<sup>2</sup> Patent Roll, 3 Edward IV, part 2, m. 16.

<sup>3</sup> Inquisitiones post mortem 9 and 10 Edward IV, No. 21, Patent Roll 12

Edward IV, part 2, m. 23.

<sup>4</sup> Patent Roll, 15 Edward IV, part 3, m. 7.

<sup>5</sup> Dugdale's "Monasticon" (1819), vol. ii, p. 64. Patent Roll, 22 Edward IV, part 1, m. 26.

## SALADE BELONGING TO THE BARON DE COSSON.

By W. BURGESS.

The thanks of the readers of the *Archæological Journal* are due to the Baron de Cosson for his kindness in lending for illustration the *salade* in question, out of his collection of arms and armour at Chertsey.

This *salade* is remarkable from more than one point of view.

In the first place it is very thin, only weighing 5 lb. 1 oz. The edges are cut square, except round the tail, where they have been flattened out and turned inward, as at F.

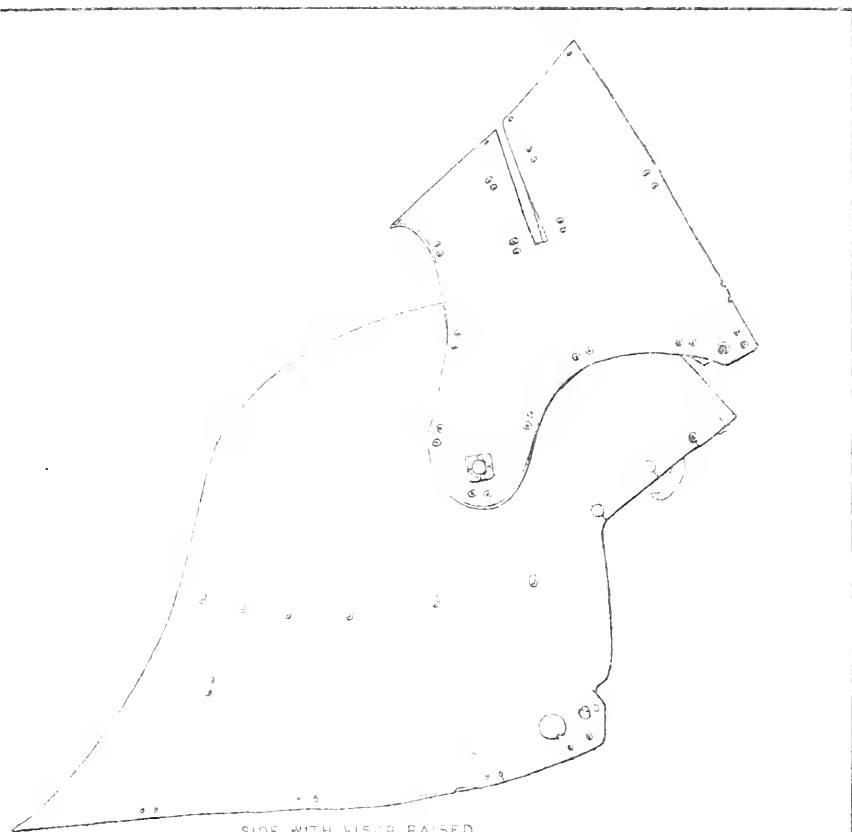
In the next place the exterior surface is exceedingly rough and unfinished, leading to the impression that it must either have been painted, or else covered by some sort of textile material, and indeed it is well known that armour was not infrequently covered in the latter part of the fifteenth century with precious stuffs.

Now our own national collection in the Tower of London luckily supplies a solution of the question; in it is preserved a *salade* of precisely the same shape and dimensions as that belonging to the Baron de Cosson, but the exterior is entirely painted over with ornamental decoration. The label affixed gives its history as follows:

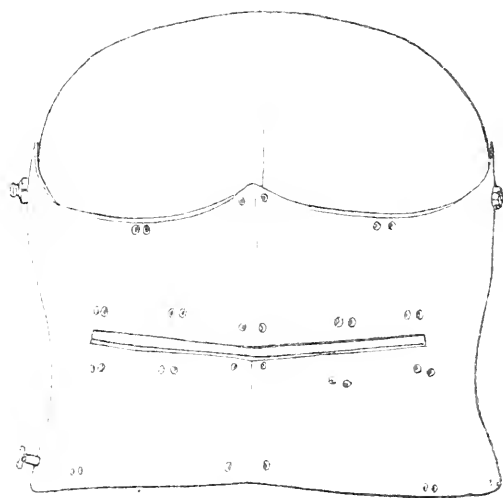
“This came from the castle of Ort, in Bavaria, and was formerly in the possession of Professor Baer, at Dresden, who subsequently sold it to the Tower authorities.”

During the time it belonged to the Professor it was drawn and engraved for the great work of Hefner,<sup>1</sup> and here it may be observed how very little even the best and most careful works are to be trusted. In the colored copy in my possession the flame-like ornaments are re-

<sup>1</sup> Hefner's *Trachten*, vol. ii, plate 179, p. 254.



SIDE, WITH VISOR RAISED.



FRONT VIEW.

# SALADE WITH VISOR.

IN THE POSSESSION OF THE BARON DE COSSON



presented as painted on the steel itself. This could hardly have been the case with the Baron de Cosson's example, as the ground is so very rough. On application to the Tower it turned out that the *salade* in that collection was the identical *salade* represented in Hefner's work.

By the kindness of the Assistant Commissary General, who has charge of the collection, the glass case was removed, and then it appeared that the entire surface had been painted, and that Hefner's plate was wrong as regards the distribution of color.

There can therefore be little doubt but that the *salade* under consideration was equally covered by ornamental painting.

The distribution of colors in the Tower example is as follows :

The lower part and the visor is covered by a pattern of chequers three deep. The squares are alternately white and yellow ; the former are charged with a red interlaced ornament ; the latter with a red portcullis, but occasionally stars are substituted in a very irregular manner ; above this border is a row of portcullises, and then the crown is divided with variously colored longitudinal divisions running from the front backwards, and upon each of these is a flame-like ornament running equally from front to back. It should be remarked that the painting has got very dark, and in many parts much worn off, but enough remained to make certain of the total covering of the surface.

In the Baron de Cosson's example there is now no trace of the painting, for the cleaning process has been very thorough and complete, but at the same time it enables us to discover that there have been sundry ruptures, either caused by violence or bad forging, which have been made good in the usual ancient manner with copper brazing.

The lining is not the least curious part of this *salade*, for it remains nearly entire, and is thus arranged : about three-and-a-half inches from the bottom edge are a series of rivets, which have broad flat heads on the inside, but are filed flat with the surface on the outside. They fasten down a strip of leather, above one inch in width, to the lower edge of which is sewed the lining. This latter

consists of two layers of linen, the upper being rather coarser than the inside ; between them is a layer of wool roughly quilted down. The lining, which is quite loose except at the lower edge where it is sewn to the leather strip, is divided at the top into quarters, at the apex of each of which is an eyelet hole, so that the whole could be gathered in with a cord.

In the sharp angle behind the head is a pad of linen also stuffed with wool, to cause the lining to fit better to the head.

Round the lower edge of the *salade* and round the *vizor* is a series of little holes in groups of two, counter-sunk on the outside ; these served to attach the lining of the lower part by stitches of stout thread or silk, the upper part of this lower lining being sewn to the lower part of the upper lining above described. It was perhaps of richer material, and may even have been continued over the surface of the upper lining.

This *salade* has been exceedingly fortunate in preserving its original straps, which fastened under the chin. They are five inches and twelve inches long respectively, the former finishing with a pretty little buckle. The top ends expand in the shape of a Y, and are secured by means of the lining rivets.

The *vizor* presents the same series of double stitch holes, both round the edges and round the *ocularium*, as occurs in the body of the *salade* ; it is also furnished with a catch on the right-hand side to keep it secure when lowered. The heads of the screws, which form the pivot, are made into four-foil flowers, and are also original.

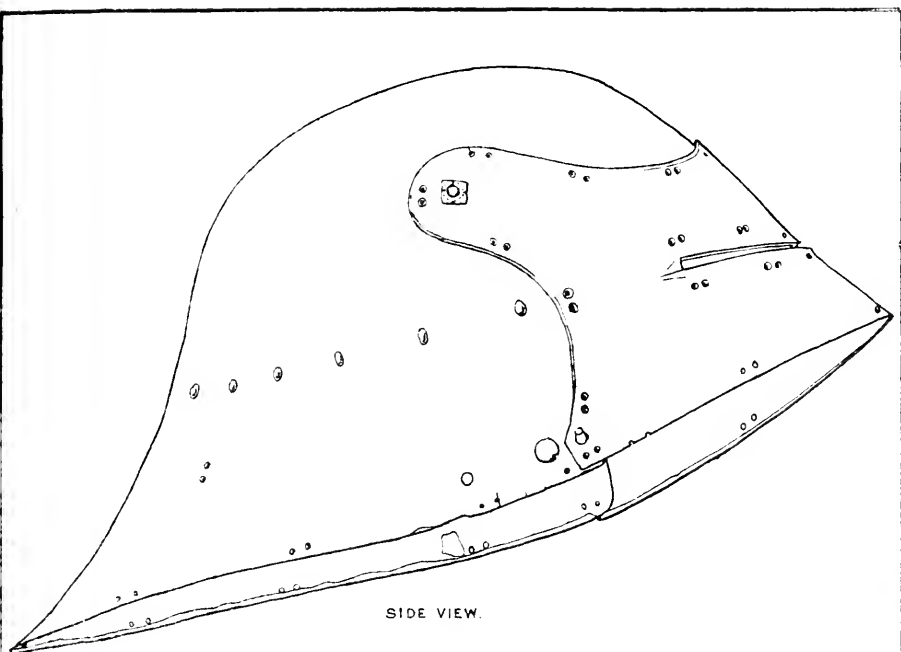
In conclusion, it may be observed that there are few helmets which present so many original features as the one which is the subject of the illustrations.

The examples in the Tower enables us to form a very clear idea of how it was painted outside, and the only part really lost is the lower part of the lining.

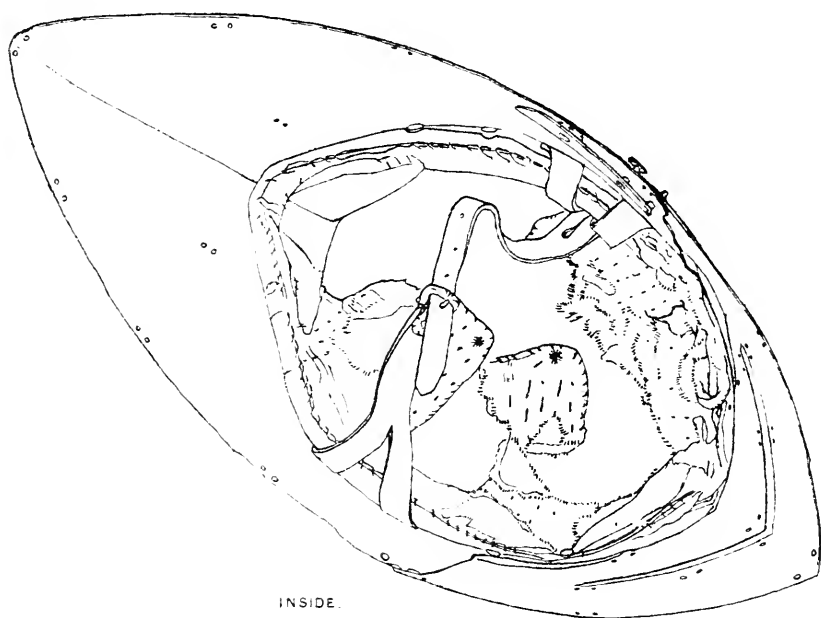
The possessor considers it to have belonged to an archer, and dates it from 1450 to 1480.

In the Ambras collection, there is a *salade* either decorated or covered with stuff, on the head of a knight's suit of armour, which may possibly be another of the





SIDE VIEW.

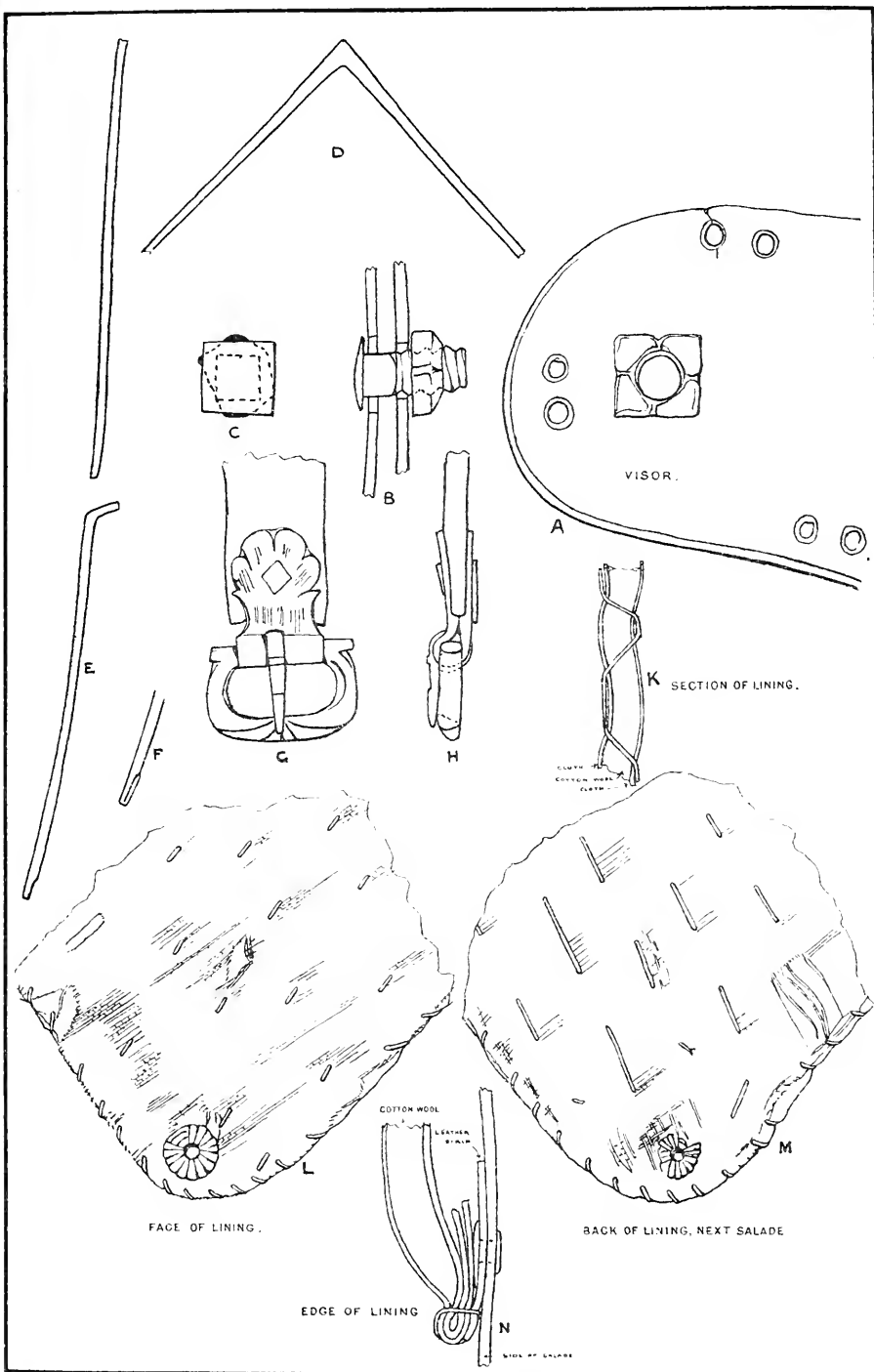


INSIDE.

# SALADE WITH VISOR.

IN THE POSSESSION OF THE BARON DE COSSON





# SALADE WITH VISOR.

IN THE POSSESSION OF THE BARON DE COSSON.



same set, and there is another in Sir R. Wallace's collection which is unpainted.

But from the extreme thinness and lightness, these salades probably belonged to some company of archers attached to the Castle of Ort, and had nothing to do with knight's armour, as a blow of an axe would have made very short work of them.

#### EXPLANATION OF THE FULL-SIZED DETAILS.

- A End of visor showing pivot.
- B Section of pivot.
- C Inside elevation of pivot.
- D Cross section in front of visor.
- E Section through occularium.
- F Section through lower edge of salade.
- G Buckle of strap.
- H Section of ditto.
- K Section of lining.
- L Face of lining, showing the eyelet-hole for the cord which drew the quarters together.
- M Back of ditto.
- N Section through bottom of lining, showing the strap of leather to which it is sewed, and also the rivet.

The dimensions.

Extreme length 1 ft.  $5\frac{3}{4}$  in.

Extreme height  $8\frac{1}{2}$  in.

N.B.—The Tower example has no lining.

## THE FRIAR-PREACHERS OR BLACK FRIARS OF YARM.

By the Rev. C. F. R. PALMER.

The family of Brus or Bruce, sprang from Robert de Brus, "a noble knight of Normandy," who served Duke William in the conquest of England, and became possessed of the Castle of Skelton in Cleveland, the Manor of Yarm, etc., in Yorkshire, Annandale in Scotland, and before the end of the reign of William the Conqueror, held wholly or in part no less than ninety-four lordships in the north, east, and west Ridings in the county of York, and great territories beyond the Tweed. He (or rather his son, for it seems very improbable that a warrior of Hastings should survive for seventy-five years) founded the Augustinian Priory of Guisborough, and died in 1141. Of the two sons of Robert de Brus, the younger, Robert, received from his father Annandale and other Scotch possessions, and became progenitor of the royal family of Bruce of Scotland; whilst the elder, Adam, continued in the lordship of Skelton, and held the English domains. From this Adam sprang three lords of the name of Peter, in regular descent and immediate succession; of whom Peter the third took to wife Hillaria, eldest daughter of Peter de Malolacu (Mauley), the royal ratification of the marriage being granted September 27th, 1236;<sup>1</sup> but had no issue. This last Peter de Brus was a justice-itinerant, succeeded to the family estates in 1241, on the death of his father, paying the fine for the relief of his inheritance, November 15th,<sup>2</sup> and closed his life September 18th, 1272,<sup>3</sup> leaving as his coheiresses his four sisters, of whom the second, Lucy, wife of Marmaduke de Tweng, inherited the manor of Yarm.<sup>4</sup>

It was during the time of Sir Peter de Brus the third and Hillaria his wife, sometime about the year 1260, that the Friar-Preachers settled at Yarm, through the patronage and munificence of that nobleman, and doubtless with the active concurrence of Lady Hillaria. He granted them a toft in the south part of the town, where they established themselves; and after they had dwelt there for a short time, he made the formal donation of the land to them by the following charter.

"Sciant omnes tam presentes quam futuri, quod ego Petrus de Brus tercius, pro salute anime mee et Hillarie uxoris mee, et omnium predecessorum nostrorum et successorum, dedi et concessi, et hac presenti carta mea

<sup>1</sup> Pat. 21st Henry III, m. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Rot. fin. 25th Henry III, m. 18.

<sup>3</sup> Inquis. post mort. 56th Henry III, No. 22 *manca*. Rot. fin. 56th Henry III, m. 4 (3).

Dugdale (*Baronage*), misled by a most faulty document, printed in his *Mon. Angl.*, makes four lords named Peter;

but the following extract from *Pat. 9th Edward III*, p. 2, m. 27, clears up the question: "Petrus de Brus tercius, quondam dominus manerii de Carleton in Calne, tenuit dictum manerium in capite, anno millesimo ducentesimo sexagesimo quinto."

<sup>4</sup> Rot. fin. 2nd Edward I, m. 24.

confirmavi, Deo, et beate Marie, et Fratribus de Ordine Predicatorum apud Jar' commorantibus, totum illud Toftum cum pertinenciis, quod jacet in australi capite ville de Jar', inter toftum domini Prioris de Giseburgh ex parte boreali et le Casteldik ex parte australi, et unde capud occidentale buttat super viam regiam, que ducit per mediam villam de Jar', et capud *occidentale* [orientale] buttat super bancum de These: Et quod quidem Toftum Walterus Leseby quondam emit de Ricardo Brunton: Tenendum et habendum dictis Fratribus de me et heredibus meis, in puram et perpetuam elemosinam, libere, quiete, pacifice, cum introitibus et exitibus, et omnibus aliis aysiamendis dicto Tofto pertinentibus. Ego vero Petrus de Brus et heredes mei dictum Toftum cum omnibus libertatibus et aysiamendis dicto Tofto pertinentibus predictis Fratribus contra omnes homines warantizabimus, acquietabimus, defendemus imperpetuum. Ut autem hec mea donacio, concessio, et presentis carte mee confirmacio perpetuum robur optineat, pro me et heredibus meis presenti scripto sigillum meum apposui in testimonium. Hiis testibus, Rogero de Brus avunculo meo, Rogero de Thokotes, Johanne de Burtona, militibus; Willielmo de Malteby, Johanne de Thokotes tunc senescallo meo, Roberto de Braythewath, Johanne de Aula, Willielmo de Elleton, Willielmo de la Hou, Willielmo de Aula, burgensibus de Jar', et aliis.<sup>1</sup>

This toft must have been small in extent; for even after several increases to their domains, the Friars held less than twelve acres of land. These additions occurred at intervals of time, by several grants, but what relation some of those grants may bear to each other cannot now be traced with accuracy.

John de Levington gave a plot of land lying between the rivulet of Skytering and land belonging to the Friars, and extending from the kingsway of Jar' to the water of Teyse. This grant, Marmaduke de Tweng, lord of Danneby, and Lucy, his wife, confirmed, for the weal of their souls and the souls of their ancestors and heirs; and gave leave for it to be enclosed with a wall corresponding with the old wall of the Friars' outward enclosure.<sup>2</sup>

John de Levington, son and heir of Roger de Levynghon, for the sake of God, the Blessed Mary, and all Saints, gave and confirmed to the Order of Friar-Preachers, and more especially to those dwelling at Jar', and serving God there, all his land lying between their site and a small plot which he once held of the Abbey of Jorvall, and extending from the kingsway to the water of Teyse, and abutting on the same site; to be held in pure, free, and perpetual almoign, free of all secular service.<sup>3</sup>

The same John de Levynghon gave and quitclaimed to the Order and the Friars at Jar', that plot which he once held of the Abbey of Jorwell,

<sup>1</sup> Pat. 8th Edward II, p. 1. m. 24; per inspe.

<sup>2</sup> Ibidem. "Hiis testibus, d'no Willielmo Daniel, d'no Willielmo de Resell, d'no Adam de Setun, militibus; Johanne de Aula de Jar', Willielmo fratre ejus, Johanne de Heltun de Jar', Willielmo de le Hou de Jar', Nicholao Herre de Jar', et aliis multis."

<sup>3</sup> Ibidem. "Hiis testibus, Marmedoco de Tweng, Roberto filio ejusdem, Johanne de Eggesclive, Waltero de Cyrsi, Ricardo de Crosseby, militibus; Johanne de Menyl de Midelton, Johanne de Lythegrayns, Alano de Malteby, Johanne de Aula de Jar', Johanne de Elleton, Johanne de Aslakeby, Hugone de Fene- wyce, Willielmo Wyger, Laurencio de Hiscopton (*sic*), et aliis."

and lay between the site he had already given them and the water or rivulet of Skitering, extending in length from the kingsway of Jar' towards the water of Tyse, and abutting on the land once belonging to John de Meynil, and now to the Friars: to be held by the rent of 20*l.* a-year to the Abbey, for all service and secular demands.<sup>1</sup>

John de Aslakeby, a burgess of Yarm, and Petronilla, his wife, had a royal mortmain-license, Jan. 20th, 1301-2, to assign 5*ac.* of land in Jarum to the Friars, for enlarging their plot.<sup>2</sup> By the inquisition taken previously, Aug. 13th (by writ of June 23rd), it was found that this licence could be given, "*si homines pedites de patria et de Jar' habeant quandam semitam per sealaria inter terram predictam et aquam de Teyse;*" that William le Venator, son of Richard, of Castell-Levyngton, had feoffed John and Petronilla in the land for their lives, and then the heirs of John or their assigns, to be held of the lord by the yearly rent of 1*l.* only; that William le Latimer, the younger, was lord of the fief; and that the land was worth 4*s.* a-year in all issues.<sup>3</sup> Arrangements being doubtless made for the right of the foot-passengers, John de Aslakeby, with the consent of Petronilla, his wife, for the weal of the souls of themselves, their ancestors and successors, and all the faithful, granted to God, B. Mary His mother, B. Dominic and All Saints, and to the Friar-Preachers of Jar' and their successors, in pure and perpetual almoign, the croft called Ribalderoft in the territory of Jar', lying between the kingsway and the water of Tayse, and extending from land of St. Nicholas' Hospital on the south to the ditch called le Casteldik on the north: which croft John and Petronilla had purchased of William, called the huntsman, son of Richard, venator of Castellevyngton.<sup>4</sup> This grant, William le Latymer, lord of Jar', and Lucy, his wife, confirmed, for the weal of the souls of themselves, their ancestors and successors, and of all the faithful dead.<sup>5</sup>

In the quitclaim of John de Levington, it appears as if John de Meynell had given some land to the Friars. John Menell, of Myddleton, was really one of the founders of this place. The Hiltons, lords of Hilton, and afterwards the Meynells, ranked amongst the benefactors. The patronage passed from Marmaduke de Tweng, husband of Lucy de Brus, who died before 1289,<sup>6</sup> to Lucy his grand-daughter (being daughter

<sup>1</sup> Ibidem. "*Hiis testibus, dominis Marmedoco de Tweng, Roberto filio ejusdem, Johanne de Eggescrive, Waltero de Cyresi, Ricardo de Crosseby, militibus; Johanne de Menil de Midilton, Johanne de Lithgraynis, Alano de Malteby, Johanne de Aula de Jar', Johanne de Elleton, Johanne de Aslakeby, Hugone de Fenwike, Willielmo Wiger, Laurencio de Biscopon, et ceteris.*"

<sup>2</sup> Pat. 30th Edw. 1, m. 33.

<sup>3</sup> Inquis. p. mort. 29th Edward I, no. 133. Jurors: Joh. de Menyl de Midelton, Hugo de Menyl de Hilton, Steph. Guer, Will. Guer, Ric. de Fenton, Will. Boy, Joh. de Fintres, Ric. in le Wyllies, Ric. de Seutherself, Robt. Bret, Rob. Bagot, Ric. de Wikesal. William le Latimer, the younger, and Lucy his wife had seisin of her inheritance in 23rd Edward I.

<sup>4</sup> Ibidem. "*Hiis testibus, dominis Nicholao de Menill, Arnaldo de Perey, Johanne de Menill de Midelton, Roberto Gower, militibus; Willielmo Venatore de Castellevyngton, Johanne de Malteby, Hugone de Hilton, Stephano Gower de Calkyngelly, Rad. Lester, Thoma de Swayneby, Willielmo Wygger, Ricardo de Wauxand, Thoma procuratore, et multis aliis.*"

<sup>5</sup> Ibidem. "*Hiis testibus, dominis Nicholao de Menyl, Arnaldo de Perey de Kildale, Johanne de Menyl, Roberto Guwer, militibus; Willielmo de Aslakby, Willielmo Venatore, Johanne de Malteby, Rad. le Lester, Waltero le Steynesby, Johanne de Aslakby, Willielmo Wyger, Thoma de Swayneby, et multis aliis.*"

<sup>6</sup> Inquis. p. m. 18th Edward I, no. 96.



of Robert de Tweng, who died v. p.), born at Kylton in Clyveland, March 26th, 1279, and died in January, 1346-7. This Lucy had for her first husband, William le Latimer, the younger, from whom she was divorced in 1312 for adultery, and she took as her second husband, or paramour, Nicholas de Meynell, of Hilton, on whom and their issue she settled her inheritance. Their only daughter Elizabeth was married to John d'Arey, into whose family Yarm passed. From the Meynills, of Hilton, sprang the continuous line in which the Manor is now vested.

These lands then, which we have described, formed the site of the house and church, the churchyard and homestead of the Friars. The edifice was probably erected by the munificence of patrons and benefactors: Henry III, December 17th, 1266, gave ten good oaks (*quercus*) out of the forest of Galtres;<sup>1</sup> and these were probably for building purposes. It is remarkable that the church was not finished for more than forty years. The Archbishop of York issued a commission, May 3rd, 1308, to the Bishop of Whitherne, to dedicate the church of the Friar-Preachers of Yarm, which then had been lately built.<sup>2</sup> It was dedicated to the B. Virgin Mary; the house accommodated between thirty and forty religious.

A royal confirmation was granted, September 6th, 1314, of Peter de Brus the III's gift, Marmaduke de Tweng's confirmation of the gift of John de Levington, John de Levington's gift and his quitclaim, John de Aslakeby's gift, and William le Latymer's confirmation of the same.<sup>3</sup>

In after-times only one addition was made to the lands. By writ of August 24th, 1392, an inquisition was taken on the 28th, at Ebor' by which it was found that Thomas Ingilby might assign three messuages in Jar' to the Friars, in order to enlarge their homestead. These messuages were held of Philip Darcy, chevalier, in burgage and the yearly service of 1*d.* for one of them, and 4*d.* for the other two: Philip held them of the King by unknown service, and they were valued a-year in all issues at 6*s.* 8*d.* clear.<sup>4</sup> The mortmain-licence, for which they paid the fine of two marks, was issued September 22nd, and enabled the Friars to complete the purchase.<sup>5</sup>

This was one of the thirty-three houses of Friar-Preachers to each of which the executors of Queen Eleanor of Castile gave 100*s.*, that sum being paid to F. William Hothum, provincial, shortly after Michaelmas, 1291, by Robert de Middleton, for Jarum.<sup>6</sup>

As the Blackfriars was the only house of religious in this town, it is probable that when Edward I and Edward II made an abode here, they took up their quarters in this house. Edward I passed through Yarm in November, 1299, and on December 4th, he sent 10*s.* to the Friars from Durham, for one day's food.<sup>7</sup> Edward II staying here, July 29th, 1319, gave an alms of 11*s.* to the thirty-three Friars, also for a day's food.<sup>8</sup>

When Edward I proposed his expedition into the Holy Land, the Friar-Preachers and Minors were actively employed in forwarding the interests of the crusade. The Archbishop of York, September 4th,

<sup>1</sup> Chaus. 51st Henry III, m. 10.

<sup>2</sup> Dixon's *Fasti Eboracenses*, by Raïne, vol. i, p. 378.

<sup>3</sup> Pat. 8th Edward II, p. 1. m. 24.

<sup>4</sup> Inquis. p. mortem, 16th Richard II, p. 1, no. 56.

<sup>5</sup> Pat. 16th Richard II, p. 1. m. 21. Rot. orig. ro. 42.

<sup>6</sup> Rot. (garder.) liberat. pro regina, etc., 19th, 20th Edward I.

<sup>7</sup> Lib. quotid. contrarot. garder. 28th Edward I.

<sup>8</sup> Lib. garder. 13th Edward II. Additional MSS., cod. 17362.

1291, published his intention of preaching in the matter on the ensuing feast of the Holy Cross (September 14th) in his own cathedral, and enjoined these friars in his diocese to follow his example, and send three, or at least two, of their numbers to their various stations. At this time, the Convent of Jarum had preaching-stations at Alverton, Jarum, and Tresk.<sup>1</sup>

In 1302, it was alleged that some "malefactors" entered the close of the convent, threw down walls, broke doors, carried off timber, and other goods and chattels to the value of 100s., and beat and wounded the prior's servants. The Prior, October 28th, obtained a writ of *oyer and terminer* directed to three justices, John de Lythegreyns, John de Insula, and Arnald de Percy, three or two of them, in order to bring the matter to the judgment of the proper court.<sup>2</sup> There was probably a claim to some land, perhaps to that just acquired of Aslakby. Another similar writ was issued, October 4th, 1304, addressed to the justices, Hugh de Louthre and Adam de Middleton, against those who had broken into a close of the convent and trampled down and consumed grass to the value of 40s., by pasturing cattle there.<sup>3</sup>

During the disastrous wars with Scotland, the Archbishop of York, January 14th, 1314-5, desired the Prior of the Friar-Preachers of York to enjoin the preachers of his Order, and especially the Prior of Yarm, to preach with all speed against, and denounce as excommunicated, Sir Robert de Brus and the Scotch, who were horribly devastating the northern parts of the kingdom, destroying alike churches and manors, and to stir up the people for their common defence by resisting the invaders; with the grant of forty days' indulgence to all who thus protected their church and country.<sup>4</sup>

F. Edmund de Clif, prior, bought victuals from the royal household, about the middle of October, 1322, for 8*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*<sup>5</sup> Of this debt, Edward III pardoned the Friars, June 16th, 1329, 12 marks (8*l.*)<sup>6</sup> This king also gave the (twenty-eight) Friars, June 4th, 1335, 9*s.* 4*d.* for a day's food, and 20*s.* towards repairing their cloister.<sup>7</sup>

F. Robert Heroun "de ordine predicatorum de Jar," was ordained subdeacon, December 22nd, 1341, in the chapel at Aukeland, by the Bishop of Durham.<sup>8</sup>

F. William de Foxton was probably a religious of this house, for to him (although he was not her confessor) Lucy, wife of Sir Bartholomew de Fanacourt, by will dated January 6th, and proved March 1st, 1346-7, bequeathed "roban meam de burnet cum omnibus apparatis." This was Lucy de Tweng, lady of Yarm, and Fanacourt was her fourth consort. Henry de Percy, by will dated September 13th, 1349, and proved March 12th, 1351-2, bequeathed 6*l.* sterling to the Friar-Preachers of Pontefract, Lancaster, Yarm, and Newcastle-on-Tyne, in equal shares. William, Lord Latimer, by will dated July 10th, 1380, and proved May 31st

<sup>1</sup> Reg. archiep. Romani, fol. 26 b. Raine's Historical Papers, etc. p. 93.

<sup>2</sup> Pat. 30th Edward I, m. 6d.

<sup>3</sup> Pat. 32nd Edward I, m. 4d.

<sup>4</sup> Reg. archiep. Greenfield, vol. ii, fol. 83a. Raine, p. 238.

<sup>5</sup> Irrot. comp. de recept. magne garder. temp. Edward II et Edward III, ro. 15.

<sup>6</sup> Pat. 3rd Edward III, p. 1, m. 14.

<sup>7</sup> Contrarot. garder. reg. de expens. forencee, 8-9th Edward III.

<sup>8</sup> Reg. Ric. Kellawe, ep. Dunelm. fol. 290b. The master-general, April 1st, 1393, confirmed all the graces conceded by any prelate of the order, "fratri Roberto Heren, provincie Anglie." Reg. Mag. Ord.

following, devised to the Friar-Preachers at Yarm 10*l.* sterling; also "un vestiment enbroude ove mes armes, come ils sont a Gisburn, pour praier pour moy." *John Percy*, of Kildall, August 9th, 1382, bequeathed 6*s.* 8*d.* to the Convent of Friars of Yarm. *William Maubray*, of Colton (in Ainsty), in July, 1391, bequeathed "un grand plombe q'est a Jarum, del valu par estimation, de v mare' a les Freres alioques, pour trentalls chaunter pour mon alme et Eliza ma femme jady*s.*" *Sir Brian de Stapilton*, by will dated May 16th and proved June 26th, 1394, bequeathed to the Friars of Beverley, Seadeburgh, Doncastre, and Pontefrait, Richemonde, Yarm, Allirton, and Cordelle, to each Order, 13*s.* 4*d.*<sup>1</sup>

F. John Leeke had the license of the master-general, April 1st, 1393, to go to the Roman Court and elsewhere at his will, but only with a companion of the Order. And in 1397, being then of the Convent of Yarm, he was assigned by the master, July 14th, after two years from the present date, if he could obtain that grace from the University of Oxford, "ad concurrendum in lectura seniorum, cum alio ibidem ordinarie legente."<sup>2</sup>

F. Robert Olyvere, of Yharom, was ordained deacon March 2nd, 1397-8, by Oswald, Bishop of Witherne, suffragan of the archbishop, in the parish church of St. Martin, Conyngstrete, York; and priest June 1st following, by the same prelate, in the parish church of St. Michael in Berefrid, York.<sup>3</sup>

*Sir Richard le Scrop*, knight, Lord of Bolton, August 2nd, 1400, bequeathed 20*s.* to the Friars of Jarum. *June, widow of Sir Donald de Heselrig*, by will dated December 1st, and proved on the 31st, 1400, bequeathed 40*s.* to the Convent of Friars of Jarum. *Isabel, widow of Sir Walter Fauconbergh*, knight, by will made April 9th, and proved July 1st, 1401, bequeathed five marks to the Friars of Yarm. *Sir Thomas de Boynton* (of Acklam), knight, by will dated July 28th, and proved September 6th, 1402, bequeathed 13*s.* 4*d.* to the Friar-Preachers of Yarm. *Sir John Conyers*, of Ormesby in Cleveland, knight, by will dated June 2nd, and proved July 14th, 1438, bequeathed 20*s.* to the Friars of Yarm, to pray for his soul. *Sir Thomas Fulthorp*, knight, one of the justices of Common Bench, by will dated August 13th, 1456, and proved May 3rd following, bequeathed 20*s.* to the Prior and Convent of Yarm.<sup>4</sup> *Sir Ralph Fitz-Randall*, knight, by will of January 20th, 1457-8, and proved on the 31st, bequeathed 15*s.* to the three Orders of Friars at Yarm, Allerton, and York, to be divided between them in equal portions.<sup>5</sup> *Robert Crathorn*, of York, gent., by will dated March 8th, 1464-5, and proved on the 18th, desired that for his soul, an obit should be celebrated in Crathorn church and another at the Friars of Yarm. *Robert Dale alias Flesshever*, of Magna Fencots, by will dated April 15th, 1470, and proved March 12th following, bequeathed 5*s.* to the Friars of Yarm. *Dame Jane Boynton*, of Yarm, by will proved February 7th, 1488-9, gave her body to be buried in the quere of the friars at Yarm.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Testamenta Eboracensia.

<sup>2</sup> Ex reg. mag. gen. Ord. Romæ assertato.

<sup>3</sup> Reg. Cap. Eccl. Ebor. anno 1397; Bibl. Cotton. Galba E. X. ff. 97b, 116b.

<sup>4</sup> Test. Ebor.

<sup>5</sup> Wills, &c., of Archdeaconry of Richmond (Surtees Soc.).

<sup>6</sup> Graves' *History of Cleveland*, p. 69.

An interesting list of other interments is given as follows :—

“ Copy of an auncient noate from the prior of Yarm, of burials there.  
Domina Eva, quondam ux. Domini Henrici filii Hugonis, sepulta fuit  
coram altari’ in medio gradu.

(*N.B. Filia Johannis Balmer.*)

Hugo, filius Dominae Evæ, ad caput Domini, in inferiori gradu.

Thomas, filius ejusdem, juxta eum versus aquilonem.

Rob’ts de Hilton, in eodem gradu, versus australem.

(*And all yese was of the progeny of the Hiltons.*)

Domina Maria, quæ fuit ux. Domini Nicholai de Menell, in capitulo  
beat. Katerinae.

Hugo de Menell, quondam dominus de Hilton, in cimiterio.<sup>1</sup>

Alicia, quondam ux. ejusdem Hugonis, juxta eum.<sup>2</sup>

Rob’ts de Menell, juxta dictam Aliciam.

Johannes de Menell, juxta dictum Robertum.<sup>3</sup>

Sibilla, quondam ux. juxta dictum Johannem.<sup>4</sup>

Nicholus de Hilton, et Dominus de Hilton, in cimiterio.<sup>1</sup>

Cicilia ux. ejus. juxta eum.

Johannes de Hilton, Dominus de Hilton, jacet in capitulo beat.  
Katerinae.

Isabella, ux. ejus juxta eum.

*And all yese gentilmen be in the freers of Yarm.*

*Lord John Menell of Myddleton was one of the foundacioners of this  
place of Yarm.”<sup>5</sup>*

The Priory of Yarm seems to have been destroyed by the agency of William Blytheman, of York, who was one of the most active of the royal commissioners for the suppression of religious houses in the northern parts of the kingdom. It was surrendered December 21st, 1538, by the prior, five priests, and six novices, some of whom seemed to have tried to express their reluctance to act in the matter by writing their names in an extraordinary manner scarcely to be deciphered, except by the aid of other documents. These names are Myls Wyleck, prior; Wyllm Repon prest, Hymy Hemmayss p’st, Ihon Wawker prest, Jon Telzarson prest, Xp’e Symson prest; Robert Halle, Wyllu’m Robyson, Robert Robson, Christoferus Smyth, Robert Teyllyoer, and Wyllm Chapman, novicii.<sup>6</sup> According to “A certillycate of the vallues of the Relygeous houses of Yorkshir, Northomberland, and ye bishoprike of Derham,” made upon their dissolution, Bryan Layton was left keeper of this house; value of the possessions, over and above reprises, 8s.; number of religious, the Prior and eleven brethren; value of the household stuff, 106s. 8d.; given to the Prior, 20s.; and to the Friars, 54s. 4d.; leaving a balance of 32s. 4d.; remaining, forty fadders of lead and two bells; no wood or underwood; 49 oz. of church-plate, etc.: no debts owing to or by the house.<sup>7</sup>

The utensils realized such a small sum, because the Friars had been obliged to sell a great part of their valuables for the maintenance of the

<sup>1</sup> Of Hilton, in Cleveland; living from 1203 to 1260.

<sup>2</sup> Sister and heiress of Adam de Hilton.

<sup>3</sup> Son of Hugh and Alice, and living in 1306.

<sup>4</sup> Sibilla de Skiringham, living in 1306

<sup>5</sup> Dodsworth’s MSS., vol. xlv, p. 76; Graves’ *Cleveland*, p. 70.

<sup>6</sup> Surrenders of Monasteries, Yarmoe, Blackfriars: no. 273.

<sup>7</sup> Harl. MSS. cod. 604, fol. 104.

house. Bryan Layton, Esq., bought all that remained. The lead was from the roof of the church and other buildings, and the bells were estimated to weigh about 8 cwt. The plate consisted of two chalices weighing 32 oz., twelve spoons of 9 oz., and three mazer-bands of 8 oz., all of silver, which were sent to the King's jewel-house. As to the sum of 54*s.* 4*d.* doled out to the unpensioned Friars, 6*s.* 8*d.* was given to Repoone, 10*s.* to Hynemershe, 5*s.* each to Symeson, Walker and Tayllorson, 3*s.* 4*d.* each to Hall, Robertson, Tayllor, Robson, Smith, and Chapman, and 16*d.* each to Martin Maleson and William Hyndemarshe, who were probably servants.<sup>1</sup>

The seal attached to the act of surrender is still in a good state of preservation. It is a vesica-shaped, and in red wax, 2in. by 1½in. ; under a double canopy two figures standing, on the right the B. Virgin Mary, on the left the Archangel Gabriel, from whose hand a label is pendent, bearing the words, AVE MARIA ; on the ground between the figures, a vase of flowers ; below a demi-figure praying : legend around, SIGILLVM COVENTVS FRA. PREDICATORVM D' LARV'.

All the buildings were left standing for some time. The lands of the late Convent were as follows :—

Site with churchyard, orchards, gardens, and a close called Aks, or Oks, between the stone-wall and the highway on the W., and the Tease on the E., containing altogether 8*a.*, late in tenure of Christofer Conyers, Esq. 33*s.* 4*d.*

A close, called Castell Close, or Fryer Close, on the W. of the site, in tenure of Gawyn Conyers, containing 2*a.* 13*s.* 4*d.*

A small cottage and garden adjacent on the N. of the last, and next the little stream Scitterik, in tenure of Geo. Harkay. 16*d.*

Three cottages under one roof, with three gardens, near the last ; one let to John Dawson for 2*s.* 8*d.* ; another, late to Robert Carre, now to Janette Blackewell, widow, for 4*s.* ; and the third to Tho. Hodgeson, for 5*s.* 11*s.* 8*d.*

A cottage in the middle of the town, W. of the road, with a small garden adjacent, in tenure of Gawyn Conyers, gent. 5*s.*

Three cottages under one roof, near the Tease and Sketerik Brigge, leased by the Prior, December 8th, 1528, to Alexander Calverd, for the term of forty years. 8*s.*

Total yearly value, 72*s.* 8*d.*<sup>2</sup>

Bryan Layton, who was of Norham, co. Durham, obtained a royal lease, March 1st, 1539-40, including all except Calverd's cottages, for twenty-one years from the last Michaelmas, at the rent of 3*l.* 4*s.* 8*d.*, great trees and wood being excepted and also such buildings as the king might order to be razed.<sup>3</sup> John Warde was collector of the rents till 1546, after which Robert Layken took his place. Calverd's cottages became void at Christmas, 1546, through the crown not supplying timber, and remained so till the whole was sold.<sup>4</sup>

The particulars for sale were made out, February 3rd, 1551-2, for John Wright, servant of Sir Robert Bower, kn., and March 1st, 1552-3, for

<sup>1</sup> Ministers' Accounts, 29-30th, Henry VIII, no. 197.

<sup>2</sup> Ministers' Accounts, 30-31st Henry VIII, No. 166.

<sup>3</sup> Enrolments of leases, Miscellaneous

Books of Court of Augm., vol. cexii, fol. 93b.

<sup>4</sup> Ministers' Account, 38th Henry VIII, 1st Edward VI, No. 75.

## 192 FRIAR PREACHERS OR BLACK FRIARS OF YARM.

Simon Welbery (of Castle Eden, Durham) and Christofer Morland (of Pyttenton, in the same county), yeomen, the purchase-money being fixed at 79*l.* 10*s.*<sup>1</sup> The grant was made, March 25th, 1553, to Welbury and Morland, and their assigns for ever, to be held as of the manor of East Greenwich, by fealty only, in free socage, and not in capite.<sup>2</sup> There are now no traces of the ancient buildings left, at least above-ground.<sup>3</sup> The lands have passed into the possession of the Meynells, lords of the manor of Yarm. A commodious mansion has been erected on the site of the house, which is still distinguished by the name of *the Fryerage*, now the residence of Mrs. Spencer. On the death of Edward Thomas Meynell, Esq., March 17th, 1870, the estate passed to his uncle, Edgar John Meynell, Esq., of Old Elvet, Durham, one of the judges of the County Courts.



Seal of the Friar Preachers of Yarm.

<sup>1</sup> Particulars for grants, 7th Edw. VI.

<sup>2</sup> Pat. 7th Edward VI, p. 7, m. 13.

<sup>3</sup> Much of the mason-work of the cel-

larage of the present mansion is ancient ; and the cemetery may yet exist below the surface of the soil.

## NOTES ON A DISCOVERY AT GREENHITHE, KENT.

By the Rev. J. M. GATRILL.

The discovery of one of those artificial cavities in the chalk known as "Dane holes," so frequently found in the counties of Kent and Essex, would not, as a rule, call for remark. There are, however, some details of special interest connected with one which was opened at the beginning of last year in the parish of Greenhithe, Kent, which may be worthy of attention.

Some twelve months ago, the workmen in the employ of the Greenhithe Chalk Company came, in the course of their excavations, across what had once been a large pear-shaped cave in the chalk.

The broadest part, which was a few feet above the base or floor, was between twenty-two and twenty-three feet in width. The floor was nearly circular in shape and quite smooth, while the roof arched over in a dome-like shape to a point in the centre whence a perpendicular shaft ran to the surface of the ground. The depth from the mouth of this funnel or shaft to the bottom of the pit was about thirty-five feet. There was no other means of access to the cave, as the nature of the ground forbade anything like a horizontal adit. The sides of the pit had been roughly worked with a pick, the marks of which were plainly visible in the chalk. Both the shaft and the cavity were completely filled with a mass of sand and gravel, and an enormous quantity of animal bones. Many cartloads of these remains were taken out and thrown on one side by the workmen. They belonged to the horse, ox, pig, dog, and deer. A few bones of birds were found, the horn of *Bos longi cornis* (now extinct in Europe), and a large quantity of mice bones—the former possessors of which had lived and died in the midst of plenty. The remains of coarse Roman pottery were also discovered, but in no case was a perfect vessel found—only broken fragments. One or two pieces of Samian ware were also turned up, one bearing the potter's name "*Licinius*." There were no coins and no flint weapons, the only other relics being a brick for flooring, a piece of fine white tile, iron nails, a fragment of iron hoop, a small ferule, an iron hook (for opening doors), two carved bone sockets, and two worked stones, apparently used for making pottery. But what gives special importance to this discovery is the fact that beneath this mass of *debris*, and on the floor of the pit, were found three human skeletons lying side by side. Unfortunately, the bones were scattered and lost by the workmen, and only one skull was in a sufficiently good state of preservation to bear removal. It is now in the possession of the author of these notes. It belonged to a middle-aged man, and measures twenty-

and-a-half inches in circumference. It is narrow in the front part; the teeth are all perfect and very sound.

It is needless to enter into a discussion as to the purpose for which, or the people by whom, these pits were made. Camden, writing in 1606, says, of similar holes to the present, which he saw on the opposite coast of Essex:—"Neere unto Tilbury, there bee certain holes verie deep, the mouth whereof is but narrow, but within they are large and spacious, the country folks calling them Dane holes." And Hasted describes them as being "ten, fifteen, and twenty fathoms deep. At the mouth they are narrow like the tunnel of a chimney, or the passage of a well, but at the bottom they are very large, insomuch that some have several partitions or rooms, one within another, strongly vaulted and supported by pillars of chalk." In the neighbouring parishes of Dartford, Crayford and Bexley—a district bounded by the rivers Darent and Cray—such excavations are extremely numerous. Hundreds have been destroyed within the memory of man. Thirty years ago no less than fifty could be counted within the area of an acre in the parish of Bexley. Mr. Roach Smith is of opinion that many of these caves are of a very remote antiquity. They may possibly have been originally dug for the purpose of getting chalk, and afterwards used as granaries or even dwelling places. That pits were used for the purpose of storing grain by the ancient Germans has been left on record by Tacitus. Within the recollection of our forefathers some of these pits formed convenient receptacles for smuggled goods. Pliny's description of chalk seems to bear out the notion that the former—the getting chalk—was the primary object the excavators had in view. "Chalk is chiefly obtained in Britain by means of *pits sunk like wells*, with very narrow mouths, to the depth sometimes of 100 feet, where they branch out like the vein of mines" (lib. xvii, c. 8). At the same time it does seem a far easier and a more obvious course to get at the chalk by means of a pit with a wide mouth like our modern chalk pits. Possibly Pliny is speaking of districts in which the chalk lay beneath a stratum of gravel or other soil, and could not be reached without making a shaft. But in this neighbourhood the chalk is close to the surface, and therefore it would be unnecessary to sink a shaft in order to find it. Indeed, the workmen who discovered the pit we are speaking of, laughed at the idea of its having been formed for the purpose of getting chalk. For whatever purpose, however, the cave in question was formed, it is obvious that it is pre-Roman in date. All the pottery found in it belonged to the Roman-British period. In all probability during the Roman occupation a farm or villa was built at or near the opening of the pit's mouth. The inhabitants found it a convenient dust-hole close at hand, into which they threw all the bones, broken shards, and other household refuse. They also turned it to baser uses, since there were evident marks of the passage of excrementitious matter down the well. Although no traces of a building have as yet been found still this supposition derives force from the fact of a silver coin of the Emperor Hadrian's having been found lately in a plantation a hundred yards distant from the place we are speaking of. It was dug up at a depth of about five feet from the surface. It is in a good state of preservation, and bears on its obverse side a bust of the emperor, with the legend—"Imp. Caesar Trajan Hadrianus Aug." On the reverse is a figure of Liberty seated, with the motto on the exergue, "LIB. PUB" (Libertas



Publica), and round the rim, "P.M.T.R. P. COS, iii"—"*Pontifex Maximus, Tribunus Plebis, consul ter.*" It is in the possession of G. Head, Esq., Ingress Cliff, Greenhithe.

It is more difficult to account for the presence of human remains in the pit. From the orderly manner in which the bones lay when found, it is fair to infer that the bodies were placed there designedly, and placed there before the pit became a hiding place for domestic rubbish. The position near the centre of the floor militates against the idea that the bodies were thrown in at or about the same time that the animal remains and pottery were tossed in. May not the original excavators of these holes have occasionally used them as burying places, or may not these bones be the remains of persons who at some time or another using the pit as a place of concealment, perished there from starvation?

It has been suggested with great show of probability that this and similar holes were originally made not so much for the purpose of getting chalk as flints, which, as is well known, are more easily worked when newly dug up than after exposure to the sun and air. The care which had evidently been taken to finish off the walls of the cave so as to render them smooth and even seems to the writer of this paper to tell against such a supposition. That such may have been the *original* purpose is quite possible, but that afterwards the hole was adapted so as to form a dwelling or, at all events, a hiding-place admits of little doubt.

## SOME FURTHER NOTES ON THE SALTING MOUNDS OF ESSEX.

By the Rev. J. C. ATKINSON.

My acquaintance with the Redhills of the Little Wigborough and Peldon Marshes, some account of which, under the name of the "Salting Mounds of Essex," is given by Mr. Stokes in No. 144 of this Journal (v. xxxvi, p. 369), dates back to more than fifty years ago. At that time, and afterwards as a young man, my interest in them was limited to the rabbits, which, finding them easily penetrable by their burrows, abounded about their precincts. But in subsequent times, when the leisure spaces of many years had been spent in archaeological enquiries of one kind or another, my recollections frequently reverted to them with a different kind of interest, and speculations as to their origin or *raison d'être* as often assumed a measure of activity. The idea of their having been burial-mounds, among others, presented itself to my mind, but only to be discarded, as in no sense reconcileable with the facts and circumstances, or in any other way tenable. It so happened that some seven or eight years ago it became an object of some importance in connection with a local history I was then engaged in compiling to ascertain, if I could, where the "Camp of Refuge," as it is styled by Mr. Freeman (mentioned by Orderic Vitalis in his annals of the year 1069) had had its actual site. "A corner of the country, defended on all sides either by the sea or by marshes, and to which there was only access by a sound strip of land not more than twenty feet wide," and which is placed by Mr. Freeman "by the mouth of the Tees," and certainly on the south side of the river, could not, in such a district as Cleveland, occasion much perplexity in the mind of any searcher as to the direction or locality in which it had to be looked for. The marshlands of Coatham and Redcar at the very outset, and almost inevitably, suggested themselves. Now it so happened that my attention had already been arrested by certain mounds on these same marshes, which are obtrusively visible to the passenger by railway from Middlesbrough to Redcar, and it had occurred to me to speculate somewhat idly, it may be, as to what they could be. Taking advantage of the casual stay at Coatham of an archaeological friend, about the year 1873, I went over for a week to his lodgings, and I took the opportunity of examining the marshes and mounds in question somewhat carefully. There had been an almost undefined idea in my mind that the mounds and the camp might be in some way connected, but the idea was at once and decisively dispelled by this personal investigation. I thought I found my camp; but whatever the mounds might be or have been, beyond all dispute they had no connection with it. They were artificial beyond doubt, quite evidently systematic in their construction, several or

separate, with bits of charcoal and sea coal cinders, clinkers, burnt ware (to avoid the terms pottery or brick) in abundance about them, but they were obviously neither part nor parcel of military works. Here my conclusions rested, but not for long. As editing the *Whitby Chartulary*, and interested in (and, eventually, copying) the *Gisburne Chartulary*, I became interested also in the things of continual mention in the old local deeds and documents therein contained—namely, the *saline* or *montes salis*, or “Salte-hilles,” as they were variously called at divers times, and which were placed in the Cotum, Lythum and Wilton marshes, to say nothing of others on the other side of the Tees. Certainly these mounds on the dead level of the marsh, which, notwithstanding the herbage-growth of centuries, was seen by the eye as well as attested by the contours of the Ordnance Survey to be still scarcely, if at all, in places, above high water level, were sufficiently conspicuous, and, when regarded by an eye instructed to search for *montes* or “hilles,” sufficiently suggestive. The conclusion then that these mounds might, and probably did mark the sites of ancient *saline*, or salt-pans, with their necessary adjuncts, seemed almost inevitable, while the presence of the coal, cinders, clinkers, &c., noted a little above, did anything rather than discredit the conclusion. The next step was clearly to try and discover if any means of positive identification, whether by aid of documentary evidence, or by ascertained local delineation of relative site, or by accurate description of *saline* elsewhere—if contemporaneous so much the better—or otherwise, still existed. And among the former class of proofs it may be mentioned that, while the space or area taken up by the *saline* dealt with in the charters just now referred to, is continually specified, as varying from half-an-acre to an acre, or thereabouts, an average size suiting these marsh-mounds with sufficient accuracy, we meet sometimes with descriptions like this: “The site of the mill at Cotum, together with the mill itself and all its appurtenances in waters and dams, and all other easements, and also two *saline*, with all their appurtenances, lying the one to the north side of the said mill, and the other to the south of it, but on the opposite side of the water”—*i.e.*, of course of the water supplying the mill or mill-lead, the course of which is still to be seen, and seen to divide two of these mounds near to where the mill must be presumed to have stood. But, moreover, Surtees (*History of Durham*, iii, 150), speaking of these ancient saltworks, says—“In Cowpen marsh are several large earthen mounds, now covered with herbage, the remains of old saltworks, which were carried on in this angle of the county all along the Tees marsh,” about which Cowpen works, moreover, it is known that, from the import of salt by ship to Yarm, which could be sold at a cheaper rate than that made in the district, they had to be given up not very long after the year 1580. And next I give a note, from a state paper of the time of Charles I, of some particulars of the construction of a salt-work near Yarmouth. “It is cut and formed into sunpans, channells, cesterne, conservatories, and many other workes for the seasonable receiving, purifying, separating and evaporating sea-water, whereof we make salte without fewell; and do also thereby make and preserve brine to make salte with fewell. These workes are made in marsh ground subject to present inundacion. We choose lands whose situation is very safe, but the worst of all has its fortifications considered in the first charge, which is done by the stuffe we spare in forming the

workes, the quantity whereof being such as (that) we raise our bankes above the height of any tide with substance, &c."

Many other illustrative extracts of the same tendency from like sources might be given, but probably enough has been now advanced to shew the reasonableness, if not even the necessity of the conclusion above alleged as to the nature, origin, and purpose of the aforesaid mounds on the Coatham, Kirkleatham and Wilton marshes; and I will only add further, as not without pertinence, that there is a very sufficient amount of similar evidence to prove the former existence, and on both the Durham and Yorkshire side of the Tees (as well as in several other districts), of *salinae*, "salt-pans," "salte-hilles," or *montes salis* on the foreshore as well as on the marshes.

Now if the site of these salt-works mounds be compared with that of the Essex "Red-hills" or "Salting Mounds," it will be seen at a glance that there is a perfect identity. Compare the description given of the latter by Mr. Stokes in his opening paragraphs:—"They just fringe the full-tide line of the rivers and estuaries. . . . I never saw one more than five feet above high-water mark." And again, at the close of the paper, one is mentioned as "outside the sea-wall;"—compare this, I say, with the account given by Orderic of what is undoubtedly the site of the Coatham Saltworks, where a sound strip of land of twenty feet wide was the only exception to a general level of morass, marsh, and sea. Compare also the most evident and superabounding traces of the continued action of fire, which occur in both the Yorkshire and the Essex mounds, together with, and equally common to both, the cinders, clinkers, and bits of brick, which occur so plentifully, and I think a reasonable ground is supplied for the hypothesis that these Red-hills or Salting Mounds may be, and most likely are, all that is left of ancient saltworks once carried on (as I believe the Heybridge works still are) along no small extent of the Essex coast—from Mersey by Peldon, Wigborough, Little and Great, to Saleot and Virley Saleot—where the very places owe their names to the manufacture of salt, and so by Tollesbury and Goldhanger all round to Heybridge and Maldon.

As to the date of the Cleveland "salt-hills," it is not possible to come to any definite conclusion so far as the earlier limit is concerned. It is matter of authentic history that the Brus family—settled originally in the parish in which this is written;<sup>1</sup> but transferring their baronial residence to Skelton in Cleveland before the middle of the twelfth century—from the second son of the founder of which eventually sprung the Royal Bruces of Scotland, were possessed at a very early period of, among other sources of revenue, a payment of one *seppa*—that is, ten bushels—from every *salina bulliens*—every saltwork in actual operation in the marshlands of their fee—and designated as "salt of Bruysfee." Robert Brus, the first of the family in England, was largely enfeoffed in 1087—more largely still within the first five or six years of the first Henry's reign—and it was at the date of this second grant that the salt-hill-bearing marshes became part of his fee. But how long anterior to the Conquest these *salinae* had been "boiling" there is nothing to show; that they continued to boil all through the period of the Brus's dominion, or until 1372, there is no question, any more than that they continued in operation down to Elizabeth's time, and some of them considerably later yet.

<sup>1</sup> Danby in Cleveland.

There is, however, this to be said—that the local name “Salteote” is one that occurs more than once or twice in this district, as well as in Essex, and notably in the vicinity of what is now Middlesbrough, and not far from the West Cotun marshes on which the passenger, as he journeys towards Redcar, first sees the mounds which first suggested to the writer that which is the substance of the present paper. And probably Salteote is an English, or at the latest a Danish, name. In the one case, it bespeaks an antiquity of 1200 to 1300 years, in the other, of not less than 900 to 950. Probably the coincidence of the Essex name suggests the earlier date as the most likely, and it is by no means impossible that, although the imposition of this particular name must be limited thus, in point of date, the art, industry, or process of salt-making from the sea-water, taken in at high tides, and evaporated partly by natural, and partly by artificial heat, may have been one of long standing before the language to which that name belongs was ever heard in Britain.

## Original Document.

ON A REMARKABLE, AND (so far as yet known) UNIQUE SEAL  
OF PATRICK DE DUNBAR (fifth of that name), EARL OF  
MARCH, Appended to a Document in 1334.

By JOSEPH BAIN, F.S.A. Scot.

This beautiful signet came under the observation of the writer accidentally while making notes of the Scotch Documents in the Public Record Office several years ago. The late Mr. Joseph Burt, of the Office, who arranged many of these, had marked the cover, stating that the seal was a fine one, nearly perfect, but not otherwise specifying its nature. Equestrian and other seals of this great family being not uncommon among the public records of England, the writer took no particular note of it till he opened the document not long ago, when he at once saw its value as an illustration of British Heraldry in the days of its purity. On mentioning the discovery to Sir William Dunbar of Mochrum, the representative of the Hereditary Sheriffs of Moray, and suggesting that the seal should be preserved by means of a woodcut, in case of any future casualty, that gentleman cordially approved that this relic of his ancestor should be so treated, and the consent of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records was at once given to its being engraved. The document runs as follows, the contractions of the original being extended.

A toutz ceux qi cestes lettres verrount ou orront Patrik de Dunbar Counte de la Marche Salutz en dieu. Sachetz nous avoir rescieu des Tresorier e Chaumberleyns del Eschequier nostre Seigneur le Roi Dengleterre le jour de la confeccion de cestes [erasure here] centz mares desterlings en partie du paiement de sys centz mares queux nostre Seigneur le Roi nous graunta de son don. En tesmoignance de queu chose a cestes lettres avoms mys nostre Seal. Donn a Everwyk le xiii<sup>me</sup> jour de Maii Lan du regne nostre dit Seigneur le Roi Edward tiers apres le conquest utisme<sup>1</sup>

[Tag with seal appended.]

[Abstract.]

Patrick of Dunbar, Earl of the March, acknowledges receipt from the Treasurer and Chamberlains of the Exchequer of the King of England, the day of the execution thereof, of 100 marks sterling in part payment of 600 marks granted to him by his Lord the King. Appends his seal. Done at York the 13th May, 8 Edward III. [1334.]

<sup>1</sup> Exch. Tr. of Rec. Misc. 2<sup>1</sup>/<sub>6</sub>.



Seal of Patrick, Earl of March.





The history of this family, styled by competent authority "the noblest and most ancient in Scotland," which, with more than the ordinary proofs of such high distinction, can trace its descent from the earliest royal houses of England and Scotland at the dawn of authentic record, has yet to be written. A gallant member of it, who has turned his sword into a more peaceful implement, has for some years devoted his time to collections from original sources regarding his ancient house, and ere long, it may be hoped, will place its annals on record, to take their place with the interesting Scottish family histories, of so many of which Mr. Fraser is the responsible editor. Three great families appear in the English Records, bearing the title of Earls or Counts of the Marche,—the royally descended Lusignans, whose line ended in the Kings of Jerusalem and Cyprus—the Mortimers, who merged in the royal family of England—and the Dunbars, whose earliest chiefs with simple dignity merely styled themselves earls, with the addition of their christian names, their later heads taking the style of Dunbar or Lothian; while the fourth Patrick, father of the earl whose seal is the subject of these remarks, was the first to take the style of Earl of the March, afterwards borne by his son, grandson, and great-grandson, till the unrighteous forfeiture of the family in 1434 by James I.

In the Treasury of Durham Cathedral there is an unrivalled series of charters and seals of the first earls of the family. Many of these have been photographed by the autotype process, but this, while admirably suited to the large equestrian seals, would have failed to convey the delicacy of the details of Earl Patrick's signet. Much has been said in some heraldic works of the beauty of the seals of the Lindsays, Douglasses, and others; but the writer questions if any of them equals, certainly none surpasses, that under notice. The shield couchée shews the Northumbrian Lion rampant, within a bordure charged with thirteen roses; and small though the scale is, the shape of the flowers can be distinctly seen. The supporters are two savage men; not the usual lions rampant carried by the family. Above the left upper corner of the shield is the helmet affrontée, barred. On this is placed a tower with embrasures, in which the demi-figure of a woman with flowing hair appears, holding in each hand an open crown. At the base of the tower two lions look out, as if on guard, one on each side. At the foot of the seal below the shield, a wyvern or dragon is shewn. The legend is nearly perfect, only a small portion with the earl's christian name being broken off. "Sigillum ..... Comitis de Marchia." The execution of the details, and the admirable balance of the composition, afford evidence that the artist who designed this seal was a master of his craft. Apart from this, the great heraldic value of the seal consists in the fact that it is, if one may trust high authorities, the earliest example of a crest associated with the family arms in the United Kingdom. Mr. Seton, our latest Scottish writer, who is evidently familiar with English treatises on the subject, speaks decidedly on the point. He says,<sup>1</sup> "Ancient crests, both in England and Scotland, usually consisted of plumes of feathers or animals' heads, composed of stuffed leather, light wood, or metal—such unsuitable figures as rocks, rainbows, and terrestrial globes never having been used when the 'noble science' was in its purity. On Scottish

<sup>1</sup> *Scottish Heraldry*, p. 222.

seals, prior to the middle of the fourteenth century, we find no examples of crests *associated with escutcheons*. Occasionally, however, they are displayed on the helmets of equestrian figures, as on the seals of Patrick Dunbar, seventh Earl of March (1251)—a cross in a crescent; and John Cumyn (1292)—a crescent and star," &c. And again,<sup>1</sup> "The earliest Scottish example that we have been able to discover of a crest associated with the family arms, occurs on the seal of David Lindsay, Lord of Crauford (1345), viz., a key erect." [The *original* of this interesting seal, of which Mr. Seton gives an engraving, is, however, *non-existent*, and his woodcut is merely taken from a sketch in a MS. volume of General Hutton's collections entitled *Sigilla*, in the library of the Scottish Antiquaries.] "With the exception of the seal of Ranulph Nevile, Lord of Raby (1353), in which a bull's head appears as a crest, the earliest example of a heraldic crest in Mr. Laing's *Catalogue* [of Scottish seals] is the plume of feathers which appears on the seal of William, first Earl of Douglas (c. 1356)." From that date they began to be more common, there being at least twenty-four examples in Laing's *Catalogue* up to the beginning of the fifteenth century.

The seal of Earl Patrick is thus at least twenty-one years earlier in date than that of William Earl of Douglas, hitherto supposed to be the earliest *actual* instance in Scotland.

Mr. Seton elsewhere points out<sup>2</sup> that the Royal Crest of England appears for the first time on the Great Seal of Edward III, who came to the throne in 1327. And on the authority of Dallaway,<sup>3</sup> he says that Edward III, in 1333, granted a crest to William Montacute, Earl of Salisbury, and by a subsequent concession, made it hereditary. With such a concurrence of authority on the point, it may well be matter of just pride to the descendants of the great Northumbrian chief, the first Gospatric, that they can point to the unerring testimony which this beautiful seal bears, at once to the taste in heraldry, and the importance of the fifth Patrick, their more immediate ancestor. The most remarkable feature in the design is the crest. In this respect, among the Dunbar seals, the present is absolutely unique. The usual and well-known crest of the successors of Earl Patrick—the bridled horse's head and neck—an emblem, according to Nisbet,<sup>4</sup> of their office as wardens of the marches, and their readiness to apprehend evil doers on the border, is that generally associated with the Earls of March, and was adopted by their successors in office, the Hepburns of Hailes, Earls of Bothwell.<sup>5</sup> The wife of this Patrick was Agnes, the only daughter of the renowned Thomas, son of Ramulf (his true surname), Earl of Moray, and under her sobriquet of 'Black Agnes,' the heroine in Scottish history of the defence

<sup>1</sup> *Scottish Heraldry*, p. 224.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, p. 217.

<sup>3</sup> *Inquiries*, p. 388, *note*.

<sup>4</sup> *Heraldry*, vol. i, p. 156, and ii, part iv, p. 19.

<sup>5</sup> Since this paper was written another seal of this earl has been observed by Mr. A. H. Dunbar, Jun., of Nathfield, in the Record Office. It is the first of the seals of the six Scottish Magnates appended to the Instrument by which they, in behalf of their country, ratified the treaty for the ransom of David II, at Berwick-

on-Tweed, on the 5th October, 1357. The shield is couchée with the lion and bordure of eleven roses. The supporters are two men in plain doublets, and a tall feather in each of their caps; the crest is a *horse's head and neck bridled*, rising from a coronet placed on the helmet mantled. The seal is a fine one, though broken, and the design not quite so elegant as that which heads this article. It is the first example known of the horse's head crest.

of Dunbar Castle against the Earl of Salisbury in 1346. Had this seal been of that date, one might have with good reason conjectured that the lady on the tower was the countess, with the lions rampant of her husband's shield, emblematically defending the castle. The date, however, forbids this hypothesis, and the origin of the crest therefore yet remains uncertain.<sup>1</sup> She became eventually the heiress of Moray by the death of her two brothers without issue, and her second son John the son-in-law of King Robert the Second, was the first Earl of Moray of the surname of Dunbar. The male line of his elder brother George, Earl of March, failed 300 years ago, and the several houses of the surname now existing in Scotland, are all descended from the Earl of Moray by a double or triple chain of royal links seldom united in one lineage. The overwhelming power of the Douglasses in the first instance, and on their fall in 1455, that of the crown, always covetous of the Moray possessions, deprived the undoubted male heir<sup>2</sup> of his lawful and equitable right, and the Earldom of Moray from that time has been held by younger sons or illegitimate scions of the Scottish kings.

The position of the Earls of March on the Borders was too great to be secure, and this fact no doubt accelerated their downfall. Besides their Earldom in Lothian, they had large possessions in Northumberland, held under the English king by the unique tenure of, being "inburgh and outburgh" between England and Scotland, the nature of which has never been fully explained. They were thus in the situation of middlemen between the kingdoms, and, as was to be expected, often got thanks from neither side. Alone among the Scottish nobles they retained their English possessions, and though these were a mere fraction of what they once owned in Northumberland, still it led to a divided allegiance and vacillation in the internal politics of the family. When England was the stronger, the earls had to look to their Northumbrian Baronies, when Scotland was in the ascendant, their Earldom of Lothian then engrossed their attention.

There are some very interesting notices of this earl, and his father, the fourth Patrick, in the *Scalacronica*,<sup>3</sup> the author of which, Sir Thomas Gray, of Heton, was taken prisoner by the owner of this seal in a border raid in 1355, and shut up in Edinburgh Castle, where it is said he wrote, or more probably, began his *Chronicle*, to relieve the tedium of his captivity. From that old record we learn that the fourth Patrick was known by the nickname of "Patrick od le noire barbe,"<sup>4</sup> and also that his son, the owner of the seal, who received Edward II "ful gentely," as Leland says, on his flight from Bannockburn, in his Castle of Dunbar, met with some adventures connected with the receipt of possibly the very sum in question, as they occurred in the year 1334. Sir Thomas Gray, in his

<sup>1</sup> It has been suggested, with great probability, that the lady may represent that countess, (Earl Patrick's mother, Marjory Comyn), who, in 1296, defended Dunbar Castle against Edward I. He was then a boy of 12, and the event may have been well fixed in his memory. The Dunbars were a long-lived race. His age is known from his service as heir of his father in 1308, in the Public Records of England.

<sup>2</sup> Sir Alexander Dunbar, of Westfield, the only son of Earl James by his near

relative Isabel Innes, ought to have succeeded to the Earldom of Moray. The lady died young, and the dispensation for their marriage probably lies hid in some Scottish charter chest. Her only son was the ancestor of all the existing houses of that name, and was a distinguished person, being the first hereditary sheriff of Moray, an office held by his descendants for nearly 300 years.

<sup>3</sup> Maitland Club, Edinburgh, 1834.

<sup>4</sup> *i.e.*, with the black beard.

quaint Norman French, says, the only one of the Scottish nobles of any account, who held with [enherlauntz] the King of England, was the Count of March, who came to him at Newcastle-on-Tyne, and on returning to his "ostelle," was watched by malefactors of Northumberland for envy of the money that the king had given him, and was all but murdered. He complained to the king, who had then come to Roxburgh to strengthen the castle, destroyed in his father's time. The king's council did not see how to give Earl Patrick amends on these evildoers, for reasons added by the Chronicler. Leland's abstract of the occurrence is very pithy. "The Counte of March held on the Engliche King's part, and cam to hym to Newcastle upon Tyne, and goyng homeward agayn was sore hurt of ille people in Northumbreland for covetuesnes of mony that King Edward gave hym."

Those who are curious on the subject will find full details in the editor's preface (p. xxix) and Leland's abstract (p. 304) of the *Scalacronica*, of how this earl twenty years afterwards, in 1355, being then in the Scottish interest, when there were possibly no more subsidies to be had from Edward, tempted Sir Thomas Gray out of Norham Castle by a display of English plunder, and after a hard fight captured him far within Scottish territory. Much could be written on this subject, which possesses all the chivalric attractions of border history. But we are getting far beyond the limits of the seal that has occasioned these desultory remarks, and craving the indulgence of the readers who have followed us so far, must bring them to a close.

## Proceedings at Meetings of the Royal Archaeological Institute.

February 5, 1880.

The Rev. R. P. COATES, in the Chair.

The Rev. H. M. SCARTH sent a paper "On an Inscribed Votive Tablet found at Binchester," which was read by Mr. HARTSHORNE, and is printed at page 129. The CHAIRMAN spoke of the extreme rarity of Roman inscriptions having reference to medical officers and the value of Mr. Scarth's paper.

MR. C. E. KEYSER read a paper "On the Recently Discovered Mural Paintings at Patcham, near Brighton," which will appear in a future number of the *Journal*.

MR. J. G. WALLER, in speaking generally upon the subject of wall paintings, said that they were done under definite laws which had their origin in the fifth century, and which were developed up to the time of the Reformation. The artists worked under ecclesiastical supervision, and their paintings were simply intended for the instruction of the ignorant. The same general laws were followed by Orcagna, by Nicholas Pisano, and even by Michael Angelo in the Sistine Chapel. Certain common elements of the Last Judgment appeared equally in all the representations of this subject, but it was difficult to say when the laws for its treatment were definitely laid down. Mr. Waller compared the representation of this subject at Patcham with a now destroyed example at St. John's Church, Winchester, of the fourteenth century, and added that there was little of this kind of art in England before the twelfth century.

MR. J. T. MICKLETHWAITE spoke doubtfully as to the genuine condition of the paintings at Patcham at the present day, and Mr. J. NEALE made some observations with regard to the use of solutions for the preservation of such works; as far as he knew nothing had been discovered that was of any practical good for arresting the decay either of wall paintings or of stonework. He thought the Patcham paintings were early thirteenth rather than twelfth century works. Votes of thanks were passed to Mr. Scarth and Mr. Keyser for their papers.

It will be remembered that Carter made use of a strong varnish to enable him to decipher the paintings on the tomb of Edmund Crouchback and other subjects in Westminster Abbey. This most reprehensible treatment certainly enabled him to make his not very accurate drawings, but at the present day, the varnish having become black, or the colours sealed off, very little can be made out. (See *Gleanings from Westminster Abbey*, page 162).

*Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.*

By the Rev. H. M. SCARTH.—An impression of the tile mentioned in his paper (page 133).

By Mr. C. E. KEYSER.—A coloured drawing of the paintings at Patcham.

By Mr. H. S. HARLAND.—A rubbing of the Tympanum over the south doorway of Everton church, Notts, of the same general character as those at Moccas, Herefordshire. The church of Everton is considered to be Early Norman, but there are certain remains, such as long and short work, and herring-bone masonry, which are supposed to indicate an older structure, but these details do not necessarily prove a much earlier date.

By Mr. E. A. GRIFFITHS.—An embroidered pulpit cloth, formed of the orphreys and other portions of two copes, from Wool church, Dorset.

By Mr. A. HARTSHORNE.—A photograph of an effigy, in low relief, from Bangor Cathedral, of a lady, habited, like Queen Philippa, in a square head-dress, a wimple and a long gown with pockets in front and fastened with innumerable buttons down to the feet, and having long pendant sleeves. The hands are raised to the shoulders, palms outward, an attitude of specially earnest supplication, very unusual in monumental sculpture, and such as may be seen in a modified form in the effigy of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick. The close sleeves of the cote are shown, buttoned with oriental profusion, and from the left hand is suspended a set of praying beads, in connection with which are five circular brooches, by which the beads are apparently kept in position.<sup>1</sup> On the verge of the slab is the following inscription in Lombardic letters:—"...ie iacet eva que fuit vx . . . anvel evivs anima propiciet. . . ." Full-sized or principal effigies are rarely represented with beads, though these accessories of devotion are frequent enough in the hands of 'weepers' on the sides of high tombs. Isabella, wife of the first Sir John Spencer, carries beads in her effigy at Great Brington, Northamptonshire, and so does the pilgrim Hastings at Ashby de la Zouche, as well as an unknown lady in Lutterworth church.

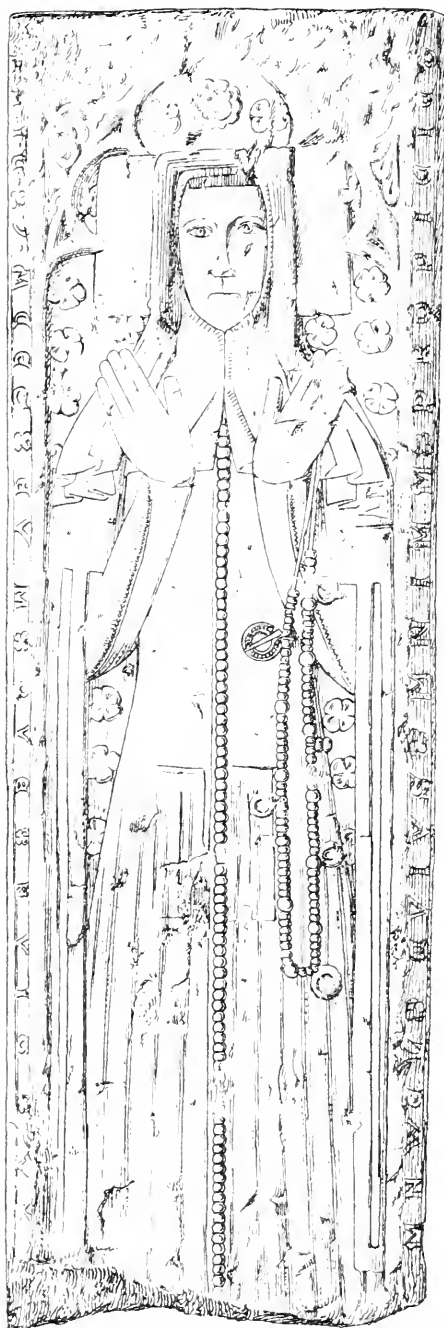
We are indebted to the obliging courtesy of the Rev. C. F. R. Palmer for the following notes upon the effigy at Bangor.

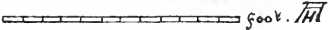
"The position of the hands is that universally adopted in the earliest ages of the church, as is seen in all the 'Orantes' portrayed on the walls of the Roman catacombs. It is still retained by the priest in the most solemn parts of the mass, and prevails extensively on the Continent and in Ireland, especially among the lower classes of people. It seems to be the most natural and most earnest mode of raising the hands in prayer. It has never been discountenanced, and even continues to be recommended in the Franciscan Order.

With regard to the beads, presuming that the effigy has a Paternoster bead (usually superior in material and workmanship to the rest) in the fingers, there are fourteen sets of one Pater and seven Aves each. There are therefore, fourteen Paternosters, and ninety-eight Aves, and the two beads projecting half-way down the string to the left, seem to have been added to make up the round number of a hundred Aves.

"Now, the 'Joys and Sorrows of our Lady' formed a very favourite

<sup>1</sup> See *Journal*, xxxvi, 388.



one foot. 

EFFIGY IN BANGOR CATHEDRAL.





devotion with our forefathers. The Seven Joys, as enumerated by St. Thomas à Beckett, in his well-known Latin Hymn were—the Conception, the Birth, the Adoration of the Wise Men, the Finding in the Temple, the Resurrection, the Ascension, and the Assumption. Fabian wrote his chronicle divided into seven parts, each part dedicated to one of the Joys. Still much variation exists in the number of the Joys, the Adoration and the Finding being very frequently omitted, so as to reduce the number to five, corresponding with the five wounds of our Lord. The Seven Dolours were the Prophecy of Simeon, the Flight into Egypt, the Loss of Jesus in the Temple, the Fall of Jesus under the Cross in going up to Calvary, the Crucifixion, the Piercing of His side, and the Burial.

“Thus we should have a probable explanation of these beads. But there were innumerable devotions attached to the beads. The religious orders, especially the Mendicants, had each their particular beads, and even separate religious houses affected some peculiarity in this matter. I think the number *seven* was selected as that connected with so many notable Christian mysteries and doctrines.

“With regard to the five brooches they may have either been appended ornaments, as is not uncommon with rosaries at the present day, or have served to mark lengths in the beads for the purpose of adapting them to various devotional uses; but what those uses were remains to be investigated.”

By the Rev. G. T. HARVEY. —A leaden die bearing the initials I F, found in pulling down an old wall at Oundle.

By Mr. R. B. UTTING. —A lock and key from an oak chest. The key bears on one side the cypher C.III, and on the other C.VI, each surmounted by an imperial crown. These cyphers refer to the Emperor Charles VI, who pretended to the crown of Spain, thus accounting for C.III, and placing the date of the key before 1714, the year of the Treaty of Rastadt.

March 4, 1880.

Mr. M. H. BLOXAM, F.S.A., in the chair.

The CHAIRMAN read the following paper:—

“On Two Monumental Effigies, one of an unusual type, in Lutterworth Church.”

“In the year 1861, whilst taking notes of the different architectural features in Lutterworth Church, Leicestershire, well known from its former Rector, John Wicliffe, my attention was directed to a monument or high tomb in a recess in the north wall of the north aisle, near the east end, with two recumbent effigies thereon. The tomb itself was then hidden from sight by an unseemly high pew. It had, however, been engraved in outline in Nicholl's *History of Leicestershire*, and as far as I could judge from the representation there given, it appeared to be a monument of about the middle of the fifteenth century. Nicholls assigned this monument to William Fielding and Jane Prudhomme his wife, living in the early part of the reign of Richard II, circa A.D. 1380, but I think it is of much later date. Of whom it is the monument is yet matter of conjecture. There are, however, two families, to one of whom this monument is likely to have belonged. If of the Fielding family, I would assign it to Sir John Fielding, knight, son of William

Fielding and Jane Prudhomme, and who married Margaret Purefoy. I know not where Sir John Fielding and his wife Margaret died, or when, but as they were the father and mother of Sir William Fielding, knight, who was slain at the battle of Tewkesbury in 1470, and who was there buried, they probably died about the middle of the fifteenth century, with which date the monument would agree.

“Or it might be a monument of one of the Ferrers’ family, anciently lords of the manor of Lutterworth and patrons of the advowson of the church there, and if so, I would assign it to Sir William Ferrers of Groby, who in 1414 obtained a grant of a market and fair to Lutterworth, and who died in 1444, and to his lady.

“To this worthy knight and benefactor of Lutterworth I would ascribe the restoration of the chancel of the parish church of Lutterworth, early in the fifteenth century, as the arms of Ferrers over the east window of the chancel would imply, probably at or about the same period as the grant of the market and fair was obtained, and as the window over this monument is an insertion, made when the chancel was then restored, and in the style of the windows of the restoration, such fact is in favour of the assumption that this was the tomb of a Ferrers. Yet it was in what is called the Fielding aisle, and the claims of both families are in my mind conflicting.

“The effigies on this tomb are of alabaster, and represent an esquire or knight, for there is no distinctive mark of cognizance between them, and his lady. He appears barheaded, with short cropped hair and face close shaven, attired in a long civilian’s gown belted round the waist and buckled in front. The sleeves of the gown are wide and loose, and it appears to have been worn over defensive armour, of which the vambraces, coverings for the lower arms, the coudes or elbow plates, and the soilerets, approaching the broad or square-toed fashion, with which the feet are covered, are visible; the feet rest against some animal, now much mutilated. The hands are bare and conjoined on the breast in attitude of prayer. The head reposed on a double cushion, supported by angels, the heads of which have been destroyed. There is a peculiarity about this effigy I have not met with in any other, that is it has over the defensive armour not a surcote, or a cyclas, or a jupon, or a tabard, but the civilian or layman’s gown or coat, of the period I suppose it to be, namely, of about the middle of the fifteenth century, or perhaps later.

“The lady is represented cumbent on the left of her husband, clad in a long loose gown with a mantle over, fastened across the breast by a cordon with pendant tassels, the cordon being affixed on either side to a lozenge shaped fermail. The sleeves of the gown are full, but drawn up and cuffed at the wrists; the veiled head dress or coverchief is worn, and the head reposes on a double cushion, supported by angels. On the left side of the gown is a string of beads or *par pectum*.

“The period to which this monument may be fairly assigned is sometime in the latter half of the fifteenth century. The costume of both effigies may be therefore ascribed to that period.

“Sometime between the years 1861 and 1868 the church of Lutterworth underwent a careful and conservative restoration, under the superintendence of the late Sir George Gilbert Scott, it was then found necessary to enlarge the church, which was done by a prolongation of the north aisle eastward. This required the removal for a while of the monument,

and the effigies were taken down and so placed as to admit of being photographed in the manner I now present to your notice."

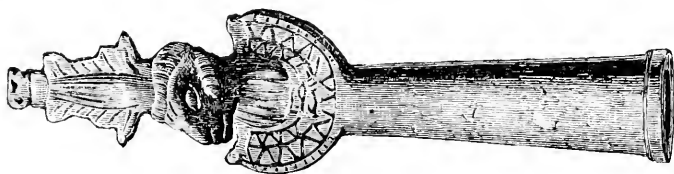
The effigy of Sir John Crosby (died 1475) in the church of Great St. Helen, Bishopsgate, represents the knight wearing the gown of an alderman over the full suit of armour. A somewhat similar, but much more curious combination of costumes is represented on the brass of Sir Peter Legh (1527) in Winwick church, Lancashire. In this example the knight, who in his latter days entered the priesthood, appears in armour and wearing the chasuble. The Purbeck marble effigy of a knight at Connington, Huntingdonshire, wearing over the hooded hauberk the 'cappa manicata,' or friar's cowl, with sleeves, girt round the waist with a knotted cord, the 'caputium' and the 'mozetta,' is another very interesting example of mixed costume.

### Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By Mr. M. H. BLOXAM.—Photographs of the effigies described in his paper.

By Mr. E. M. DEWING.—Two small terra-cotta busts of females, lately found near Bury St. Edmunds, together with iron nails, inside an earthen vase of sixteen gallons capacity. The vase contained a quantity of black mud, and the busts formed the upper halves of entire figures, which had been broken off in the middle and bore evident marks of the action of fire.

By the Rev. D. RAWNSLEY.—An Egyptian socketted bronze tip of a staff, here represented, and said to be unique.



By Mr. R. B. UTTING.—A small steel casket stippled with arabesques, apparently a late seventeenth century descendant of fifteenth century Milanese work.

### Notices of Archaeological Publications.

LANCASHIRE AND CHESHIRE CHURCH SURVEY, 1649-1655, Edited by Lient Colonel Henry Fishwick, F.S.A., &c., Record Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, 1879.

The Archaeologists of Lancashire and Cheshire are a very active and enthusiastic body. For some time there has been printed in the *Leigh Journal* various original documents and historical scraps of considerable interest, which are reprinted quarterly, and at the end of the year form a volume duly indexed. There is also published, under the Editorship of J. P. Earwaker, Esq., F.S.A., and local Secretary in Lancashire for the Society of Antiquaries, a monthly periodical entitled "Local Gleanings," for the same two counties; and now with the greatest satisfaction we hail the formation of a Society for the publication of Original Documents relating to the same district.

The first volume issued by this new Society is now before us. It contains the Church Surveys for Lancashire made 1649-1655, and though we should have thought it desirable to begin with the earliest records, the Council of the Society, which contains the names of some of our best known Archaeologists, doubtless for good reasons, has judged otherwise.

These Surveys are of very great interest and value, falling, as they do, in a period when Episcopal Jurisdiction had for a while been suppressed, and Ecclesiastical Courts of Record abolished. They, consequently, contain information not elsewhere to found, and shew in great detail the ecclesiastical condition of the several parishes. Though abstracts of some of these returns have already been published the Society has done well in printing the whole *in extenso*. For the county of Chester there are no Parochial returns, but the same volume contains also the Surveys of the lands, &c., of the Bishop and Dean and Chapter of Chester, and of the Warden and Fellows of the Collegiate Church of Manchester. It is very well edited by Colonel Fishwick.

We are glad to see an announcement that a volume containing the Inquisitions post-mortem for Lancashire during the Stewart period, 1603-1650, edited by Mr. J. Paul Rylands, F.S.A., is nearly ready, and that the first volume of the Parish Registers of Prestbury in Cheshire, the largest parish in that county, and full of valuable information, is about to be printed, under the editorship of Mr. James Croston, F.S.A., and that these two volumes will be issued together in July next.

## Archaeological Intelligence.

DISCOVERY OF A ROMAN LEADEN COFFIN AT COLCHESTER.—We are indebted to the Rev. C. L. Acland for the following note:—"In the course of last month, workmen, employed by Mr. Rogers of Colchester, while digging in some ground about sixty yards north of the London Road, not far from St. Mary's Lodge, came, at a depth of about two feet, upon a Roman leaden coffin. It is nearly perfect, and, though much crushed in when found, admits of almost complete restoration. It is rectangular, and measures over all 5ft. 1in. + 1ft. 2in. + 9in. The sides are quite plain; the top is ornamented with a sort of diagonal pattern of raised dots, not hammered up from the back, but impressed upon the mould in which the lead has been cast. The contents were carefully sifted under Mr. Rogers's own superintendence. The coffin was full of gravel, amongst which were found a considerable portion of the upper part of the skull in small pieces, a very few fragments of the larger bones, fourteen of the teeth, and two small gold earrings. These last are of fine wire, which has been passed through the ear and fixed by the two ends, being twisted round the main wire, so that they were obviously not intended to be removed. The fragments of the skull and the teeth shew that the coffin contained the body of a girl of from seventeen to twenty-one years old. In the last number of *Collectanea Antiqua*, Mr. Roach Smith has treated fully of Roman leaden coffins. This is one more for him to add to his list."

ANTIQUARIAN DISCOVERY IN NORWAY.—The following account, which appeared in the *Times* of June 21st, will be read with interest.

"A recent antiquarian discovery of a most remarkable nature has put the scientific world of Scandinavia in commotion, and is attracting the general attention of the Scandinavian nations, fondly attached to their venerable history and ancient folk-lore, and full of devotion for the relics of their great past. In age this discovery cannot cope with the treasure-trove brought forth by Schliemann from Ilian or Grecian soil, nor even with the excavations conducted by German *sarans* at Olympia; it only carries us back to a period distant a thousand years from our time, but still it initiates the modern time in the life and customs of bygone ages, and vivifies the cycle of old Northern poems and sagas as fully as the *Iliad* is illustrated by the excavations at Hissarlik or at Mycenæ, or the Pindaric odes by those at Olympia.

"In the south-western part of Christiania Fjord, in Norway, is situate the bathing establishment of Sandefjord, renowned as a resort for rheumatic and nervous patients. The way from this place to the old town of Tönsberg conducts to a small village called Gogstad, near which

is a tumulus or funereal hill, long known in the local traditions under the name of King's-hill (*Kongs-haug*). In the flat fields and meadows stretching from the fjord to the foot of the mountains this mole, nearly 150 feet in diameter, rises slowly from the ground, covered with green turf. A mighty king, it was told, had here found his last resting-place, surrounded by his horses and hounds, and with costly treasures near his body, but for centuries superstition and the fear of avenging ghosts had prevented an examination of the supposed grave, until now the spirit of investigation has dared to penetrate into its secrets. The result has been the discovery of a complete vessel of war, a perfect Viking craft, in which the unknown chieftain had been entombed.

"The sons of the peasant on whose ground the tumulus is situate began in January and February this year an excavation; they dug down a well from the top, and soon met with some timber. Happily they suspended their work at this point, and reported the matter to Christiana, where the "Society for the Preservation of Ancient Monuments" took up the task, and sent down Mr. Nicolaysen, an expert and learned antiquary, to conduct the further investigation. Under his able guidance the excavation was carried on in the months of April and May, and brought to a happy conclusion, revealing the whole body of an old Viking vessel, 74 feet long between stem and stern, 16 feet broad amidships, drawing 5 feet, and with twenty ribs. This is by far the largest craft found from the olden times. In 1863 the Danish Professor Engelhardt dug out from the turf-moor at Nydam, in Schlesvig, a vessel 45 feet in length, and in 1867 another was found at Tune, in Norway, 43 feet long; but neither of these can in completeness or appointment be compared with the craft now excavated at Gogstad. The tumulus is now nearly a mile distant from the sea, but it is evident from the nature of the alluvial soil that in olden times the waves washed its base. The vessel had consequently been drawn up immediately from the fjord, and placed upon a layer of fascines or hurdles of hazel branches and moss; the sides had then been covered with stiff clay, and the whole been filled up with earth and sand to form the funereal hill. But the craft is placed with the stem towards the sea. It was the grand imagination of the period that when the great Father of the Universe should call him, the mighty chieftain might start from the funereal hill with his fully appointed vessel out upon the blue ocean.

"In the stem of the ship, first disclosed to the eye, several interesting objects were found. A piece of timber proved to be the stock of the anchor; it was perforated to hold the iron, but of this no more was found than a few remnants. In the bottom the remains of two or three small oaken boats of a very elegant shape were placed over a multitude of oars, some of them for the boats, others, 20 feet long, for the large craft itself. The form of these oars is highly interesting, and very nearly like that still in use in English rowing matches, ending in a small, finely cut blade, some of them with ornamental carvings. The bottom-deals, as well preserved as if they were of yesterday, are ornamented with circular lines. Several pieces of wood had the appearance of having belonged to sledges, and some beams and deals are supposed to have formed compartments dividing the banks of the rowers on each side from a passage or corridor in the middle. In a heap of oaken chips and splinters was found an elegantly-shaped hatchet, a couple of inches long, of the shape

peculiar to the younger Iron Age. Some loose beams ended in roughly-carved dragons' heads, painted in the same colours as the bows and sides of the vessel—to wit, yellow and black. The colours had evidently not been dissolved in water, as they still exist; but, as olive oil or other kinds of vegetable oil were unknown at the time, it is supposed that the colours have been prepared with some sort of fat, perhaps with blubber.

“As the excavation proceeded, the whole length of the vessel was laid bare. All along the sides, nearly from stem to stern, and on the outside, extended a row of circular shields, placed like the scales of a fish; nearly 100 of these are remaining, partly painted in yellow and black, but in many of them the wood had been consumed and only the central iron plate is preserved. From the famous tapestry of Bayeux it is well known that the ancient Viking-vessels had these rows of shields along the freeboard, but it was supposed that they were those used by the warriors in the strife, and only placed there for convenience. It is now clear that they had only an ornamental purpose, being of very thin wood, not thicker than stiff pasteboard, and unable to ward off any serious hit from a sword. In the middle of the vessel a large oaken block, solidly fastened to the bottom, has a square hole for the mast, and several contrivances show that the mast was constructed for being laid down aft. Some pieces of tow and a few shreds of a woollen stuff, probably the mainsail, were found here. In this part of the vessel was built the funeral chamber, formed by strong planks and beams placed obliquely against each other and covering a room nearly 15 feet square. Here, just as expectations were raised to the highest pitch, a bitter disappointment awaited the explorers. Somebody had been there before them. Either in olden times, when the costly weapons of an entombed hero tempted the surviving warriors, or in some more modern period when the greediness for treasure was supreme in men's minds, the funeral hill had been desecrated, its contents pilfered and dispersed, and what has been left is only due to the haste and fear under which the grave-robbers have worked. A few human bones, some shreds of a sort of brocade, several fragments of bridles, saddles, and the like in bronze, silver, and lead, and a couple of metal buttons, one of them with a remarkable representation of a cavalier with lowered lance, are all that has been got together from the heap of earth and peat filling the funeral chamber. On each side of it, however, were discovered the bones of a horse and of two or three hounds. In the forepart of the ship was found a large copper vessel, supposed to be the kitchen caldron of the equipage, hammered out of a sole piece of copper, and giving a most favourable proof of that remote period's handicraft. Another iron vessel with handles, and with the chain for hanging it over the fire, lay close to a number of small wooden drinking-cups. The detailed account of all these objects would claim too much space.

“It was originally the intention to dig out the whole craft from the hill and transport it to the Museum at Christiania. A large proprietor of the neighbourhood, Mr. Treschow, offered to pay the expense. But on closer examination and after consultation with one of the constructors of the navy it was considered unsafe to attempt such a dislocation. It is now the intention to leave the craft where it was found and to protect it against the influence of the weather by building a roof over the hill, only carrying to the museum at Christiania the smaller objects. The Govern-

ment has at once consented to defray the expenses necessary for the purpose."

"As to the time when the tumulus was thrown up, there is no doubt among the antiquaries that it dates from the period termed the "Younger Iron Age," distant from our day nearly a thousand years, or a little more. We shall have to carry our thoughts back to about the year 800, when Charlemagne was crowned emperor at Rome, but when Norway was still divided between the wild chieftains and sea-kings vanquished towards the close of the ninth century by the great Harold the Fair-haired, the founder of the Norwegian state and nation."

DISCOVERY OF FOUNDATIONS OF EARLY BUTTRESSES ON THE SOUTH SIDE OF THE CHOIR OF LICHFIELD CATHEDRAL.—In the month of April this year the Chapter had occasion to lower the ground on the south side of the choir, and in so doing the foundations of the early plinth and portions of the flat buttresses were laid open. It is fortunate that these remains fell under the notice of so acute an observer as Mr. J. T. Irvine, who took careful measurements of what was uncovered, and, although there seemed to be no ready way of even approximating the width of these early buttresses, the discovery is of some importance as bearing upon the history of the building as set forth in Professor Willis's account of the cathedral published in 1861.

THE PRIORY CHURCH OF ST. MARY OVERIE.—For upwards of thirteen years Mr. F. T. Dollman has been making accurately measured sketches and drawings of this interesting church, and collecting memoranda relating to the building, never before published. Mr. Dollman now proposes to publish the results of his labours, and we shall at last have the history of the parish church of St. Saviour properly set forth in a series of more than forty plates containing plans, elevations, sections and details from a most careful and accurate hand. Mr. Dollman will, no doubt, give much information respecting the interesting nave which was destroyed about forty years ago, the chapel of St. Mary Magdalene, abolished in 1822, and the so called "Bishop's chapel" at the extreme east of the church, demolished in 1830. It will be observed that the revival of Gothic took a somewhat peculiar form in Southwark, as in many other places, and the publication now of some of the details of buildings which are gone will cause a feeling of regret that some one was not at work half a century ago. The work will be published in one volume, imperial quarto, price to subscribers, £2 12s. 6d; non-subscribers, £3 3s. Names will be received by the author at 63, Gloucester Crescent, Regent's Park.

SPECIAL EXHIBITION OF ANCIENT HELMETS AND EXAMPLES OF MAIL.—The exhibition which was held in the rooms of the Institute from June 3rd to June 17th has been one of unusual interest. A very large and varied collection of Greek Helmets, Mediæval Helms, Helmets, Bascinetts, Armets, Salades, Casques, Morions and other varieties of head-pieces, amounting to 160 in number, was brought together by the kind co-operation of the Baron de Cossou, Mr. W. Burges, Mr. M. H. Bloxam, Mr. Bernhard Smith, Sir Noël Paton, Mr. Hyshe, Mr. H. Hippiusley, Sir R. Wallace, Mr. R. Hillingford, the authorities of the Rotunda Museum at Woolwich, the Honourable Society of the Middle Temple, the United Service Institution, and many other contributors.

The examples of Mail comprised a highly valuable collection of European and Oriental examples, besides Jazerine and Brigandine coats,



Among these objects Mr. R. Day's hauberk bearing the silver armorial badge of the O'Neill family; Sir Noël Paton's Sinigaglia coat; Mr. Burges's case containing examples of mail of all kinds—its complete history, in fact; Mr. F. Weekes's beautiful mail sleeve, with each link apparently treble-riveted; Mr. R. H. Wood's standard of mail; and the case devoted to the elucidation of the mystery of the construction of the "Banded Mail," were conspicuous.

It is unnecessary now to do more than call attention generally to this remarkable exhibition, for it has been decided that a permanent record shall be preserved of it in a Critical Catalogue, with illustrations of from upwards of a hundred examples of helmets and specimens of mail and other defence. This Catalogue has been very kindly undertaken by Mr. Burges and the Baron de Cosson, who will deal respectively with the early helmets, the mail, and the Oriental head pieces, and the European helmets, helmets, etc.

In order that the Catalogue may be thus worthily illustrated in the *Journal* a special Subscription List has been opened. Every member subscribing ten shillings will receive an extra and separate copy, bound in cloth. The subscription list is also open to the public. Names must be sent in *without delay* to the Secretary.

MEETING OF THE INSTITUTE IN LINCOLNSHIRE.—The general arrangements for the meeting of the Institute at Lincoln on July 27th, under the presidency of the Bishop of Lincoln, are now completed. The following are the names of the Presidents and Vice-Presidents of Sections: *Antiquities*—President, Sir C. Anderson, Bart.; Vice Presidents, The Rev. J. Collingwood Bruce; J. L. Ffytche, Esq. *History*—The Right Hon. A. J. B. Beresford Hope, M.P.; Vice-Presidents, The Very Rev. the Dean of Ely; E. Peacock, Esq. *Architecture*—President, The Right Rev. the Bishop Suffragan of Nottingham; Vice-Presidents, M. H. Bloxam, Esq.; The Rev. Precentor Venables. The following places will be visited, amongst others, during the week:—Gainsborough, Stow church, Grantham, Sleaford, Heckington, Boston, Tattershall, Southwell, Newark, Navenby, Welbourn, Brant-Broughton, Somerton Castle, &c.

\* \* \* All persons who contemplate reading papers during the Meeting are desired to communicate at once with the Secretary.

Members of the Institute are particularly informed that Special Notices of the Monthly meetings will be sent beforehand on payment of one shilling a year.



# The Archaeological Journal.

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SEPTEMBER 1880.

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## SOME REMARKS UPON EARTHWORKS.

By G. T. CLARK.

OF THE BRITISH PERIOD.

The British Isles are rich in earthworks of various kinds, concerning the origin of most of which history is silent, while such internal evidence as they might afford has not as yet been fully investigated. Some of these works are among the most obscure of our archaeological remains: an obscurity, not so much as to their intent and purpose, usually obvious enough, but as to the periods at which, and the tribes by whom they were thrown up. The absolute date of many, perhaps of most of these remains, we cannot hope to discover, but it seems probable that their relative dates, and the tribes by whom they were formed, may some day be ascertained. For this, however, detailed plans and sections are absolutely necessary, and it is much to be desired that the subject should receive careful attention from those engaged in the construction of the large scale ordnance maps now in progress.

These earthworks are chiefly either sepulchral or military. With those of the sepulchral class, usually called lows and barrows, all are familiar. They occur all over the country, and are probably only more abundant in wild and hilly districts, because they have there escaped the effects of the plough. Most are British, but of various dates, and shewing by their contents very different degrees of civilisation. Some are Roman, and others Saxon or English or Danish. The former are found near Roman ways and camps, but no doubt many

so placed contain the remains of Britons in Roman employment, or of mixed Roman and British blood, or were thrown up after the Romans had left the island. The Romans both burned and buried their dead. When buried the corpse was enclosed in a coffin of stone, lead, or wood, and laid in a regular cemetery, as latterly was the practice with the English, but these, especially in the earlier times, seem to have burned and certainly raised a mound over their dead, as at Cwiclemsley Knowe, now Scutchamfly Barrow, in the vale of White Horse, and in the mounds round York, one of which bears the name of the celebrated Siward. Sepulchral mounds are now being very carefully investigated, and from their contents large additions have already been made to our knowledge of the prehistoric inhabitants of the country. One variety of these works, known as the chambered barrow, is remarkable for the quality of the stone work of the curved retaining walls which sometimes flank the entrance, and which have been brought to light by the removal of the earth at Uleybury, Stoney-Littleton, Nempnet, and the barrow opened by Mr. Vivian in Gower. In this latter especially, the walling, though without mortar, is to the full as neatly executed and as well bonded as in any modern work. If, as has been supposed, these be British, there is the less reason to be surprised at the traces of dry walls which have of late years been discovered in several camps of undoubted British origin, though none of these can be compared for design or execution with the corresponding works in Ireland.

There is a class of earthworks, no doubt of British origin, which was long supposed to be connected with religious observances. Such are those which surround Stonehenge, Marden, and Avebury, in Wilts. At Mayburh near Penrith is a large circular bank with an entrance, but no ditch, and near its centre a large upright stone; also at Penrith is Arthur's Table, a circular work with an entrance, and a ditch within the bank. There is also a larger but little known circle at Knolton in Dorset, with the ditch within the bank; within the area is the parish church. Of late years the opinion has prevailed that works of this character are sepulchral.

Military earthworks, if not quite so common as those of the sepulchral class, are yet very general, and are found all over the country. The traces of a camp are not so easily swept away as those of a barrow, but nevertheless most of those known to have existed in the lower and more highly cultivated lands are gone, or remain in their names only. It is impossible to examine a sheet of the ordnance survey, or to travel in any direction over England, without meeting with names or works of a military character. Thus *caer* and *gaer*, *dun*, *dinas*, *tin*, *tre*, and *castell*, in the Celtic counties; *caister*, *caster*, *chester*, *cester*, *camp*, *castle*, *burgh*, *burh*, or *bury*, in England; in Scotland *kains* or *ker*; in Pembroke *rath*; are names that usually indicate a present or past fortification. Such for example are *Caer-Caradog*, *Gelligaer*, *Dun-edin*, *Dinas brân*, *Tenby* and *Denbigh*, *Tredegar*, and *Castell-Coch*, *Casterton*, *Lancaster*, *Caister* and *Caistor*, *Cirencester*, *Manchester*, *Lanchester*, *Shudy* and *Castle camps*, *Horncastle*, *Coningsburgh*, *Worlebury*, *Roborough*, and a thousand others; and the reader of the *Antiquary* will not have forgotten the *kaim* of *Kimprunes*. Sometimes the strong place was an enclosure of earth or stones with an exterior ditch, usually on high ground, and including from three or four to thirty or forty acres, as *Cadbury* or *Roborough*. Sometimes there was a large area more or less circular contained within double or triple banks and ditches; as the *Catherthun* in *Aberdeenshire*, old *Sarum* or *Badbury*; sometimes the area is rectangular, as at *Gelligaer*, *Bitton*, *Brougham* or *Brough*; and sometimes walled in as at *Porchester*, *Silchester*, *Lincoln*, or *Chester*, all of which latter works either the position, plan, material, or workmanship declare to be Roman. Of some works the enclosure is upon a sea cliff or promontory and of a horse-shoe shape or the segment of a circle, as at *Porthkerry*, *St. David's Head*, or the magnificent enclosure at *Flamborough Head* attributed to the Danes. Or, finally the earthwork may consist of a moated mound, like *Barwick-in-Elmet*, or *Laughton-en-le-Morthen* or *Hêndomen* in *Montgomery*, with an appended base court, also moated, features which indicate works of the ninth and tenth centuries.

The term *castle* in the ordnance map may mean a

structure in masonry, as Warwick or Kenilworth, or the site of a castle as Castleton, Castle-Garth, Castle-Hill; but it is also often applied to a mere hill-camp where there never was a work in masonry.

Although it is easy enough as a rule, to distinguish a military earthwork from one of a different character, or between a British and a Roman camp, it is by no means so easy to distinguish between British camps of different dates or to decide what is Danish and what English. In the consideration of these questions the position is important, whether on the sea coast, whether one of a line of works, and whether connected with any great boundary dyke.

The camps of the British, meaning thereby the prae-Roman tribes have certain peculiarities. They are not set out by any rules of castramentation. They are usually on high ground, and by its irregularities their outline is governed, and where they appear to be circular, as at Badbury Rings and the camps near Weymouth, they are so accidentally, because the hill is conical, and its horizontal section therefore a circle. Their defence is a bank and exterior ditch cresting the edge of the hill top, or where this is steep the ditch is wanting, and when precipitous there is either no bank or a very light one. On the other hand where the slope admits of it, the ground is formed into terraces each with its bank and ditch, and sometimes, as at Cadbury, there are three of these lines on the hill side producing a very grand appearance. When the camp is upon the ridge as at Worle, or is part of a larger platform, the more level side is defended by additional banks and ditches placed some yards in advance. On the level ground the banks are from five to ten feet high and often from twenty to thirty feet in breadth, and the ditch is of about the same dimensions, giving a slope or scarp of about twenty feet; and when, as at Cadbury, the natural ground is made a part of the scarp, it is much more, perhaps fifty or sixty feet. No doubt, when such a camp was defended, the lower or exterior platforms were manned, but when these were forced, their defenders must have scrambled up the slope behind them, as there is never any trace of steps, or, in purely British camps, of a tunnel or covered way

between the lines. The White Catherthun had banks of stone and earth 100 feet broad at the base and 25 feet at the summit. The ditches appear to have been V shaped in section, "fastigata," and sometimes there is a small bank outside the outer ditch as at Moel Fenlli, near Ruthyn. It is said that there was a tunnel from the interior of Worle to the exterior hill side, but this wants confirmation. The approaches to these camps were usually in traverses, carried obliquely up the hill side for the convenience of men with burdens. The entrance was commonly oblique where it traversed the defences, and the ditches were crossed by solid causeways. Sometimes the main entrance was twelve to fifteen feet broad, and a small mound was thrown up in its centre at the outer end to check a sudden assault. There was usually but one main entrance, and that on the least steep side. Any subordinate entrance was smaller, a sort of postern, and often with very steep approaches. There is such a side entrance at Cadbury. Usually the banks appear to be mere ridges of earth or fragments of stone heaped up, with no trace of masonry, either with or without mortar. Real masonry, that is, stone laid in mortar, no one alleges to have discovered in a clearly British work, but dry walling has occasionally been found in camps as in sepulchral mounds. At Worle Mr. Warre thought he saw traces of it, and in a Caermarthenshire hill camp the wall is said to resemble those round the fields in Westmoreland, eight or nine feet thick, and composed of the stones cleared from the land. It is also said that in this camp cells are found in the wall, probably for the storage of grain. On Penmaen-Maur are traces of dry walling, and on Moel-gaer near Ruthyn, and within the camp of Moel Arthur, near Denbigh, Mr. Ffoulkes describes dry walling, but of doubtful date. In Ireland, indeed, the earliest camps, those in Aran, have regular dry walls with doors and other architectural features, as is shewn in Lord Dunraven's excellent photographs, and graphically described by Miss Stokes. In Ireland also the glacis or space outside the wall was set thick with upright stones, to break the force of an attack, somewhat resembling the "trous de loups" of modern engineers, used to protect the gorges of "lunettes" and "ravelins"

in advance of a regular work. These upright stones are said to have been observed in one instance in North Wales. On St. David's Head the promontory is fortified by a double line of large flattish stones set on edge and fixed in the ground, and the entrance has side pieces of stone, but no trace of a lintel. The work is rough, without any marks of a tool or of mortar, and its fashion was probably dictated by the great abundance of large stones on the spot. This camp is however quite as likely to be the work of the Northmen as of the Britons. Asser describes a castle at Cynwit on the coast of Devon, which was held by the Christian English against the pagan Danes in 877, before Alfred's famous battle of Scesdun in 878. He says it was without water or any defence save walls, "more nostro," that is, after the British fashion. Bishop Clifford places Cynwit at Cymwiche or Combwich in Cannington Park, west of the Parret, where is a camp with banks of loose stone. No doubt the English occasionally made use of these older camps when pressed by the Danes, and that they recognised their character is clear from the names they gave them, as Sheet Castle, Safety Castle, Castle Comfort, and the like. A well does not appear as part of the furniture of hill camps, and they but seldom contain a spring. Water seems to have been stored in basins, neatly lined with clay, as at Hamden Hill. At Badbury is a spring, and at Moel Fenlli a spring combined with a small tank. In the area are usually found a number of circles from ten feet to thirty feet diameter, composed of rough stone of moderate size. These were evidently the bases of wigwams, and surrounded the feet of the poles which carried the sides and roof. Usually within each circle are traces of a hearth. Now and then, both inside and outside these camps, sepulchral barrows are found, and sometimes within them graves containing, as at Worle, the bones evidently of persons killed in war. The pottery and weapons found are of a rude description, and the latter are mostly of stone.

On the great ranges, as Mendip, Cotteswold, and the Chilterns, and the hills on the Welsh border, the camps are almost all of a large area, containing twenty to even sixty acres. Worle contains eighteen acres, and its



approach on the weakest side is covered by seven ditches. Hamden Hill camp in Somerset is three miles in girth. Cadbury covers twenty-five acres; Roborough in Mendip is of immense size and strength. It is evident that almost all these camps were intended to accommodate a whole tribe, whose hunting grounds lay in the wooded plain below, and looking to the immense labour bestowed upon them and to the quantity of black mould within them, they must have been intended for permanent residences, and so occupied, possibly for many centuries.

Some of the larger camps, as the Herefordshire Beacon and Sinodun on the Thames, are isolated, and seem to have been held by independent tribes. But by far the greater number are so ranged as to appear intended for the defence of some province or kingdom common to them all, and are connected by or have an obvious reference to some one of the long lines of bank and ditch known as dykes, and the aspect and course of which sufficiently show the purpose for which they were constructed. Thus Wansdyke, supposed to be a Belgic work, the ditch of which is always to the north or east of the bank, was evidently constructed for the defence of a southern province. It has been traced from the heart of Berkshire, across Wiltshire to near Bath, and thence probably to Portishead, and along the coast to the Parret, and thence perhaps across Dorset to the sea, covering the chief Belgic cities of Winchester and Ilchester. This vast entrenchment just includes within its limits the large hill camps of Hampton Down, Stantonbury, and Maes Knoll, and those of Hawkesdon, Musbury, Membury, Lambert's Castle, and Pillesdon on the margin of Dorset, the land of the Morini. These seem intended as in opposition to those of Woodbury, Sidbury, Henbury, and Neroche, which crown at no great distance the heights of the Damnonii. The Cattrail, certainly a pre-Roman work, was intended to protect the eastern country from the people of Strathelwyd, and may still be traced from Cumberland to the Tweed. Besides these may be mentioned the Recken dyke, the almost universal Grimsdyke, the Devil's dyke and Fleam ditch in Cambridge-shire. Offa's dyke is of course much later. Similarly disposed, to indicate or protect the limit of a province,

are the earthworks posted along the heights of Hertford and Essex, north of the London basin; others are found along the scarp of the chalk where it forms the southern boundary of the Vale of Whitehorse, and are continued along the Chilterns through the shires of Oxford, Bedford and Cambridge. A grand line of camps crowns the ridge of Mendip, and one still longer extends from Lansdown, Dyrham, and Sodbury along the edge of the Cotswold, including Horton Castle, Uleybury, Standish, Kingsbury, Leckhampton, Nottingham Hill, and Saintbury, and running northwards to the Warwickshire Avon. Opposite to these are the camps of Hereford and Salop and the Welsh border, a district, in British times, as in those of the Saxons and Normans, bristling with fortresses, and truly the "Old Castile" of Britain. In the west and north where the ground is hilly, the camps were high, but where the features of the ground are less strongly marked, as in the east and near London, they were necessarily on lower ground. Such are the British camps called Cæsar's at Wimbledon and Chertsey, and at Horwood in Kent. At St. Albans, the British bank and ditch supposed to have been attacked by Cæsar, may still be traced, resting on the Ver, and possibly included the later Roman town within their area.

In many districts there are still traces of the trackways by which these strongholds were connected, and which from their frequent course along the crest of an escarpment are often known as "the ridgeways." They are mere trackways, formed upon the direct surface of the ground, though sometimes protected by low lateral banks of earth. Where these primitive ways occur on the slope or at the base of a hill they are usually much worn and hollowed out, partly by traffic, but still more by the action of running water.

Besides the great frontier camps of Wales, the Principality itself is studded all over with entrenchments of irregular outline, on high ground, and evidently British. Some are of large size, as Moel Fenlli, and Moel Gaer near Ruthyn, which measure 500 yards by 260 yards, and 160 yards by 200 yards; but usually they are small, though far more numerous than in any part of England.

Also they occupy positions where they never could have been intended for the general defence of the country.

Probably by far the greater number of British camps were thrown up at a remote period, when the inhabitants were absolutely savage, living in wigwams and by hunting, without wheel-carriages, without money, with arms and pottery of a very simple character, such as indeed they continued to be down to Cæsar's visit to Britain. During the century that elapsed between that time and the Roman Conquest, the Britons of the plains made great progress in commerce and the arts, coined money, and used chariots in war, but under the Roman sway their progress does not appear to have been very considerable, and after the departure of the Romans, their civilization did not enable them to combine for the defence of their country. Still it cannot be supposed that they fell back into the habits of savage life, or lived in hill camps in wigwams.

Of camps still visible, and which from their position and irregular outline may safely be pronounced British, there are comparatively but few in the eastern, southern, and midland counties of England; but in the west they are more numerous and better preserved. In Wales, where their remains are tolerably perfect, there are about 500, of which Pembroke contributes 105, Cardigan 78, Montgomery 56, Caernarvon 50, Monmouth 48, and Glamorgan 40. In Pembroke the terms *castell* or *castle* occur 63 times; in Cardigan 28. In Anglesea there are but few camps, and those chiefly along the Menai strait, corresponding to others upon the mainland shore of Arvon. There are several upon the headland of Caernarvon, fringing the sea-coast: some about the mouth of the Conwy River, and many of great strength upon the high land between the vale of Clwyd and the estuary of the Dee. Merioneth, though extending from the Severn to the Bay of Cardigan, contains but few British camps, and those chiefly on the upper Dee, between Corwen and Bala, about Towyn, and along the rocky hills above the marshes of the Dovey. In parts of Montgomery these camps are thickly posted especially upon the Vyrnwy and the upper Severn. The camps of Radnor are chiefly on the English border, about Knighton and in the valley

of the Ythôn. Those of Cardigan are posted in two parallel lines, one at the foot of the hills from Yspetty-Ystwith, by Tregaron and Lampeter, towards Newcastle-Emlyn; the other along the shore of the bay about Aberystwith, and very thickly from Aberaeron to Strumble Head.

Pembroke is dotted all over with earthworks, chiefly entrenchments of a British character, specially frequent upon the seaward flanks of the Preselan range, and along the deep indentations of the coast from Strumble and St. David's Head's to St. Bride's Bay and Milford Haven. The southern counties of Caermarthen and Glamorgan, so rich in castles of masonry, show in proportion to their acreage but few British encampments, and scarcely any along the seaboard, nor are there many in Brecknock or Monmouth. Some of the finest and most perfect works west of the Severn are to be seen in the March lands of Hereford and Salop, on Caer Caradog and Coxwall Knoll, and of these some have been attributed to the period when Caractacus made head against the Romans under Ostorius Scapula, though it is far more probable that they were then only made use of. Probably the abundance of British works in Pembroke was caused by the necessity for opposing the Northmen, whose piratical incursions were frequent, attracted no doubt by the excellence of the harbourage and by the number of small islands off the coast. The prevalence of Northern names in this district seems to shew that the early settlers from the Baltic contributed as much as the later Flemish colony to infuse Teutonic blood into the peninsular portion of the shire.

It can scarcely be an error to attribute the larger and perhaps all the stronger hill camps of irregular outline and containing hut circles to the British before the arrival of the Romans. After 380 years intimate contact with that people, remains of whose residences are found even in the fastnesses of Wales, it is impossible to suppose that the Britons would inhabit permanently a hill camp, although they may have made use of these works of their forefathers, as the Romans certainly sometimes did, for purposes of temporary defence.

## VITRIFIED FORTS ON THE WEST COAST OF SCOTLAND.

By EDWARD HAMILTON. M.D., F.R.S.

In many districts of Scotland, particularly in the north and west, are found remains of buildings, or enclosed sites, the walls of which are formed by stones cemented together by means of great heat. These relics of the past which go by the name of "Vitrified Forts" have arrested the attention and excited the interest of antiquarians from the time of their first discovery in 1777 to the present moment. During the last autumn I had an opportunity of making a thorough investigation of two of these vitrified forts which have been hitherto undescribed, both presenting features differing from those already known, and throwing further light not only on their mode of structure but on the manner in which the vitrification was produced.

Before however describing these it will be as well to give a summary of what has already been written on this subject, so that we may be enabled to have some idea of the various opinions and theories which these curious structures have elicited.

Although Mr. John Williams has always been considered to be the discoverer, yet the first recorded notice of any of these vitrified forts is in Pennant's *Tour in Scotland*, commenced in 1769 and published in 1774.

"Rode to the Castle of Tor Down . . . a rock two miles west of Fort Augustus. On the summit is an ancient fortress. The face of the rock is a precipice—on the accessible side is a strong dyke of loose stones—above that is a ditch, and a little higher a terras supported by stones—on the top a small oval area, hollow in the middle—round the area, for the depth of nearly twelve feet, are a quantity of stones strongly cemented with almost vitrified matter and in some places quite turned

into black scoria. The stones are generally granite mixed with a few grit stones of a kind not found nearer than 40 miles. Whether this was the antient site of some forge or whether the stones which form this fortress had been collected from the strata of some volcano (for the vestiges of such are said to be found in the Highlands) I submit to further enquiry."

He was evidently of opinion that these masses were of volcanic origin, see vol. ii, pp. 411-12. Pennant also states that he was told that at Arisaig there was an old castle formed of the same materials.

The next observer is Mr. John Williams, who in all probability had investigated these sites previous to Pennant. He read a paper before the Royal Society of Edinburgh in 1777 on this subject, and also published a small octavo volume, entitled—"An account of some remarkable ancient ruins lately discovered in the Highlands and northern parts of Scotland." In a letter to Lord Kames he says, "above a year ago a copy of my paper concerning the vitrified forts was sent to London to be disposed of to the booksellers, but they looked upon it as a fiction."

Lord Kames answers—"This discovery of yours will serve to detect an error that several ingenious naturalists have fallen into, viz., of burning mountains formerly in Scotland, verified say they, by the burnt remains still to be traced. I suspect that these remains are no other than the debris of the vitrified forts you mention." Mr. Williams was of opinion that the process of vitrification by these ancient people was produced either in running bog ore for their utensils or in offering burnt sacrifices, "in burning oxen or other animals whole a strong fire would be required." "It is evident," he says, "from the earliest records of antiquity, that it was the old universal practice of almost all nations to offer burnt sacrifices."

This paper of Mr. John Williams attracted at the time much attention and created a considerable amount of controversy, many supposing that he was entirely mistaken in his views. The Honourable Daines Barrington for instance, in a paper read before the Society of Antiquaries February 15th, 1781, derides the idea that these walls were built as forts, and says that they are nothing but stones exposed to heat to make fences for

cattle, and that the heat was caused either by lightning or volcanoes.

Mr. James Anderson took up the subject with great interest, and in a paper read before the Society of Antiquaries and published in the *Archæologia*, 1777, vol. v, p. 241, *et seq.*, entitled, "an account of Ancient Monuments and Fortifications in the Highlands of Scotland," he says—

"The most remarkable of all the Scottish antiquities are the vitrified walls first observed by Mr. John Williams. These walls consist of stones piled loosely together and firmly cemented by a matter that has been vitrified by means of fire. They for the most part surround a small area on the top of some conical hill very difficult of access. It appears at first sight surprising that a rude people should have been capable of discovering a cement of such a singular kind as this—it is less surprising that the knowledge of it should not have been carried into other countries, as distant nations in those periods had but little intercourse one with another—but it is no difficult matter for one who is acquainted with the nature of the country where these structures abound to give a very probable account of the manner in which this art has been originally discovered, and of the causes that have occasioned the knowledge of it to be lost, even in the countries where it was once universally practised.

"Through all the northern parts of Scotland a particular kind of earthy iron ore of a very vitrescible nature much abounds. This ore might have been accidentally mixed with some stones at a place where a great fire was kindled, and being fused by the heat, would cement the stones into one solid mass, and give the first hint of the uses to which it might be applied. This knowledge being once obtained nothing seems to be more simple and natural than its application to the formation of walls of these fortified places" . . . . "nothing seems to be more judicious or simple than this mode of fortification adopted by our forefathers. The stones forming the walls were probably dug up from the top of the rock forming the side of the hill, and therefore served at once to level the area of the fort, and to erect massive walls without any expense of carriage."

Mr. Anderson, in *Archæologia*, vol. vi, p. 87, *et seq.*, gives a further description of these ancient fortifications, and he states that at *Tappernauth*, in Aberdeenshire, the vitrified crust is on the *inside*; at *Knoch Ferrell* it is on the *outside*. At *Dun o' Deer*, in Aberdeenshire, on the top of the hill, besides the remains of the vitrified fort there are also the remains of another ancient structure of stone and lime. There is no tradition of the time when either this structure or the vitrified walls were erected, but it is sufficiently apparent that the latter must have been of a date much prior to the former and built by a nation of a very different state of civil polity, as they

applied the vitrified walls to the erection of the new building; this is evident from the fragments of the vitrified walls and scorched stones which are everywhere discernible in the ruins of the stone and lime buildings.

Mr. Anderson quoting from Mr. Williams' pamphlet gives Dr. Black's letter to Mr. Williams to prove the existence of the fusible stone. Dr. Black's letter is as follows :

"Sir, I am much obliged to you for the sight of your letters concerning the vitrified fortresses of the north. I had got formerly from some of my friends some account of the extraordinary vitrified walls which they had seen in the Highlands, and Mr. James Watt who spent some time in surveying a part of that country communicated a number of particular observations which he had made upon one of these ruins; but we were not enabled to judge with any certainty, for what purposes, or in what manner, these hitherto unheard of buildings had been erected. It is very probable that they were executed in some such manner as you have imagined. There are in most parts of Scotland different kinds of stone, which can, without much difficulty, be melted or softened by fire to such a degree as to make them cohere together; such is the grey stone called *whinstone*, which for sometime past has been carried to London to pave the streets; such is also the granite or moorstone which is applied to the same use, and pieces of which are plainly visible in some specimens of these vitrified walls which I received from my friends. There are also many lime stones which in consequence of their containing certain proportions of sand and clay are very fusible, and there is no doubt that sandstone and puddingstone, when they happen to contain certain proportions of iron mixed with sand and gravel of which they are composed must have the same quality. A puddingstone composed of pieces of granite must necessarily have it. There is abundance of one or the other of these kind of stones in many parts of Scotland, and as the whole country was anciently a forest and the greater part of it overgrown with wood, it is easy to understand how those who erected these works got the materials necessary for their purposes.

"I am, sir, your obedient servant,

"JOSEPH BLACK.

"Edinburgh, 1777."

In 1790 Mr. Alexander Fraser Tytler, Professor of Civil History in the University of Edinburgh, read a communication before the Royal Society of Edinburgh, entitled—"An account of some extraordinary structures on the tops of hills in the Highlands of Scotland," and he describes Craig-Phadrick and its vitrified walls, but he supposes that the vitrification was the result of accidental burning, that these forts were erected with wood and stone, and that when in warfare they were destroyed



by fire, the vitrification ensued by the heat of the wood firing the stone.

Mr. Robert Riddell on November 11th, 1790, read a letter published in the *Archæologia*, in which a description is given of two vitrified forts found in Galloway, one on the Moat of Marks, in the Barony of Barclay, and the other, Castle Gower, in the parish of Bartlee, he says—“Many sensible enquirers were much puzzled whether to consider these appearances as the work of man alone or as volcanic remains.”

Chalmers, in his *Caledonia*, published 1807, gives a long and interesting account of these ancient remains.

“We are now to review those curiosities which have been lately discovered, viz., the vitrified forts that exist in every part of north Britain. They were first brought before the public in 1777. It is apparent from the description of these vitrified forts that they are in every respect, except the vitrification, the same as the hill forts of the Britons in north and south Britain and in Ireland. The sites of all are the same, being constructed on the level summit of lofty hills, the access to which are generally on one side. The ramparts which defended the area on the top were in the same manner formed of stones without mortar, though some of these ramparts appear now to have had with the stones a mixture of earth and rubbish; they seem also to have had the usual adjuncts of such strength, consisting of wells, roads, tumuli, temples, and other accommodations; and it thus equally appears that all those hill forts in Britain and Ireland were the works and the safeguards of the first people or their immediate descendants.”

Dr. John Macculloch, *History of the Highlands*, 1824, vol. i, pp. 237, *et seq.*, in writing about these forts, states that there was a tradition existing that these buildings were destroyed by fire from Heaven, and hence the vitrification of the stones; he says—

“Mr. Williams must have the merited honour, not only of pointing out their real value as being forts but of explaining the mode in which they were constructed. In constructing these singular buildings it was suggested by Mr. Williams that by raising a mound of earth on each side of the intended wall and filling it with firewood and stones a sufficient heat was produced to operate and cause the intended effects.”

Macculloch goes on to say—

“It is a highly interesting subject, as well from the singularity and ingenuity of this mode of architecture, from its being limited nearly or perhaps entirely as far as is yet known to Scotland, and from its obscurely and apparently remote antiquity.

“The materials in the vitrified walls are, as at Dun Mac Smuichan, partly roasted without adhesion, and partly vitrified or glazed or scarified in a similar manner. It is easy to see that the dark granite forms the

vitrified and scarified substances, and that, wherever stones not capable of vitrification themselves have undergone this change, it has been produced by the alkali of the wood used in the process, whence the glazed surfaces of many unvitriifiable substances. The materials of the hills were not vitriifiable, but the presence of a very fusible rock at a short distance. It is hence evident that the builders of these works were aware of the qualities of the various rocks, and it was equally evident that they chose the fusible in preference to the infusible, although with a considerable increase of labour. The obvious conclusion is that they designed from the beginning to vitrify their walls.

"The plan suggested by Mr. Williams, viz., that of constructing a species of furnace by means of earthen mounds into which stones and fire were introduced till the structure was erected, not only answers all the conditions, and among the best that of vitrifying the materials below more perfectly than the upper ones, but is confirmed as to the efficacy and probability, by a practice in use in some parts of India, where, according to reports of a French engineer, houses of clay are burnt into a solid brick in this very manner, and at this day to prevent the effect of inundations.

"There appears thus to be an oriental cast about the history of this art and these vitrified forts, which leads us back to the early Celtic tribes, while this species of antiquity and origin is countenanced by all those numerous facts which indicate the remote eastern origin of that far spread people, viz. (Celts). The ancient Caledonians or Piets did not possess the Highlands, and these forts must belong to a time prior to the division of Scotland into a Pietish or Caledonian or a Scottish and Norwegian dominion. Thus they should be referred to the aboriginal Celts or first settlers of Scotland, that people whom the Pietish invaders found and on whose defeats they settled themselves. This speculation may probably be thought to give support to the notion of their being specimens of remote Celtic or Oriental art; but after all that we can do or conjecture, the date of these works and the people by whom they were erected must remain a problem, and it is not one very likely to be solved."

Dr. Macculloch concludes by expressing a hope that some future traveller in the East will find further reasons to prove that they are among the earliest military works of our oriental Celtic ancestors.

In 1825 Dr. Hibbert's "Observations on the theories which have been proposed to explain the vitrified forts of Scotland," was read before the Archæological Society of Scotland.

Dr. Hibbert disagrees with the views enumerated by Mr. Williams and Dr. Macculloch, and expresses some doubts that any of these vitrifications were either designed or were the walls of forts, that the vitrification was the result of beacon fires in most of them. He says that none of these vitrified forts exhibit, as from many writers

we should be erroneously led to suppose, any regular masonry in their structure; that at Dun Evan, the vitrification is only partial, and he says that this circumstance is fatal to the notion that the vitrification was the effect of design, but is only incidental to some other view.

Dr. Hibbert considers that the theories of the vitrification being the result of beacon fires is the most plausible, but owns that this theory is not without its difficulties, and he comes to the conclusion that many vitrified sites owe their origin to beacon fires as described by Olaus Magnus and others. That as it cannot be proved that the vitrification in question is in every instance confined to fortified sites the term vitrified forts is too frequently the language of error. That as nothing can be more satisfactorily established that the vitrification is an incidental not a designed effect, the name of vitrified forts may with much advantage be exchanged for the more comprehensive and untheoretical one of vitrified site.

In a later paper however he modifies his previous assertions, and does not think that some of the sites were used as beacon fires, but does not explain further; he is fortified in his idea of beacon fires by the discovery of vitrified cairns at Elsness, on the island of Gandy, in Orkney; but these are round cairns from three to five yards in diameter and were no doubt caused by lighting beacon fires.

Dr. Hibbert also considers that these ancient duns (or forts where vitrification can be traced), belong to the oldest fortified sites in the country.

He gives a list of these vitrified forts or sites.<sup>1</sup>

<i>Perth</i>	Dunsinnan.	<i>Moray</i>	Clunie Hill, near Forres.
	Barra Hill.		
<i>Forfar</i>	Menefick.		Doune Hill of Relugas.
	Dumsturdy		Castle Finlay.
	Dundee Law.		Dun Evan.
	Findhaven.	<i>Inverness</i>	Dun Daviot.
<i>Kincardine</i>	Fenellas Castle.	(including	Dun le Chatti.
	Stonelaven.	the two now	Dun Ardiul.
<i>Aberdeen</i>	Dun o' Deer.	described)	Tor Duin.
	Top o' Noath		Dun Dhairgale.
<i>Banff</i>	Promontory of Troup,		Arisaig, 2.
	Brough Head.		

<sup>1</sup> The names of these forts are spelt in various ways by different authors.

<i>Inverness</i>	Dun Fion. Castle Spynie. Craig Phadric.		Thurots Bay, Islay, near Killean. Dunskeig Hill, Cantyre.
<i>Ross</i>	Dun Avor, near Dingwall. Knock Farril. Ord of Keppoch.	<i>Bute</i>	Bay of Carradall, Cantyre. Dungall. Kyles of Bute.
<i>Sutherland</i>	Dun Creich.		Couden Knows.
<i>Argyle</i>	Island on Loch Sunart. Island on Loch Teachus. Dun MacSnuichan, Loch Etive.	<i>Berwick</i> <i>Galloway</i>	Anworth. Moat of Mark. Castle Gower.

In July, 1846, Mr. J. Pryer, in the Proceedings of the British Archæological Association, gives an account of Craig Phadric, and ascribes its origin as Celtic and not Caledonian.

At the same meeting a letter was read from M. le Comte Dasson, giving some account of a vitrified wall near St. Brioux, in Brittany, known by the name of Pierre brulée, or Camp of Peran, and from what he says the vitrification was produced by the intermixture of charcoal and earth in the burning.

And in the meeting of the same association in December, 1867, Mr. Lukis forwarded the following observations upon vitrified forts, dated Nantes, 5th November, 1867.

"A few weeks ago an International Celtic Congress was held at St. Brioux, department of the Cotes du Nord, Brittany, and during the meeting an excursion was made by the members to the vitrified forts of Peran, a few kilometres distant from the city. By permission of the government, to whom the fort belongs, a trench was dug across the embankment and wall, thereby revealing the construction down to the ground level. The vitrified wall ran between a bank of earth on one side and a bank composed of loose stones and earth on the other."

He says, embedded in this vitrified wall was a fragment of Roman roofing tile, and speculates on the period when this wall was constructed.

Dr. Daniel Wilson, *Prehistoric Annals of Scotland*, vol. ii, p. 92, says—The so-called vitrified forts, which have been the subject of many ingenious and baseless theories, form another interesting class of native works. Dr. Wilson agrees with Dr. Hibbert, whom he quotes, that the vitrification was an incidental and not a designed effect, and resulted accidentally from the frequent kindling of beacon fires as signals of war invasions, as well as from

bonfires which formed a part of festive or religious rejoicings, he says—

“This susceptibility of the degree of fusion usually observable on vitrified sites, which trap and others of the common rocks of Scotland possess, has long been recognised by chemists; and when it is taken into consideration along with the very diversified circumstances under which vitrification has been observed, the conclusion seems inevitable, that it is an incidental and not a designed result of the application of fire. But neither the interest nor the importance of this inquiry is exhausted when we have established the undesigned origin of vitrified sites. The question still remains—are they peculiar to Scotland? because even if we reject the idea that cementing stone buildings by means of fire is among the *Artes perditæ* Scotiæ, still the discovery of so many vitrified sites in nearly every district of Scotland would seem to indicate the practice of peculiar customs and observances during those early centuries in which the primæval forests furnished an unlimited supply of fuel.

“To attempt to assign a date for the primitive forts or vitrified sites would be manifest folly, but even to apportion them to one or more of less definite periods is difficult.”

In the Proceedings of the British Archæological Association, January 23rd, 1867, the following is recorded:—

Dr. Kendrick exhibited a stag-like piece of stone from the vitrified fort of Dun-Phinu or Castle of Fingal in the Isle of Arran.

Mr. Gordon M. Hills added to his remarks on this stone. “Although seventy years ago antiquaries were led to believe in the existence of forts in Scotland, whose walls were cemented by vitrification, he did not suppose such a belief would be accepted now.”

Mr. E. Roberts, F.S.A., said that he had visited several of the so-called vitrified forts in Scotland, but could not discover the slightest trace of vitrification about them.

Mr. John Honeyman, in a paper read at a meeting of the Glasgow Archæological Society, February, 1868, “Remarks on the construction of vitrified forts,” says—

“The conclusion to which the phenomena exhibited at Dunskeig pointed seemed to me to be this—that the walls were constructed of loose materials, bound together into a solid mass by being grouted with a liquid vitreous cement composed chiefly of greenstone and other easily fused materials, and that the process was effected *on* the wall, not on either side of it. In this way it would be as easy to construct a wall twelve feet thick as two, and as easy to carry it along the verge of a precipice as on a plain. But it may be asked if the agglutination is chiefly effected in this way, how is it that we find so large a portion of the remains bearing the evidence of the action of intense heat? The reason I think is obvious; the material could not have been melted at all without the action of intense heat on whatever enclosed the fire, and these enclosures

must necessarily have been very numerous. It would, with our present amount of information on the subject, be obviously absurd to dogmatize as to the exact *modus operandi*, but I shall suggest a possible method. Suppose that first a course of loose stones was laid all round the enclosure, the width of the proposed wall across this is a series of furnaces about eighteen inches wide and two feet high, closed at each end and separated by partitions formed chiefly of trap, the ends would form the outside and inside faces of the wall, and would be provided with holes for the purpose of air through the furnace; the whole was then covered with stones (to a considerable extent), trap, and probably turf and seaweed added. In such a furnace, the means of producing a blast being satisfactory, an intense heat would be produced, and the result would be that the partitions and top would be fused."

Mr. Honeyman goes on to say—

"Having extended my observation much since the above was written, I am able to add that the vitrification is generally *less perfect towards the outside than in the centre of the wall*; that in some forts which I have examined the vitrified mass rests upon a rough building which has never been subjected to a great heat, and that in these cases the centre of the wall is vitrified to a greater depth than either of the sides. It seems evident, therefore, that the vitrification was effected from the top of the wall, not from the sides. In every wall I have examined there is abundant evidence that the cementing material has run down among the loose stones, and the same appearances prove that the dry building above referred to occupies still its original position under the vitrified mass. In the interstices among the unvitrified stones drops and small streams from above still remain as they cooled.—J. H., 1879."

J. H. Burton, *History of Scotland*, 1866, says—

"Of the hill forts of Scotland one kind has been and still remains a mystery, defying the learning and acuteness of all investigators. These are called vitrified forts, because their substance has passed through fire and taken a vitreous character. Some portions of these are bright like the scorie of a glass house, but the greater part more resemble those of an iron work. When they were first brought to light nearly a century ago, scientific men caught at the idea that they were the remains of recent volcanoes. The geologists now scout that supposition, and indeed no one can see them without pronouncing them as the handiwork of man. But how, or with what end, had they been subjected to so strange a process? One view was that they were the mere receptacles of gigantic fires of timber, whether lighted as beacons or for some religious observance. But if some of them are of a merely fragmentary character there are others so elaborately put together, rampart within rampart, that it is difficult to think of any other object in raising them but that of a fortress. The vitrified forts here are numerous; there is not one in England or Ireland, nor have the industrious antiquarians of Scandinavia found anything of the kind within their own field to speculate upon. The general tendency of the evidence about them is in direction of design. It has been noticed that in the portion of these works where the fire has not obliterated the characteristics of the original stone, it is sometimes not of the kind nearest at hand but has

been brought from a distance. Toward the motive for taking this trouble, Professor Macculloch says what, if fully established might be counted conclusive, he is commenting on Dun o' Deer as a strong military position. 'I remarked that at Dun Maenachan the materials of the hill itself were not vitrifiable, but that a very fusible rock was present at a short distance, or scattered in fragments about the plain. The same is true here, and in both cases the forts are not erected out of the materials nearest at hand, which are infusible, but collected at material labour from a distance.' He infers as the obvious conclusion, that those who made the fortress *intended to vitrify the walls*. It would be satisfactory to have fuller scientific information on the point especially as it is one which skill and trouble can to all appearance settle."

In a work lately published, entitled *Loch Etive*, the author gives an interesting account of the vitrified forts of Dun Mac Uisneachan or Berigionium, on Loch Etive, and a description of the early inhabitants. He says—

"After all, the best general observations on these forts are found in a small volume by the discoverer, Mr. John Williams, in 1777.

"The difficulty of cementation by heat I have never seen where basalt is abundant and where so many mixtures of silica with bases are readily found, abundance of fuel will do the rest.

"I have ventured to adopt or at least to hold prominently the opinion that the vitrified fort of Dun Mac Uisneachan was inhabited in the early centuries of our era, we need not define the date to a century or two. Traditions and dawnings of history like the fancies of childhood are mixtures of the real and the ideal, whilst time and place are not very distinctly bounded. All fancies about earthquakes, volcanoes and lightnings go also from the sight, fancies which I would not have mentioned had they not been entertained by men whose opinions are to be respected on other subjects.

"The vitrified fort was introduced by men who quite understood the mode of putting stones together in layers, a part of the vitrified mass in situ *overlying* a built portion of the wall.

"Vitrified walls take us far back, but not necessarily beyond the early centuries of the Christian Era, since one existing near St. Brieux, in Brittany, was evidently built after the Romans had shown their skill there.

"Vitrified forts are the work of a rude people learning to emerge from the rude state indicated by building loose stone walls, if we may judge from this fort of the Usnachs, in Loch Etive. Such forts would cease to be built when the country was laid bare of wood, and that certainly would be after the Roman occupation of the east coast of Scotland. The habits of the west coast would remain longer."

Having thus given a summary of the various opinions and theories, I will now proceed to describe the two forts which form the subject of this paper.

On the west coast of Scotland between the headland, north of Loch Moidart and Arisaig, is a deep inlet of the

sea. This inlet, near its termination, is divided by the promontory of Ardnish into two branches, called Loch na Nuagh and Loch Ailort. At the entrance to Loch Ailort are two islands, one of which is called Eilean na Goar.

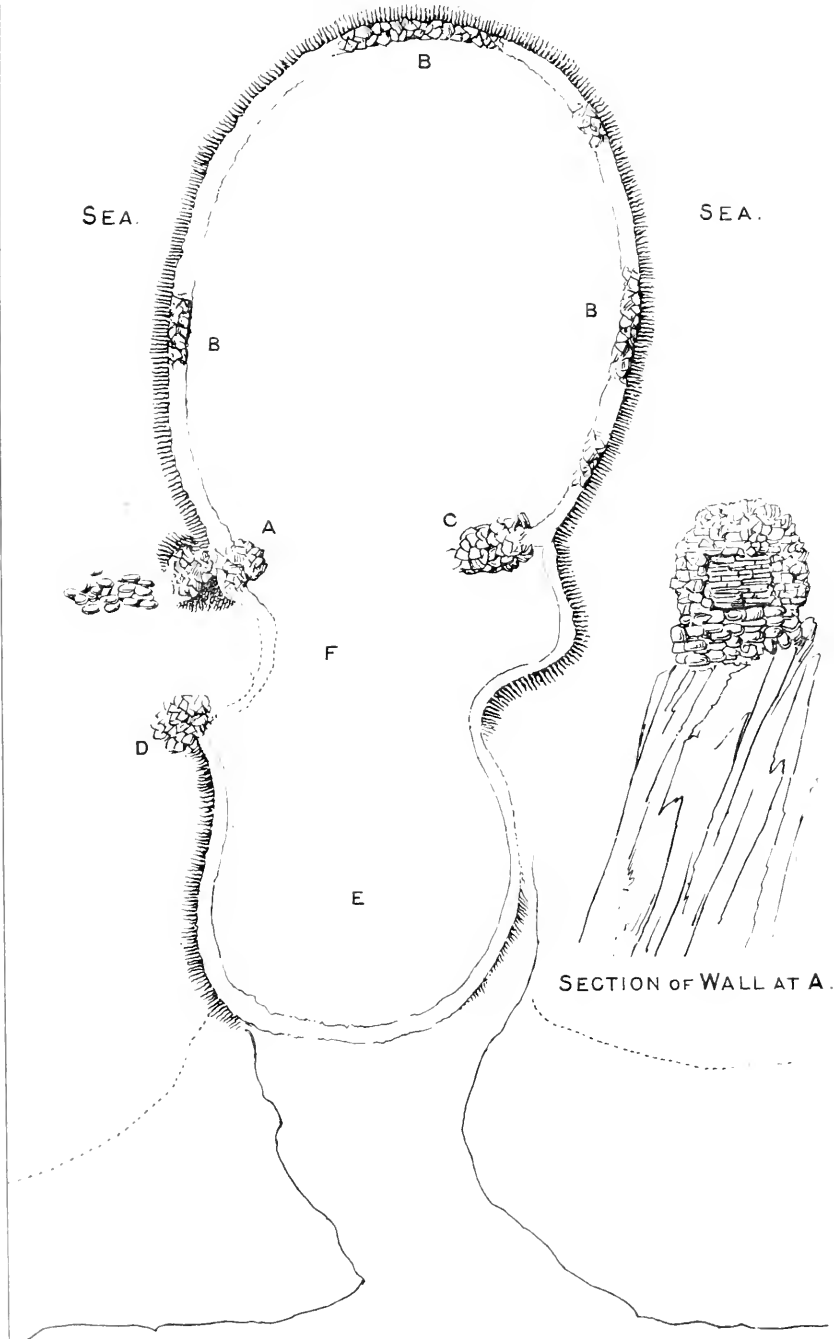
Loch na Nuagh trends to the east and terminates some four or five miles up, and washes the rocks on which runs the high road leading from Arisaig to Fort William. At the point where Loch na Nuagh begins to narrow, where the opposite shore is about one-and-a-half to two miles distant, is a small promontory connected with the mainland by a narrow strip of sand and grass, which evidently at one time was submerged by the rising tide. On the flat summit of this promontory are the ruins of a vitrified fort (Plate I), the proper name for which is Arka-Unskel.

The rocks on which this fort are placed are metamorphic gneiss, with indications of trap, covered with grass and ferns, and rise on three sides almost perpendicular for about 110 feet from the sea level. The smooth surface on the top is divided by a slight depression into two portions. On the largest, with precipitous sides to the sea, the chief portion of the fort is situated, and occupies the whole of the flat surface. It is of somewhat oval form. The circumference is about 200 feet, and the vitrified walls can be traced in its entire length, but are most perceptible at A, B, C, and D. The width of the interior is fifty feet. At one part, A, the vitrified wall is seven feet high and about six feet in thickness. At C the wall is three feet three inches high and five feet thick, and so continues through the whole of the walls, although they are not all so high. The wall at A appears to have been the termination on the east side of the first portion of the fort, as about twenty-five feet from this is another large mass of vitrified wall, D; the space between these two is without any signs of wall. It almost appears as if this might have been the entrance to the larger fort as well as the smaller, which is situated on the lesser portion of the rock, at E. This smaller fortress or portion of the larger is about 100 feet in circumference, 21 feet in width, and 24 feet in length, and appears to have been divided from the larger fort by a narrow strip, F; but although the line



VITRIFIED FORTS.

PLATE I.







VITRIFIED FORTS.

LOCH NA NUAGH.

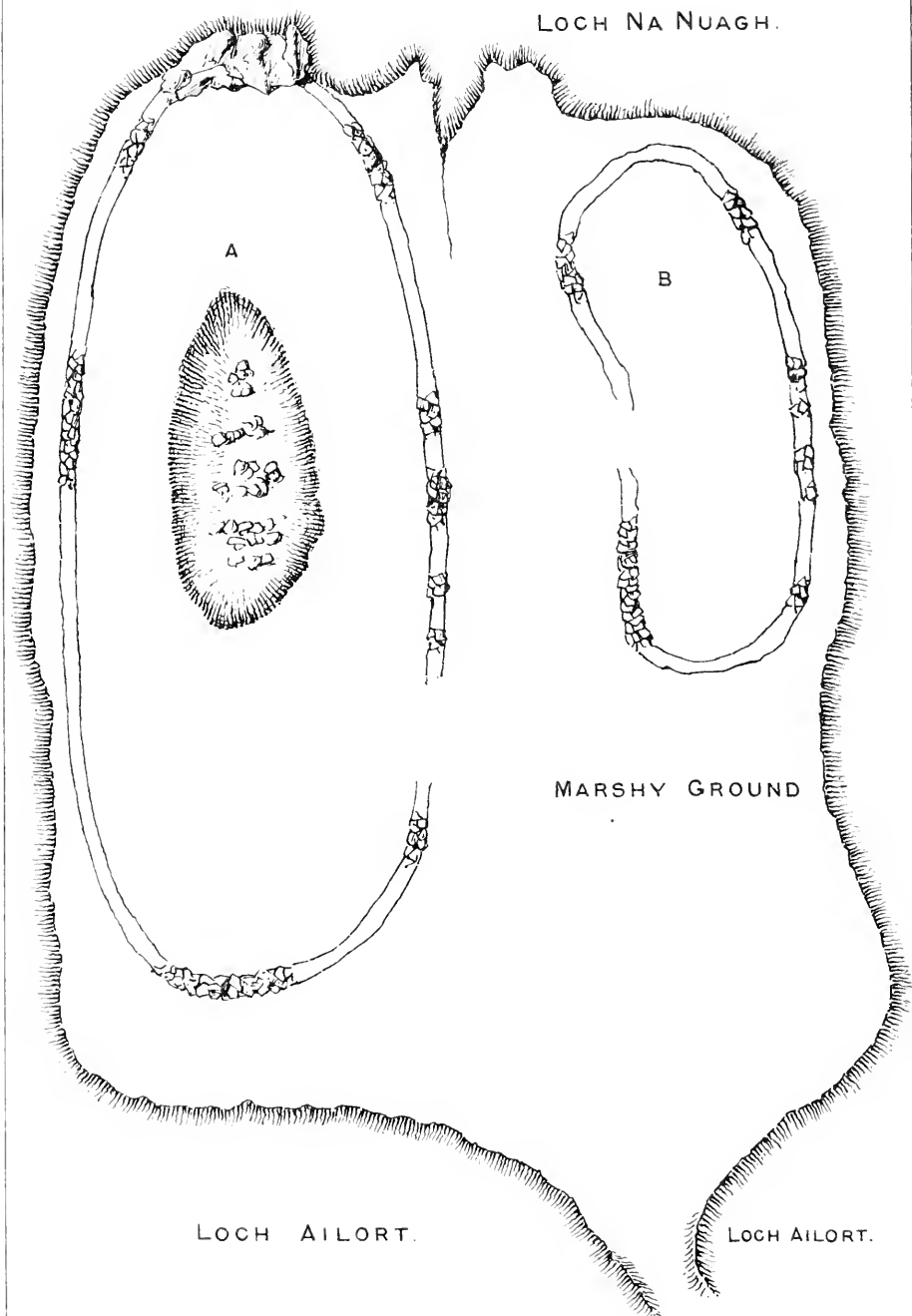
A

B

MARSHY GROUND

LOCH AILORT.

LOCH AILORT.



of ramparts may be traced there is no vitrified wall. On excavating at A, below the vitrified wall, we came upon a great mass of large and small boulders, all water-worn, and evidently brought up from the shore, to form a foundation on which the vitrified wall rested (see section, Plate I). This foundation was three feet deep and five feet across, and rested upon the original gneiss rock.

We dug under the vitrified mass, and there found what was extremely interesting, as throwing some light on the manner in which the fire was applied for the purpose of vitrification. The internal part of the upper or vitrified wall for about a foot or a foot-and-a-half was untouched by the fire, except that some of the flat stones were slightly agglutinated together, and that the stones, all feldspatic, were placed in layers one upon another (see section, Plate I.)

It was evident therefore that a rude foundation of boulder stones was first formed upon the original rock, and then a thick layer of loose, mostly, flat stones of feldspatic sand, and of a different kind from those found in the immediate neighbourhood, were placed on this foundation, and then vitrified by heat applied externally. This foundation of loose stones is found also in the vitrified fort of Dun Mac Snuichan, on Loch Etive.

The other vitrified fort (Plate II) is much larger than that just described, is situated on the island at the entrance of Loch Ailort. This island, locally termed Eilean na Goar, is the most eastern and is bounded on all sides by precipitous gneiss rocks; it is the abode and nesting place of numerous sea birds. The flat surface on the top is 120 feet from the sea level, and the remains of the vitrified forts are situated on this, oblong in form, with a continuous rampart of vitrified wall five feet thick; attached at the S.W. end to a large upright rock of gneiss. The space enclosed by this wall is 420 feet in circumference and 70 feet in width. The rampart is continuous and about five feet in thickness. At the eastern end, A is a great mass of wall in situ, vitrified on both sides. In the centre of the enclosed space is a deep depression in which are masses of the vitrified wall strewn about, evidently detached from their original site.

Separated by a deep depression which is now a wet

morass, and nearly parallel to the larger construction, is a smaller fort placed on another flat surface of the island (Plate II). It is 100 feet in circumference and 25 feet across, entirely surrounded by the wall which in many parts remain in its original state.

One remarkable feature in these forts is their *double* form; none other previously described, as far as I am aware, having this peculiar character.

The examination of these two forts leads us to the consideration of the different opinions held by previous investigators as to whether

1st. Were these structures built as a means of defence.

2nd. Was the vitrification the result of design or accident.

3rd. How was the vitrification produced.

On looking at the plates which illustrate this paper and also at the plans of the great forts which illustrate some of these works I have quoted on the east coast, one can only come I think to one conclusion,—that they were intended for places of defence. The regular design of these walls, their great extent and uniformity, the large area enclosed, all lead to prove that these early people had a design in their construction; and it is a curious circumstance that many of the most important of these works were re-occupied by the conquerors of the original designers, as places of defence. The remains of the wooden buildings in the vitrified fort of Dun Mac Uisenachan, on Loch Etive, are the structures subsequently raised by the Irish conquerors of the builders of the original fort. In the ruins of the building on Craig Phádrig, some of the original vitrified walls have been built up in the structures of the second occupation. It is scarcely possible then to believe that these extensive walls, all vitrified, encompassing so large an area, could have been merely the site of beacon fires or that the vitrification was caused by such fires or by those for burnt sacrifices. Another argument against the site being only used for beacon fires is that many of these forts are not placed on the highest points of land but generally at the entrance of some strath or some inland loch.

2nd. Was the vitrification the result of design or accident? No doubt in the first instance the discovery

that the stones were fusible was accidental, and was discovered probably as Mr. Williams suggests, by kindling great fires for burning their sacrifices; but I would also suggest another accidental mode by which this discovery might have been made. The aborigines of every country cooked or rather baked their food in ovens made in the ground. These ovens were lined with stones, and stones were placed over the object to be cooked, and then heat applied, oftentimes no doubt very intense. It may be that during this process of cooking the stones employed were of that fusible nature which we know exist in parts of Scotland, and that these were found agglutinated in their ovens, and vitrified. Very little acuteness on their part would lead them to apply this discovery to the building of their places of defence.

The investigation of these forts at Arisaig shew with what a regular design the builders worked. First the foundation of the water-worn boulders all brought up from the sea shore, then the stones known to be fusible, and generally brought from a distance, placed in regular layers on the top of the foundation of boulders to the prescribed height and thickness, and then the fire applied externally, both on the top and on every side; and thus we come to the question,

How was the vitrification produced? As we have seen, various theories have been put forward, but I think we may conclude that in the two forts which I have described, the fire was applied externally and on all sides. This is proved by the internal part of the wall being unvitrified, solely because the heat did not extend so far, leaving the stones in their original condition, or only partly agglutinated, and only not fused because unable to be effected by the fire applied externally.

It is easy to suppose, in the then state of Scotland, that abundant fuel could be obtained from the great pine forests, which combined with seaweed and earth would, with a proper amount of draught, cause heat intense enough to melt or vitrify the fusible material it came in contact with.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The proximate amount of heat I have been able to ascertain through the kindness of Mr. Cotterell of the Royal Institution. He has submitted some of the unvitrified stone forming a portion of

the inner layers of one of these forts to the blast of the blow-pipe, and he finds that vitrification ensues at a temperature of about 1,500 degrees of Fahrenheit.

It is an interesting fact that Professor Ramsay, in his *Physical Geography of Great Britain*, gives a remarkable corroboration of the manner in which vitrification was in all probability produced.

"Unlike limestones, basalts, and other hard and tough rocks, such sandstones as the millstone grit and gannister beds of the coal measures are ill adapted for macadamising roads, for traffic rapidly grinds it into its original state of loose sand. Nevertheless, in some regions they have nothing else to use, and to obviate its defects the following process is used near Barnsley and in other parts of Yorkshire. The rocks in question were made from the debris of granite and gneiss, similar to those of the Scotch Highlands. The stone being quarried in small slabs and fragments, is built in a pile about thirty feet square and twelve or fourteen feet high, somewhat loosely; and while the building is in progress brushwood is mingled with the stones, but not in any great quantity. Two thin layers of coal, about three inches thick, at equal distances are, so to speak, interstratified with the sandstones, and a third layer is strewn over the top. At the bottom facing the prevalent wind, an opening, about two feet high, is left something like the mouth of an oven. Into this, brushwood and a little coal is put and lighted. The fire slowly proceeds through the whole pile, and continues burning for about six weeks. After cooling the stack is pulled down, and the stones are found to be completely vitrified. Slabs originally flat have become bent and contorted like gneiss, and stones originally separate get, so to speak, glued together in the process of vitrification, aided by the soda, potash, and iron, which form part of the constituents of felspar and mica, and act as a flux."

He goes on to say—

"In the year 1859 I visited a vitrified fort called *Knochfarrel*, near Strathpeffer in Ross-shire, and came to the conclusion that the vitrification had been done of set purpose, and that the effect had been produced by burning wood. In the first volume of Dr. John Hill Burton's *History of Scotland*, 1866, he expresses a wish that science would explain the manner in which vitrification of forts was effected. Having formed the opinion that the Yorkshire method of vitrification most closely resembled that used by the old fort builders, I wrote to Mr. Burton giving an account of it.

"All the vitrified forts in Scotland are either in the Highlands or in Berwickshire and Galloway, where rocks easily vitrified abound, and but that there are neither vitrified forts nor native Celts in modern Yorkshire, one would almost be tempted to speculate on the act of vitrification having descended there, from an ancient Pictish people of the bronze age, such as are supposed by Dr. Julius Ernest Fordisch to have erected the scorified ramparts of the forts of Bohemia. The vitrification of rocks in Yorkshire I have thought worthy of being recorded, throwing as it does some light on the method employed in the construction of forts in times that seem to us to be prehistoric."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In the *Archæological Journal*, vol. viii, p. 315, there is a notice of Gatacre House in Shropshire, an ancient residence, the material forming the walls being chiefly red sandstone. To these walls a

silicious flux has been applied, forming a *vitrified crust on the stone*, but the stone itself has not been in any way acted upon by heat.



These facts stated by Professor Ramsay, combined with previous and present investigations, appear to me to prove that although there may be many places with vitrified stones which have been used as beacon sites, yet that these ruins of forts in which there is a continuous wall of vitrified stones encompassing a considerable space must have been built by design for a specific purpose, either of defence or refuge, and that the view put forth by their original discoverer, Mr Williams, and subsequently confirmed by Dr. John Macculloch and Mr. Anderson, was the correct one.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> My best thanks are due to Mr. Ashley, of Arisaig House, for giving me the opportunity of examining these

interesting forts, and also to Miss Constance Ashley for the able manner in which she assisted me.

## THE CASE OF THE COLLEGIATE CHURCH OF ARUNDEL<sup>1</sup>

By EDWARD A. FREEMAN.

The question which, after two trials, has lately been decided in favour of the Duke of Norfolk against the Vicar of Arundel is one which involves many points of historical and antiquarian interest. The point in dispute was whether the building forming the eastern limb of Arundel church was simply the chancel of the parish church, or whether it was in strictness a separate church, formerly belonging to the suppressed college, and now forming, with the other property of that college, an absolute possession belonging to the duke. In the former case the duke would have simply the rights and liabilities held by an impropriate rector over the chancel of a parish church. In the other case the building would be absolutely at the duke's disposal, as much as a house or a barn that belonged to him. Much that was said at the two trials by counsel, and even by judges, much that has been said in the way of newspaper comment, sounds very wonderful to those to whom the case of Arundel church seemed only a very simple instance of a class to which they were well accustomed. It may therefore be useful to compare the case of Arundel at some length with a number of other cases which have more or less of analogy with it.

It was even doubted at the trial whether there could be in strictness two churches under one roof, that is, whether a building which forms one architectural whole and which in artistic and in ordinary language would be spoken of as a single church, could really contain what, in point of

<sup>1</sup> This paper was first written last year, at the time of the first trial. I had then not seen the documents in full. I have since recast it by the light of the two trials and of a study of the docu-

ments. It is satisfactory to find that such a study thoroughly confirms the conclusion which I had come to by the mere use of the comparative method.

property and use, are two distinct churches. I confess that I was surprised that there could be any doubt upon the subject. The arrangement is a very common one, and it is one which I have always carefully noticed whenever I have come across it. I have myself spoken of it in several monographs in various periodicals and local proceedings, and it must surely be familiar to any one who has studied the different classes of monastic and collegiate churches. The case of Arundel seems singular, simply because both churches are standing, though one is disused, while in most cases one of the two has been pulled down. That is to say, the successive Earls of Arundel have forbore to exercise the right of destruction which the law gave them. In most cases that right has been unsparingly exercised; Arundel is one of the small class of cases in which it has not.

In some collegiate churches, in perhaps the majority of monastic churches, there was no connexion with any parish. The inhabitants of the place where the college or monastery stood had no proprietary rights in the monastic or collegiate church; they had their own distinct parish church, standing quite apart. In other cases the parish church and the monastic or collegiate church stood close together and formed one architectural whole. That is to say, a building which formed architecturally a single church was, as far as use and property were concerned, divided into two churches, one belonging to the parish, the other to the monks or canons. I must here add an interpretation clause for my own article. To avoid endless repetitions and explanations, I shall use the word *monks* to denote all members of religious foundations, and the word *canons* to denote all members of secular foundations, whatever was their title in each particular case. The members of the secular foundations bore various titles—canons, prebendaries, fellows, chaplains, and others; at Arundel the original name was chaplains, for which the name of *fellows* seems to have been a later alteration. But the nature of the foundation was the same, whatever was the title of its members. In these cases of divided churches, the eastern part of the building commonly belonged to the monks or canons, the western part to the parishioners. Most commonly, in the usual case of a cross

church, the parishioners had the nave, while the monks or canons had the choir and transepts. Thus the building, while it formed architecturally a single church, formed in point of possession two churches, which, wherever legal precision was needed, were spoken of severally as the "parish church" and the "abbey church," "priory church," or, as at Arundel, "collegiate church," according to the nature of the foundation. But neither now nor then was such legal precision likely to be always attended to in ordinary speech. A building which, for all architectural and artistic purposes, was one building, was constantly spoken of as one building. The two churches under one roof, forming one architectural whole, were constantly spoken of as one church. Men spoke then, as we should speak now, of "Arundel church" as a whole. And as one part was collegiate, another part parochial, it is not wonderful if the whole was often spoken of sometimes as "collegiate church" sometimes as "parochial church." But whenever legal precision was of importance, the two parts of the building were carefully distinguished by their proper names. And never was the distinction more needed than when one part of the building changed owners. Such a time came amid the changes of the sixteenth century. When the monasteries were suppressed under Henry VIII, and the colleges, partly under Henry VIII, partly under Edward VI, that part of the building which formed the monastic or collegiate church came into the hands of the king with the rest of the monastic or collegiate property, and was dealt with by him or his grantee according to their pleasure in each particular case. It was dealt with precisely as those suppressed churches were dealt with which stood apart from any parish church. Its architectural connexion with the parish church made no difference. But, whatever happened to it, the right of the parish in its part of the building was not touched. That was no more interfered with by the suppression of the monastery or college than it was when the two churches stood altogether apart. The monastic or collegiate church was in most cases altogether pulled down. In others it was dismantled and left as a ruin. In others it was allowed to stand whole, but was disused ; in a few

cases it was bought by the parishioners or given them by some benefactor, and was added to the parish church.

I shall speak throughout of monastic and collegiate churches together, because I cannot see that it makes any difference whether the corporate body which divided the church with the parish was regular or secular. The rights and relations of the corporation towards the parish would be the same in either case. The abbot and monks in one case, the dean and canons or other collegiate body in the other case, might be simply the corporate rector with the rights and liabilities of any other rector, or they might be something more, namely the absolute owners of the monastic or collegiate part of the building. It makes no difference that in the majority of collegiate churches the canons seem to have been simply a corporate rector, while in the vast majority of monastic churches the monks were absolute owners, either of the whole church, if there was no parish attached, or, as has been already said, of part of it when there was a parish attached. The reason is plain; the monks had much more reason to seek for a complete separation from the parishioners than the secular clergy had. In fact, in many collegiate churches the evident object was simply to provide for the better performance of divine service in the parish church. The canons or other clergy were simply a multiplied rector; when the college was suppressed, the rectory passed with the other college property to the king's grantee; but this gave him no rights over the chancel beyond the ordinary rights of a rector. It was his duty to keep up; he had no power to pull down. But where the absolute property of any part of the building was vested in the corporate body, whether monks or canons, the power of destruction passed into the hands of the grantee, and he most commonly put it in force.

On the other hand, it is equally clear that there were, or had been, monastic churches which were also parochial, and in which the monks had simply the rights of rectors. This I conceive was the case with a number of small monastic churches, chiefly in Wales—I mention that of Penmon in Anglesey, as the last which I have seen—where the whole church is standing, and where there is no sign

of any division having been made. Here, I conceive the monks were simply a corporate rector, so that the dissolution did not affect the rights of the parishioners in the chancel. In other cases the church was in the same way originally held in common by the monks and the parishioners; but disputes arose, as was but natural; and it was agreed to divide the building, the monks taking the eastern part and the parishioners the western. The cases of this kind where the history is recorded give us the key to a number of other cases where the history is not recorded—where at least it is not accessible to me—but which present the same appearances as those whose history is known. When we see a church, known to have been monastic or collegiate, whose western part is standing and is used as a parish church, but whose eastern part is pulled down, ruined, or disused, we may, in absence of proof to the contrary, presume a division of the building between the parish and the monks or canons. It does not follow that the division was in all cases the consequence of a dispute. The church may have been in some cases so divided from the beginning; but it is naturally in those cases where there was a dispute that we get the history in the fullest detail.

It must further be remembered that, if any distinction could be established in this matter between monastic and collegiate churches, a distinction for which I do not see the slightest ground, still that distinction would not apply to Arundel. For there, as the grantee took the place of the college, so the college had before taken the place of the suppressed alien priory. The rights with which the new foundation was clothed would not be smaller than those which had been held by the earlier body; they might conceivably be greater.

I now come to the examples<sup>1</sup> which shew that it was a common practice for a church to be divided between a parish and a monastic or collegiate body, and that in such

<sup>1</sup> I keep to English examples, as I have not given much attention to the matter out of England. But I stumbled on a case of the kind last year at Château du Loir in Maine, where the *curé* kindly volunteered a bit of local history proving the division, not knowing that it would

be specially acceptable.

The double choirs, caputular and parochial, of the great German minsters are the same in principle as the arrangement of which we are now speaking; but the artistic effect is quite different.

cases the two parts were formally spoken of as the "parish church" and the "priory church," or whatever else might be the proper description in that particular case. But we must not look for strict consistency of usage on this point. The church, though divided for purposes of possession and use, still, as a building, formed one whole. When there was no particular necessity to insist on the fact of division, people would naturally speak of the two parts together as a single church. It was only when it was specially needful to insist on the division that the parts would be spoken of severally as the "parish church" and the "priory church" or "collegiate church."

I will begin with a case in which the history of the division is minutely recorded, as having been brought about by a dispute as to the right of visitation. This is the church of Wymondham in Norfolk, first a dependent priory of St. Albans, afterwards an independent abbey. It was also a parish church, and in 1249 a dispute arose as to the right of the archdeacon to visit in it. The question was settled by papal authority in favour of the archdeacon, so far that his right of visitation was established within the parochial part of the church, which is distinctly distinguished as the "parish church." The document is printed in the *Gesta Abbatum Sancti Albani*, i, 355—360. The description of the church, as given in the archdeacon's pleading, is explicit.

"Cum enim ecclesia de Wymundham, de qua agitur, sit parochialis ecclesia, et non cella, ad quam per priorem et conventum vicarius Norwicensi episcopo presentatur, et curam animarum recipit ab eodem, et ad ipsam parochiani confluant pro divinis, et a vicario ecclesiastica recipiunt sacramenta, monachis ipsius cellæ facientibus intra chorum: ad quam etiam parochianis per publica strata patet ingressus, ipsis vero monachis ad chorum datur aditus aliunde; licet parietes parochialis ecclesie, et chori in quo per monachos deservitur, continui sint, ipsosque sit protegens idem tectum, hujusmodi tamen ecclesia infra cellæ ambitum non consistit, nec ad ipsam indulgentia se extendit."

The decision of the papal court runs as follows:—

"Ut memoratum archidiaconum permittant uti juribus supradictis in dictis ecclesiis pacifice et quiete: nomine autem ecclesie de Wymundham parochialem intelligimus ecclesiam, cum vicario, et plebe quæ pertinet ad eandem."

Here we have described, as distinctly as words can describe anything, two churches forming one building

under one roof and with continuous walls, which were yet so distinct in point of possession and use that the archdeacon had jurisdiction in one part of the building and not in the other. But the "*prædictæ ecclesiæ*" in the last extract do not mean the monastic and parochial church, but the two churches of Wymondham and Binham, both of which were concerned in the dispute.

For the later very important history of Wymondham I have not any original document to refer to. I must be satisfied with the account in the *Monasticon* (iii, 328), and in Mr. Petit's paper on Wymondham, in the volume of the Archaeological Institute at Norwich for 1847, p. 117. Both refer to Blomefield's *History of Norfolk*, which I have not at hand. It appears that the second dispute arose about 1410, this time between the parishioners and the monks, and it was settled by Archbishop Arundel. The way in which the constructive division was made was singular. The monks took the choir and transepts, with the tower which stood immediately west of the crossing, together with the south aisle of the nave. The parishioners had the nave and the north aisle; they also built a tower at the west end. The abbey tower in the middle formed a complete barrier, with a dead wall, between the eastern and western parts of the church. At the dissolution, the parishioners bought the south aisle and the abbey tower. They did not buy the choir and transepts; these therefore were destroyed, and only some ruins are left.

The church of Binham, another cell of St. Albans, was, as I have said, concerned in the same dispute as Wymondham. The western limb is now standing, and forms a complete parish church, with a chancel marked off in its eastern part. It was evidently cut off from the monastic church by a solid wall, forming a reredos to the parish high altar, and pierced with the two doors usual in a reredos.

Another cell of St. Albans was Tynemouth, where also in 1217 a dispute arose between the church of St. Albans and the Bishop and church of Durham, about the right of visitation. This is recorded by Matthew Paris, (*Chronica Majora*, iv, 609, ed. Luard). The words are



—"super visitatione facienda in ecclesia parochiali, quæ est in monasterio monachorum de Thinemue." In the decision of the question (iv, 615), the dispute "super visitatione ecclesiæ parochialis de Thinemue" is settled by ruling that the bishop and his officials shall have jurisdiction "in illa parte ecclesiæ de Thinemue in qua parochianis divina celebrantur, sine onere procurationis, ita quod de monachis seu alia parte ecclesiæ sive etiam de ipsa cella se nullatenus intromittant."

Here the "ecclesia parochialis" is defined to be a part of the general "ecclesia" or "monasterium" (*minster*) of Tynemouth.<sup>1</sup> And, though the whole is now in ruins, the distinction is still clearly marked. The reredos of the parish high altar, plainly set up at the time spoken of by Matthew Paris, is still to be seen across the western arch of the crossing.

The further history of Tynemouth, as given in the *Monasticon*, (iii, 309-310),<sup>2</sup> shows that in the time of Elizabeth, the "parish kirk," which was then still in use, was distinguished from the "abbey kirk," to the east of it, which was in ruins. A new parish church, apart from the priory, was begun in 1659, and by the end of the seventeenth century the old parish church was unroofed.

In these cases we have part of the building distinguished in legal language as "ecclesia parochialis," while, in one case at least, the two parts were popularly distinguished as "parish kirk" and "abbey kirk." We find the same language in use at Leominster, a church which I have studied very minutely, and of which I wrote an account in the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, and also in the local History of Leominster by the Rev. G. F. Townsend, p. 209. Here we have the witness of Leland (see *Monasticon*, iv, 55). He says:—

"Ther is but one paroch church in Leominster, but it is large, somewhat darke, and of antient building, insomuch that it is a grete lykelyhood that it is the church that was somewhat afore the Conquest. The church of the priorie was hard joyned to the est end of the paroch church, and was but a small thing."

<sup>1</sup> It must be remembered that, besides the use of *monasterium* to mean *monastery*, it also often means *minster*, that is, the church as distinguished from the other buildings, and that whether the church was monastic or secular. The Waltham charter says, with perfect accuracy, that Harold "*construxit monasterium*:" it

would have been inaccurate to say that "*fundavit monasterium*."

<sup>2</sup> Many more details will be found in the late Mr. W. S. Gibson's History of Tynemouth; but, amidst much declamation, he fails to grasp the history of the divided church.

The parish church, though certainly not "somewhat afore the Conquest," contains the greater part of the twelfth century minster, namely, the nave and north aisle. The south aisle was widened into a large building, with the parish high altar at the east end. The choir and transepts which formed the priory church had plainly been pulled down before Leland's visit. Their foundations were dug up some years back. But the evidence for the distinction at Leominster does not merely rest on the English of Leland. It occurs also in the formal Latin of the will of Philip Bradford in 1458, printed in Mr. Townsend's book, p. 41.

"Lego \* \* \* corpus meum ad sepeliendum in capella sanctæ Annæ infra ecclesiam parochialem Leomynstrie. Item, lego altari S. Petri in ecclesia monachorum ijs. Item, lego altari Sanctæ Trinitatis in ecclesia parochiali ibidem xijd."

This last document gives us another clear case of distinction between the "*ecclesia parochialis*" and the "*ecclesia monachorum*," existing as separate churches within what, speaking architecturally of the building, we should call a single church. This leads us to an entry in Matthew Paris, (*Chronica Majora*, iv, 227, ed. Luard), where, under the year 1242, he records the consecration of "*ecclesia conventualis canonicorum de Waltham*." No one who knows the earlier and later history of Waltham abbey can doubt as to his meaning. The present church consists of the nave only; the choir, transepts, and central tower are gone. The solid wall which ends the church to the east is clearly a carrying up of the reredos of the parish high altar; the doors may be traced. Within this parish church or constructive nave it is alleged that two or three of the eastern bays still form the parish chancel, and that the inappropriate rector, and not the parish, is bound to repair those bays. I do not profess to know whether this claim is good in law; but the mere belief is enough to show historically that the present church of Waltham was a complete parish church with its chancel, distinct from the monastic church to the east of it. That eastern church was the "*ecclesia conventualis*" of Matthew Paris. It was no doubt rebuilt on a larger scale in the thirteenth century, and consecrated afresh, while the parish church to the west of it remained untouched. It is hardly needful to

say that the "canonici de Waltham" in Matthew Paris' entry are the Austin canons put in by Henry II, not the secular canons of the elder foundation of Harold.

In all these cases the monastic church is gone. The grantee exercised his right of property by pulling it down or leaving it in ruins. With these before us we can better understand a crowd of other cases, where we see the same appearances, but where I at least do not know the documentary history. Such are the monastic churches of Worksop, Blyth,<sup>1</sup> Bridlington, Usk, Chepstow, Margam, Deerhurst, Lanercost, Monkton in Pembrokeshire, the collegiate church of Ruthin in Denbighshire, and many others. I speak only of monastic and collegiate churches; they must not be confounded with another class, chiefly found in Norfolk, where the chancels of purely parochial churches have been—illegally, as I conceive—pulled down or allowed to fall into ruin by their lay rectors. The monastic or collegiate church commonly lay to the east of the parochial church; but there is a very singular and puzzling building, the priory of Waybourne in Norfolk, where the two lie in an irregular way side by side. To this point I shall have to come back.

But the grantees did not in all cases exercise their right of pulling down the monastic or collegiate church. In some cases it was added to the adjoining parish church. These cases must be distinguished from those in which the parish at the dissolution became possessed of a monastic church which had never been parochial at all. At Great Malvern, for instance, and at Selby, the parishioners bought the monastic church, and forsook and pulled down the old parish church which stood quite distinct. I am speaking only of cases in which, in a divided church, the monastic part was added to the parochial part. There are good instances of this at

<sup>1</sup> The case of Blyth has some singularities. The eastern limb, with the transepts and central tower, is gone; its site is now part of a garden. The eastern bay of the western limb is standing, but blocked off from the parish church, and open to the garden. There is, in itself, nothing wonderful in this, as the Norman choirs often went far down into the western limb. But in Mr. John Raine's History of Blyth, it is said that, though this bay was cut off from

the church, the parish was held to be bound to repair its vaulted roof. This looks as if the grantee had taken a bay more than his share—perhaps a bay covered by the monastic roodloft. Here again the local historian seems not to have fully understood the division. At Blyth as at Leominster, the parish high altar is not at the east end of the constructive nave, but at the east end of a new body, into which the original narrow south aisle of the nave has been enlarged.

Dorchester, Tewkesbury, and Sherborne. At Dorchester Richard Beauforest, in his will, dated 1554 (printed in Addington's *Dorchester*, p. 98), says—

“I bequeth the Abbey Church of Dorchester, which I have bought, and the implements thereof, to the Paryshe of Dorchester aforesaid, so that the said Parishioners shall not sell alter or alienate the said Church Implements or any part or parcell thereof withoute the consente of my heires and executors.”

Now that this does not mean the whole of the present church of Dorchester, but only a part, is plain from other items in the same will, where the testator bequeaths twenty shillings “to the reparations of my parishe church.” He is described as “of the towne of Dorchester;” so “my parish church” can only mean the parochial part of Dorchester church. Leland, too (see *Addington*, p. 105), says distinctly—

“The Body of the Abbay Chirch servid a late for the Paroche Chirch. Syns the Suppression one (Beauforest) a great riche Man, dwelling in the Toun of Dorchestre, bought the Est part of the Chirch for 140. Poundes, and gave it to augment the Paroch Chirch.”

Here we clearly see the distinction between the abbey church which Beauforest bought and gave to the parish, and the parish church to the repairs of which he made a bequest. And we may mark the various forms of language which naturally grew up in speaking of buildings of this kind. Leland, describing what he saw without any legal precision, calls the whole building the “abbey church;” the parochial part he calls indiscriminately, “the body of the abbey church,” “the west part of the church,” and “the parish church.” But in Beauforest's will, as a legal document, more careful language is used. Here the two parts are distinguished as “the abbey church” and “the parish church;” and it strikes me, though I do not feel positively certain, that he uses the words “church of Dorchester” to take in both. For he leaves his body “to be buried in our Lady Ile within the church of Dorchester.” Every one at Dorchester would know whether “our Lady Ile” was part of the abbey or of the parish church. At Tewkesbury again, in the inventory of the property of the monastery drawn up by Henry VIII's commissioners (*Monasticon*, ii, 57), among “buildings deemed

to be superfluous" comes "the church." That this again means only part of the building appears from what follows. I quote the *Monasticon*.

"Rudder says, 'It appears by an ancient deed transcribed into an old council book, that before and at the time of the dissolution, the body of the abbey church was used as the parish church, and that the parish purchased of the king the chancel, steeple, and bells, with the clock and chimes for 483l.'"

Here again the local historian does not speak with strict legal precision; but the commissioners do. "The church," in a list of the possessions of the monastery, would be understood only of that part of the building which belonged to the monastery. This the parishioners bought of the king, and added it to what was their own already. "the body of the abbey church," that is the western limb of the minster, which formed the parish church.

The history of Sherborne is given in the *Monasticon*, i, 335. It appears from Leland's account that there also the parishioners had their parish church in the western limb of the cruciform minster. "The body of the abbay chirch dedicate to our Lady, servid ontill a hunderithe yeres syns for the chife parochie chirch of the town." The parishioners had also a building to the west of this, known as All Hallows. A violent quarrel, or rather fight, between the monks and the parishioners in the fifteenth century, led to a settlement, by what authority Leland does not say, by which the parishioners had to withdraw wholly from the minster (St. Mary) and kept only All Hallows. "*Postea vero, omnium sanctorum ecclesia, non autem Dominae Mariae, tanquam parochialis ecclesia usurpabatur.*" At the dissolution "the church, steeple (campanile), and churchyard of the monastery" passed to a lay grantee, from whom they were bought by the parish. All Hallows must then have been forsaken, as it now remains a ruin, while the minster forms the parish church. I said something about this matter in the *Somerset Archaeological Proceedings* for 1874, where I refer to Professor Willis' paper on Sherborne, in the *Archaeological Journal*, vol. xxii, p. 179. The plans are in the same volume, p. 196, and in the *Bristol* volume of the *Institute*, p. 200.

These cases of Dorchester, Tewkesbury, and Sherborne,

further help us to understand another class of cases in which the usual arrangement seems to be reversed, where the eastern part is used as the parish church, and where the western part is destroyed. This is the case at Pershore and Boxgrove. I can find no documents in the *Monasticon* to explain the reason, but I imagine it to be this. The parishioners became possessed of the monastic part of the church, and as that was often the larger and finer of the two, they did not care to keep up their former parish church to the west of it. At Boxgrove there are distinct signs that there once was a separate church in the ruined nave, as there is the usual reredos, with its doors, carried up so as to make a partition wall. I take this also to be the explanation of the very extraordinary appearances at Llantwit Major in Glamorganshire, where to the west of the present church is a building, roofed but disused, which is known as "the old church," though it is certainly later in date than the part now in use. I can only take this to mean that it is the former parish church, which was disused when the parishioners obtained possession of the larger monastic church to the east of it.<sup>1</sup>

We may now come to another exceptional case where the parish church was not at the west end of the monastic church, but at one side of it. I have remarked one very anomalous case at Waybourne; there is one easier to understand at Romsey. There the abbey church is now the parish church. I cannot find anything in the *Monasticon* about the way in which it became so; but I distinctly remember reading, probably in some local book, a deed of Bishop William of Wykeham, by which it appeared that the parish church of Romsey was then in the north aisle of the nave of the abbey church. The parishioners obtained leave to enlarge their church; the building bears witness to the way in which this was done. They built a double aisle to the north, which has since been pulled down. One can hardly doubt that, when the parishioners became possessed of the whole of the abbey church, they no longer cared to keep up this small addition, and so pulled it down.

But in cases when a church was divided between the

<sup>1</sup> See *Archæologia Cambrensis* for 1858, p. 37.

parish and a monastic or collegiate body, it sometimes happened that the corporate body dispossessed the parishioners. We have seen one case something to this effect at Sherborne. In the Preface to the seventh volume of the edition of Giraldus Cambrensis in the *Chronicles and Memorials* (pp. lxxx—xcix), I have collected the evidence for the fact that no less a church than Lincoln minster was, from its foundation in the time of William the Conqueror to the fourteenth century, a divided possession between the bishop and his chapter and a body of parishioners. Remigius founded his cathedral church in an existing parish church, exactly as the cathedral churches of Truro and Liverpool have been founded in our own time.<sup>1</sup> He of course rebuilt the church on a great scale, but the parishioners kept their right, and occupied the nave of the minster, or part of it. In the fourteenth century a dispute arose between the chapter and the parish, which was ended by common consent by the parishioners leaving the minster, and withdrawing to a separate parish church which was built for the purpose. This case of real divided possession in a cathedral church must be distinguished from cases like those of Ely and Norwich, where a parish has been allowed to occupy part of a cathedral church by some later arrangement. But I believe, though I cannot bring my evidence at this moment, that the occupation of the nave at Carlisle as a parish church was not a case of this last kind, but was a real case of divided possession. At Rochester again, I believe the parish held the nave, and that the parish church hard by was built instead, as at Lincoln. At Llandaff, St. David's, and Bangor, the cathedral church is also parochial. I do not know how the case stands legally; the architectural arrangements have differed at different times.

In other cases again the monastic or collegiate church was neither destroyed nor ruined nor added to the parish church. It was simply disused. Here comes the typical case of Dunster, the account of which is given in

<sup>1</sup> I see that it is the fashion in the newspapers to call the cathedral church of Liverpool the "pro-cathedral," a phrase which may be bracketed with "bishop designate." It is seemingly thought at

Liverpool that, because a church happens to be modern and ugly, it cannot have the formal rank of "*ecclesia cathedralis*."

Collinson's History of Somerset, ii, 18, and of which I have said something in the Transactions of the Somerset Archaeological Society (1855, pp. 2—12). The church is a cross church with a central tower. Westward of the tower was a perfect church, with chancel and rood-screen, the latter reaching, according to local custom, right across the church, and approached by a turret in the outer wall of the south aisle. East of the tower was a second choir, fenced off by a second screen. To this the transepts and crossing formed a kind of ante-chapel. Nowhere in short were the arrangements of the class of churches so easily studied as at Dunster, up to the time of a very recent "restoration." The two churches, parochial and monastic, west and east of the tower, were absolutely perfect. The parish church, a perfect parish church, with its screened chancel, remained untouched, with its high altar under the western arch of the tower. The tower with the transepts on each side of it, formed a neutral space between the two choirs. "Restoration" has had its usual effect of wiping out history. The two churches have happily not been thrown into one, but the ancient arrangement has been altogether confused by taking the neutral space under the tower into the parish choir, and removing the parish high altar to the eastern arch of the tower instead of the western. There is thus no space left between the two choirs. The former arrangement, so lately destroyed, was the result of a dispute between the parishioners of Dunster and the monks of the priory there, a cell to the cathedral monastery of Bath. This dispute was settled in 1498 by a composition decreed by three arbitrators, Richard Bere, Abbot of Glastonbury, Thomas Tremayle, a judge, and Thomas Gilbert, a doctor of canon law. The parishioners were to make themselves a separate choir, taking, it would seem, the existing altar of Saint James just outside the roodloft as their high altar. This implies that, up to that time, the monks' choir had been the chancel of the parish church. But now the monks and the people made themselves separate choirs, east and west of the tower, leaving the tower itself free between the two. The words which concern us are :



“Quod vicarius modernus et successores sui vicarii habeant chorum separatam a dictis priore et monachis sumptibus et expensis parochianorum faciendum et erigendum, factum et erectum separandum, et quotiens opus fuerit de novo construendum, in nave ecclesiæ ad altare sancti Jacobi apostoli quod est situatum ex australi parti hostii quod ducit a choro monachorum in navem ecclesiæ.”

Some regulations follow about processions, in which the two choirs are distinguished in a marked way,

“Cum dicti prior et confratres per medium *chori sui* euntes egredi incipiant hostium ex parte boreali *chori vicarii et parochianorum.*”

There is much that is curious in the history of Dunster church which I leave to Mr. Maxwell Lyte. The above is enough for my purpose, to establish it as one of the best, till late changes the very best, example of a divided church.

Dunster, of which we have the history, gives the key to the church of Ewenny in Glamorganshire. Here, unlike Dunster, part both of the monastic and of the parochial church has been destroyed; but enough is left to show the distinction in the most marked way. The western limb of a cross church forms the parish church, fenced off by a solid reredos across the western arch of the tower. The monks' choir is fenced off by another open screen across the eastern arch, just as at Dunster. The transepts and the crossing are, as they once were at Dunster, neutral. Since the “restoration” of Dunster, Ewenny, unless that too has been “restored” out of its historical value since I was last there, remains the most perfect example of churches of the class.

In arguing this matter, I have been met at every stage with the objection that my instances are drawn from monastic churches, and that we cannot argue from them to churches of seculars. I must repeat that, for the purposes of the present argument, I cannot see any difference between the two. The relations between the parish and the corporate body differed in different places, whether that corporate body was regular or secular. As I before said, disputes and divisions were far more likely to arise in the case of regulars than in the case of seculars. We must therefore be prepared to find our monastic examples many, and our collegiate examples few. But I can see no difference of principle between them. Nor are we wholly without collegiate examples. I have already quoted the

case of Ruthin, where the choir has been destroyed, while the nave remains as the parish church, exactly as in divided monastic churches. Here is at least a presumption of divided possession between the college and the parish. The history of the collegiate church of Howden would, I suspect, throw some important light on the present matter. The choir is in ruins; I can find nothing about it in the *Monasticon*; but I distinctly remember having read—again most likely in some local book—that a case which must have been very like the case of Arundel was argued in a court of law in the reign of Elizabeth. The parish called on the grantee of the college property to repair the choir; this claim could have been made only on the ground that the college choir was the chancel of the parish church. The grantee refused; I can conceive no ground for his refusal, except that the choir was not the chancel of the parish church, but that it was an absolute possession of the college which had passed to him as the grantee of its property. Here was a question of fact, on which it would be dangerous to say anything without knowing the evidence on both sides. Either relation, would be perfectly possible; the question was which was the actual relation in this particular case. My story adds that, while the suit was pending, it was practically settled by the choir falling in, after which neither side thought it worth while to continue the litigation. I tell this only from memory; but it is a point on which I am likely to remember accurately, and the records can doubtless be found somewhere.

Another case which helps us is that of the collegiate church of Fotheringhay. Here in 1412 Edward Duke of York founded a college, endowed, as at Arundel, with the estates of alien priories. The choir seems to have been built by his father, Duke Edmund, who had designed the foundation of the college, but had not actually carried it out. In 1435 Duke Richard rebuilt the nave. The contract for the building is preserved, and the language used in it seems distinctly to show that the nave formed a parish church distinct from the collegiate choir. William Horwood, freemason, “graunts and undertakes to mak up a new body of a kirk joyning

to the quire of the College of Fodringey, of the same hight and brede that the said quire is of." And throughout the contract the old building is spoken of as "the quire" and the new building as "the church."<sup>1</sup> The college property was granted in 1553 to John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland; the choir must have passed with it, for it was in ruins when Fotheringhay was visited by Queen Elizabeth. She, finding the tombs of the Dukes of York neglected among the ruins, caused their bodies to be removed into the church and new tombs to be made.<sup>2</sup>

These cases bring us to the immediate case of Arundel. I should myself, on seeing the choir stand perfect but disused, and knowing that the church had been collegiate, have inferred the history from the appearances. I should have inferred, without documentary proof, that the collegiate choir had been the absolute property of the college, and that it had, as such, passed to the grantee. I should have argued that the case spoke for itself, that the collegiate part of the church, which would most likely have been destroyed if it had been granted to a stranger, had been preserved because the grantee was himself the Earl of Arundel, the representative of the founder, who naturally cared for the tombs of his forefathers and for the buildings which they had raised. That is to say, I should, simply from the analogy of other cases, have assumed the claim which was actually made by the present Earl of Arundel and Duke of Norfolk. Without looking at a single document, the circumstances of the case, as compared with other cases of the like kind, were consistent with that view, and were not consistent with any other. I cannot understand how a parish chancel could come to be disused, unless it were liable to be destroyed. If the Earls of Arundel had been no more than ordinary inappropriate rectors, they could have had no right to cause the disuse of the chancel. Their business would have been to keep it in repair for use. On this theory a monstrous wrong had been done for three

<sup>1</sup> This argument would not be enough by itself, as in parish churches the "church" often means the nave, as opposed to the chancel. But the phrase, "quire of the college," seems to mark

distinct possession, and the destruction of the choir proves the case.

<sup>2</sup> See the account of Fotheringhay, published by the Oxford Architectural Society, p. 9.

hundred and thirty years, seemingly without any protest. The "*onus probandi*" undoubtedly lay on those who denied the duke's right.

But the documents which were produced at the trials placed the matter beyond a shadow of a doubt. They start from the foundation of the college of Arundel by Richard Earl of Arundel in 1387. This I may call the second college. It appears from Domesday<sup>1</sup> that at the time of the survey there were secular clerks in the church of Saint Nicolas at Arundel, who had certain dues in the port of Arundel and property elsewhere. These clerks must have given way to Benedictine monks at some time between 1086 and 1094. For the priory was a foundation of the famous Roger of Montgomery, Earl of Shrewsbury, lord of Arundel and Chichester, who made the new foundation a cell to the abbey of Seez of his own foundation. After the French conquest of Normandy, Arundel, as a dependency of Seez, became an alien priory, and underwent the usual ups and downs of such foundations. It was suppressed earlier than the most of its fellows, falling under Richard the Second and not living on to Henry the Fifth. Then the seculars came back in the form of the master and chaplains of Earl Richard's college. His deed of foundation sets forth that the late Earl Richard, his father, had designed to found three chaplains in Arundel church—"in ecclesia parochiali Arundell prioratu monachorum ordinis S. Benedicti, cella subjecta abbatihæ de Sagio alienigenæ in partibus Franciæ."<sup>2</sup> The deed also speaks several times of the "*ecclesia parochialis*," "*parochialis ecclesia per quinque monachos monasterii de Sagio solita gubernari*," &c. The elder Earl Richard then changed his mind, and designed to

<sup>1</sup> P. 22. In the first column we read of the tolls of the haven, "*de hiis habet S. Nicolaus xxiiii solidos*," and in the second column, is the name of Hertinges, "*de hoc manerio tenent clerici de S. Nicolao vi lidas*."

<sup>2</sup> The account of the second trial in the Times contained some amusing confusions. Among others, Earl Roger was turned into "an Earl of Arundel." His abbey of Seez was transferred to "*Sens in France*," a leap perhaps suggested by the words "*in partibus Franciæ*," a true

description of Seez in 1387, though not so in Earl Roger's day. Moreover the Benedictine priory was turned into "a priory of St. Benedict," and was supposed to have been suppressed because it belonged "to a foreign order." A year before the Times had fancied that the Earls of Arundel in 1545 were Howards.

Is there any mind for which it is needful to explain that Earl Roger's abbey of Seez, now destroyed, was quite distinct from the cathedral church of Seez, which was standing in June, 1879?

found a college of priests and clerks in his own chapel in the castle. Neither purpose was ever carried out when he died. His son, the younger Earl Richard, was hindered by some difficulty not described from making the foundation in the castle chapel (*"quum idem collegium perpetuò dictà capellà infra castrum nequeat stabiliri"*). Considering then the desolate state (*"desolatio," "viduitas"*) of the parish church, now that the monks from Seez had, on account of the wars, gone back to their own country, he determined to make his foundation in the parish church. Then arose the college of Arundel, *"Collegium S. Trinitatis Arundell,"* instead of the priory. It consisted of thirteen chaplains, of whom one was Warden or Master (*"Custos sive Magister perpetuus"*), one Vice-Master (*"Submagister"*), a third Sacrist and Subchanter (*"Sacrista et Succentor"*). A Subchanter without a Præcentor seems a little anomalous. There were also some inferior members.

There is nothing in the deed of foundation to imply a division of the fabric, or to settle anything as to rights of ownership on the part of either college or parish in different parts of the church. The church is spoken of as one, *"prædicta ecclesia;"* we hear of *"cancellus," "magnum altare,"* and the like, just as we should in an undivided church, but also just as we might in a divided church, if there was no special reason for insisting on the fact of division. There is nothing about the repair of the fabric at all. And, with a collegiate body, the question of divided or joint ownership might very likely not be stirred at all till some question arose about the liabilities to repair. In course of time such disputes did arise, and the next document distinctly shows that, at all events by the year 1511, Arundel had passed into the class of divided churches.

The document of that year is in some respects the fellow of the Dunster document of 1498, with this difference, that the Dunster document orders the division to be made, while the Arundel document rather implies that it is made already. This is an arbitration by which the two arbiters, Thomas Earl of Arundel and Robert Sherborn

<sup>1</sup> Was this any question as to the position of the chapel, which may well

have hindered consecration *"de solo ad caelum?"*

Bishop of Chichester, decide a dispute between the college and the parish ("major et burgenses ceterique parochiani villæ de Arundel") as to the repair of part of the church described as "*p̄e crosse partes.*" These "cross parts" are the transepts and central tower. The dispute was :

"de et super reparatione et sustentione illarum partium ecclesiæ ibidem quæ vulgariter dicuntur '*p̄e crosse partes,*' ducentes ab austro per mediam inter chorum et navem ecclesiæ usque ad boream una cum eodem medio et campanili supra illud mediam erecto campanisque ac ceteris omnibus et singulis rebus in eisdem existentibus et ad eadem pertinentibus."

Here the eastern limb is "*chorus,*" the western is "*navis.*" But the architectural "*chorus*" is not in 1511 the chancel of the parish church, whether it was so or not in 1387. Just as at Dunster, just as at Binham, there is a distinct parish chancel, only occupying a somewhat singular place, one different from that which it occupied at Dunster and Binham, but not very different from that which it occupied at Leominster and Blyth. When I was first at Arundel in 1853, the parish church with the parish altar was in the south transept. That this was no modern arrangement springing out of the dissolution of the college, appears from the document which we have now in hand. The arbiters decree :

"Quod onus sustentationis ac reparationis insulæ<sup>1</sup> australis dictæ ecclesiæ, *quæ cancellus parochialis vulgariter nuncupatur,* pertineat solum et insolidum ad præfatos magistrum et socios<sup>2</sup> et eorum successores in perpetuum. Et quod onus sustentationis ac reparationis alterius insulæ borealiter situatæ simul cum navi ecclesiæ et insulis ejus ad præfatos majorem, burgenses, et parochianos qui pro tempore fuerint, in perpetuum pertineat. Et insuper quod onus sustentationis ac reparationis illius mediæ partis quæ campanile vocatur, in pavimentis, muris, columnis, singulisque dicti campanilis appenditiis tam intus quam extra, subtus quam supra, perpetuis futuris temporibus per dictes partes æqualiter supportetur et sustineatur."

Nothing can be plainer. There is a perfect parish church with its chancel, wholly apart from the choir of the college. The parishioners, according to universal custom, repair the nave and its aisles. The college, as rectors, repair the parish chancel; its unusual architectural position makes no difference; wherever placed, it is equally the parish chancel, the repair of which is borne by the

<sup>1</sup> The Latin *ala* became *isle* or *ile*, the older spelling; *aisle* is modern. *Isle* or *ile* is here translated back into *insula*.

<sup>2</sup> The *capellani* of 1387 seems by 1511

to have grown into the higher rank of *socii*. In the later documents both names are used.

holders of the rectorial tithes, that is, in this case, by the college. The north transept the arbitrators adjudge to the parish; the tower they make a common possession. One would like to know what the exact nature of the dispute was, and on what grounds the earl and the bishop came to their decision. In most cases, where the eastern limb has perished, the transepts have perished with it, showing that they formed part of the suppressed church. Here at Arundel the case was clearly otherwise. But this peculiarity does not touch the main point. Westward of the "chorus" or eastern limb there was in 1511 a complete parish church, following the ordinary law of parish churches, its nave repaired by the parish, its chancel by the rectors. Of the "chorus" itself nothing is said; it was out of the reckoning; whatever it was in 1387, in 1511 it had become a separate church belonging to the college, with regard to which the parishioners had neither rights nor burthens.

The force of the document of 1511 is rather to assume the division as something existing than to ordain it as something new. We may either take it as explaining the vaguer language of 1387, or else we may infer that the division took place at some time between the two dates. The main point is that in 1511 Arundel was a divided church, containing two choirs, in one of which, placed in the south transept, the college had the ordinary rights and duties of rectors, while the other, forming the eastern limb, the architectural choir, was the choir, the collegiate church, of the college, apart from the parish.

Each of the documents explains the one which comes after it. We now come to the document of 1545, bearing date December 12 of that year. This followed very closely on the Act of Parliament of that year, the first act for the suppression of colleges, that which simply gave the king power to suppress, while the act of Edward the Sixth two years' later absolutely suppressed those colleges which escaped under Henry. The college by this deed gives up to the king all its possessions of every kind. They are thus described, as far as concerns us now :

"Reddimus \* \* \* totam cantariam sive collegium nostram prædictum. Ac etiam totum scitum, fundum, circuitum, ambitum vel præcinctum, ac ecclesiam, campanile, et cimiterium ejusdem cantariæ sive collegii, cum

omnibus et omnimodis domibus, edificiis, ortis, pomariis, gardinis, terra et solo, infra dictum circuitum et præinctum cantariæ sive collegii prædicti."

Fourteen days later, December 26, the king grants all this to Henry, Earl of Arundel, in consideration of good services and of the sum of 1000 marks. The words which concern us are :

"Damus et concedimus eidem comiti totum scitum, fundum, ambitum, circuitum, et præinctum, nuper ecclesiæ collegiate sive collegii Sanctæ Trinitatis de Arundell in comitatu nostro Sussexiæ, alias dictæ nuper collegii sive cantariæ Sanctæ Trinitatis de vel in Arundell in comitatu nostro Sussexiæ, modo dissolutæ, ac etiam campanile et cimiterium ejusdem nuper collegii sive cantariæ. Ac etiam omnia et singula mesuagia, domos, edificia, structuras, horrea, grangeas, columbaria, ortos, pomaria, gardina, stagna, vivaria, terram, fundum, et solum, nostra quæcunque infra scitum ambitum circuitum et præinctum dictæ nuper ecclesiæ collegiate collegii sive cantariæ prædicta existentes, aut dictæ nuper ecclesiæ collegiate collegio sive cantariæ aliquo modo dudum spectantes sive pertinentes, ac parcellam possessionum et reventionum ejusdem ecclesiæ collegiate collegii sive cantariæ dudum existentes."

Nothing can be plainer than that the college here surrenders to the king, and that the king grants to the earl, something which is described as a church, "ecclesia," and which is further defined in the second grant as the "collegiate church,"—"ecclesia collegiata." What was the building which was thus granted? Clearly not the whole building which was doubtless, then as now, commonly spoken of as "Arundel church," and which might be even spoken of either as "the parish church" or as "the collegiate church," one of those names in strictness belonging to part of the building, and the other to another part. The college could have no right to surrender to the king those parts of the building which belonged to the parish, the nave, nave aisles, and north transept, nor yet the south transept or parish chancel, within which they had simply the rights and duties of rectors. The "collegiate church" which they surrendered could have been only those parts of the building which are left untouched in the award of Earl Thomas and Bishop Sherborn, those parts in which they had an absolute property, that is the eastern limb, the "chorus" of that document, the constructive choir namely, and the Lady chapel to the north of it. As a matter of fact, that is what they did surrender. These parts have ever since been the possession of the successive Earls of



Arundel, who have dealt with them as they thought good. As a matter of fact, those parts of the building did become their possession, a possession which was dealt with in quite another way from the parish chancel in the south transept. There the earl succeeded to the college in the ordinary position of a rector, a position involving a duty to keep up, but giving no right to pull down. But the "chorus," the "ecclesia collegiata," the grantee had a full right to pull down, a right which most grantees exercised freely. We may be sure that, if Earl Henry had done like most other grantees, if he had done as John Duke of Northumberland did at Fotheringhay, and had pulled down everything east of the tower, there would have been no dispute. It is simply because Earl Henry was less destructive than most of his class that any dispute has arisen. The course which he chose to take was the rarest of all. The commonest course was to pull down the monastic or collegiate part of the church altogether, but to sell or give it to the parish was, as we have seen, not very uncommon. Earl Henry did neither. He did not pull the collegiate church down, neither did he give it to the parish. He kept it standing, but disused. So unusual a course has been misunderstood, and people have fancied, though the existence of the parish chancel in the south transept should have taught them better, that the disused eastern limb was, what architecturally it seemed to be, the chancel of the parish church, and that the successive Earls of Arundel, in keeping that part of the building in their own hands, had been, for three hundred years and more, abusing their rights as lay rectors. But the award, the surrender, the grant, the transfer which actually took place, all hang together. Taken together, they show that within the building which in common language would be called "Arundel church," the college possessed in absolute property the "chorus," the eastern limb, that they surrendered it to the king, and that the king granted it to the earl. And to those who have studied this class of buildings there is nothing wonderful in the whole story. Or rather the only wonderful thing is that Earl Henry did not pull down the church which was granted to him. Had it been a church at the other end of England, which con-

tained the tombs, not of his own forefathers, but of the forefathers of somebody else, he would most likely have dealt by it as John Dudley dealt by Fotheringhay.

The only point of doubt is whether Earl Henry took quite all that the grant gave him. Along with the church and churchyard, the college surrendered to the king, and the king granted to the earl, the tower or *campanile*. Now in the first trial one of the counsel for the vicar treated this as a *reductio ad absurdum*, as if it was impossible that the tower of the church could be the duke's property. It seems to me by no means impossible that it may be so; the words of the grant seem to imply it. In the various cases which I have gone through, the central tower has sometimes been destroyed with the choir, sometimes left standing. When it was destroyed, it must have been the property of the corporate body, which therefore passed to the grantee, and a grant of the tower is not uncommon in such grants. At Waltham the central tower was destroyed, and the parishioners built themselves a new tower at the west end. At Wymondham and Tewkesbury the parishioners bought the tower of the king. Here at Arundel, the college and the parish clearly had a joint right, if not a joint property, in the tower. But most likely the freehold was in the college; the words of the surrender and grant imply it. But, if so, the property of the college, and afterwards of the earl, in the tower was a property subject to the parishioners' right of joint use. The tower therefore could not have been pulled down by the earl or taken to his sole use. But I suspect that the freehold of it belongs to the Duke of Norfolk.<sup>1</sup>

I have found it argued on the vicar's part that the example of Dunster does not apply, because the ground plans of Dunster and Arundel are not exactly the same, and because the division between the two parts of the

<sup>1</sup> This view seems borne out by a curious passage in the award. "Proviso quod omnes et singule reparationes dicti campanilis nunc necessariae resarciantur et fiant citra festum Michaelis proximum futurum, ac quod dicti major, burgenses, et parochiani habeant pro interesse si velint unam clavem per quam possint reparationes dicti campanilis necessarias,

si velint, supravidere, ita quod, si id non facient, imputetur eis." This looks as if, though the parishioners had rights in the tower and bore a share of the cost of its repairs, yet the actual ownership of it was in the college. It was clearly not the parishioners who were actually doing the repairs.

church is not made in exactly the same way. I answer that, in the long list of examples which I have put together, we have many kinds of ground plans, and many ways of making the division. Several of the churches of which I have spoken are not cruciform churches at all. Dorchester, Llantwit, Fotheringhay, Waybourne, have ground-plans which have no likeness to those of either Dunster or Arundel ; but the division may be seen in all of them. At Dorchester and Fotheringhay it is a matter of distinct documentary evidence. The division was often made by a solid reredos ; it was so at Wymondham, Binham, Ewenny, Waltham ; but there is no reason to think that it was always so made. In some of the cases which I have gone through such a way of making the division is clearly impossible. It could hardly have been so at Dorchester or Fotheringhay ; and the division is much less likely to be so made in a collegiate church than in a monastery. Even when the part which the canons occupied was their absolute property, they had not the same temptation which the monks had to fence themselves wholly off from the parishioners. An open screen would serve their purpose just as well as a solid reredos. To my mind therefore it proves nothing, that the two parts of Arundel church, or the two churches, whichever we choose to call them, were divided by a screen and not by a solid wall.

I have looked specially to this class of churches for five and twenty years and more ; perhaps they have had a special charm for me, because nobody seemed to understand them. And the result of this examination was, before I made any reference to documents, to make me say with perfect confidence that the claim now made by the Duke of Norfolk was in strict analogy with a great number of undoubted historical examples. The appearances of the building were consistent with the duke's argument, and they were not consistent with any other. But it is satisfactory to find how completely the documents support my view formed without them, and to find two successive courts decide in accordance with the plain facts of history. To me of course the question is simply one of historical fact, where the only object is to find out what the facts are. I certainly have no satisfaction in seeing a church, or

part of a church, in private hands ; but the plain facts of history cannot be got over. Two Acts of Parliament, of Henry VIII and Edward VI, caused the property of the colleges and chantries, including in some cases the fabrics of churches, to pass into lay hands. Nothing but a repeal of those Acts of Parliament can take them away from their present owners.

I have two more remarks to make, one on each side. First, I can see no authority for the name "Fitzalan chapel," which has been given in modern times to the collegiate choir. I have shown that there is a good deal of laxity in the way of speaking of these buildings ; but the name "Fitzalan chapel" does not occur in the documents, and I can hardly conceive that such a name can ever have been in use. Secondly, I must protest against a late so-called "restoration" at Arundel, which, as usual, destroys the history of the building. I was there in April 1880, and found that the parish altar, which in 1853 still stood in its ancient place in the south transept, had been moved under the central tower, to the confusion of the whole story.

## DUNSTER AND ITS LORDS.

By H. C. MAXWELL LYTE, M.A., F.S.A.

### PART III.

The great victory of the Lancastrian party on the field of Bosworth revived the hopes of the Luttrell family. Henry VII had not occupied the throne many weeks before "Hugh Loterell, son and heir to James Loterell, Knight," presented a petition in parliament setting forth that his father had been attainted "only for the trouth and liegauns that the seid James owed to his prynce and sovereyn lord that tyme Kyng Henry the VI, late Kyng of England," and praying that the attainder might consequently be reversed. His prayer was readily granted, and so after an enforced absence of twenty four years he returned to Dunster Castle to take possession of his ancestral domains.<sup>1</sup> The ejectment of the Herberts however did not put an end to his troubles, for his mother, the Lady Elizabeth, laid claim to the manors of East Quantockshead, Kilton and Minehead as her jointure. Moreover, she and her second husband Thomas Malet refused to give up the plate and other personal property valued at 800 marks which Sir James Luttrell had bequeathed to his eldest son.<sup>2</sup> At last, after legal proceedings had been commenced, the two parties agreed to a compromise. East Quantockshead was assigned to the Malets, and Minehead to Hugh Luttrell, who undertook to pay eighty marks a year for it to his mother for the rest of her life. The Malets then delivered to him "2 basons of silver, 2 ewers, 2 gilte cuppes covered standyng, 2 pottes of silver and gilt with a pot of silver, 2 saltes with one cover, 3 bolles with one cover, a chafyng disshe of silver, 2 doseyn spones, a chaleys, a masse boke,

<sup>1</sup> "Rolls of Parliament," vol. vi, p. 297.

<sup>2</sup> Dunster Castle Muniments, Box i, No. 24.

a peire of vestementes," and a list of the other goods which should descend to him on the death of his mother.<sup>1</sup> The Lady Elizabeth lived for several years after this, and at her death in 1493 was buried in the chancel of Dunster Church. An incised stone slab, which has lately been removed to the south aisle of the chancel, represents her attired in a sideless dress, faced or fronted with ermine, and a mantle lined with ermine, the neck being bare and the head covered with a veil falling below the shoulders. The inscription, which it may be remarked makes no mention of her second husband, runs:—

*"Orate queso pro aia dne Elizabeth Lutterell que obiit primo die mensis Septembris anno dni Millia cccc Nonagesio tercio. Punc Ite te petimus miserer' qs qui beisti redime pditos noli dampnare redemptos."*

This may be translated:—

"Pray, I beseech you, for the soul of Lady Elizabeth Lutterell, who died on the first day of the month of September in the year of our Lord 1493. Now O Christ we pray thee, have mercy we beseech thee. O thou who didst come to redeem the lost, do not condemn the redeemed."<sup>2</sup>

Hugh Luttrell of Dunster was created a Knight of the Bath at the coronation of Elizabeth of York, wife of Henry VII, in November, 1487, and a few days later he received from his uncle, Peter Courtenay, Bishop of Winchester, a grant of the office of Master of Poundisford Park, with an annuity of £10 for life.<sup>3</sup> He was Sheriff of Dorset and Somerset in 1488.<sup>4</sup> Nine years later he attached himself to the suite of the Duke of Buckingham, and went with him to take the field against Perkin Warbeck.<sup>5</sup> When the Princess Catharine of Aragon came to England in 1501, in order to marry the Prince of Wales, Sir Hugh Luttrell was one of the seven knights and gentlemen of Somerset who were appointed to escort her from Crewkerne to Sherborne.<sup>6</sup> In 1513 he was on board the ship of Leonard Fiscaballis, a vessel of 300

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, Box xxviii, No. 18.

<sup>2</sup> Leland describes this slab as existing at Carhampton, and Collinson does not appear to have discovered the error. A good deal of the pitch, or black composition with which the incised lines were filled has disappeared.

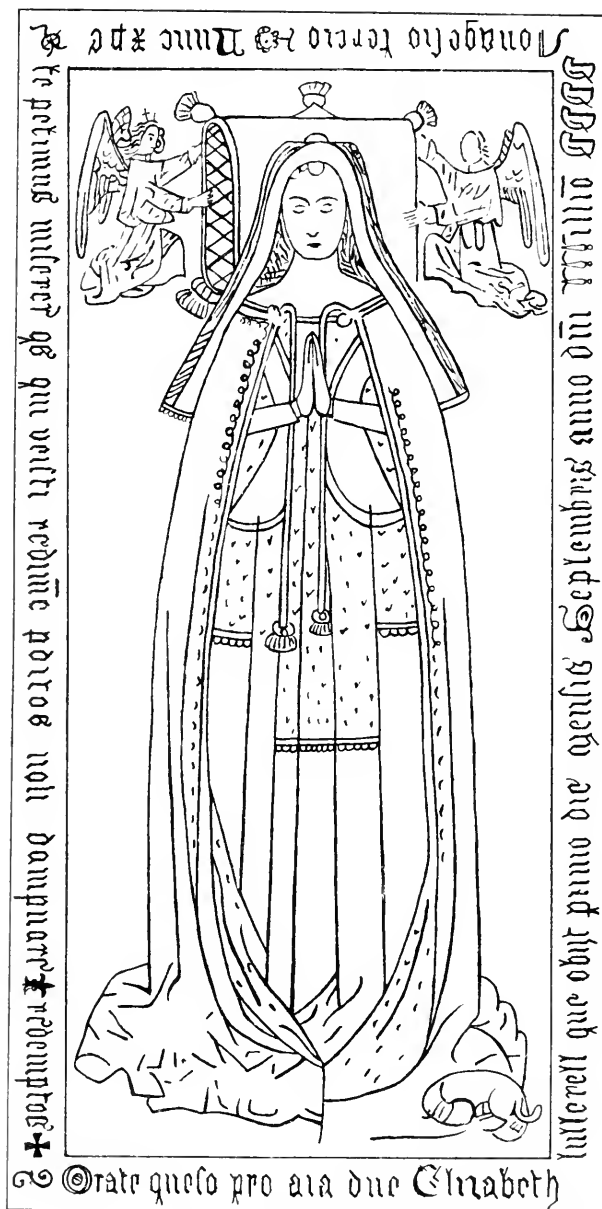
<sup>3</sup> Anstis's "Knights of the Bath,"

p. 37. Dunster Castle Muniments, Box xxxvii, No. 17.

<sup>4</sup> Fuller's "Worthies,"

<sup>5</sup> Holinshed's "Chronicle," vol. iii, p. 784.

<sup>6</sup> "Letters and Papers of the reigns of Richard III. and Henry VII." (ed. Gairdner), vol. i, p. 406.



INCISED SLAB OF LADY ELIZABETH LUTTRELL.

A. D. 1493.





tons, belonging to the king's fleet.<sup>1</sup> Leland states positively that "Sir Hugh Luterell, in the time of Dame Margarete his wife, sister to the olde Lord Dalbeney made a fair toure by north, cummyng into the castelle." It has however been shewn already that the gatehouse was built in the reign of Henry V by the first Sir Hugh Luttrell, the Great Seneschal of Normandy.

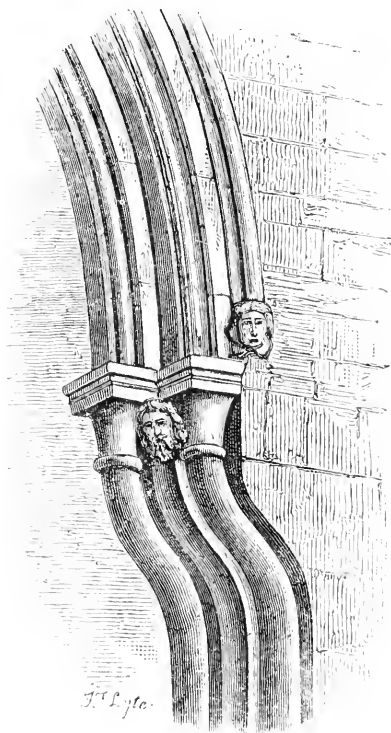
The most important architectural work that is certainly known to have been done at Dunster in the time of the second Sir Hugh Luttrell was the formal division of the church of St. George into two separate parts. This church, like most of its neighbours, underwent considerable alteration during the period in which the Perpendicular style was in vogue, almost all traces of the Norman and Early English work being then destroyed or concealed. An aisle of four bays was first added on the north side of the nave, and then another of six bays on the south, the shortness of the north aisle and the absence of windows in the north wall of the nave being due to the plan of the conventual buildings which adjoined the church. A poor Perpendicular arch was about the same time inserted within the original round-headed doorway at the west end of the nave, and a large traceried window was placed above it. The eastern portion of the church was similarly altered and enlarged. The transepts appear to have been built or rebuilt in the early part of the fifteenth century, and the tower in 1443. Chapels were thrown out on the eastern side of the two transepts, and then converted into chancel aisles by the opening of low arches between them and the chancel. The northern of these chapels, which was probably dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, seems to be the older of the two, and is separated from the north transept by an ordinary Perpendicular arch. The arch between the corresponding chapel, which was probably the chantry of Holy Trinity, and the south transept has been very differently treated. Here the builders of the fifteenth century resorted to a most whimsical device for making a wide opening without any unnecessary waste of materials or money. Finding an Early English arch ready to

<sup>1</sup> Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic" (ed. Brewer), vol. i, p. 652,

<sup>2</sup> "Itinerary," vol. ii, p. 100.

hand and in good condition though somewhat too narrow for their requirements, they made use of the upper part by raising it on moulded jambs which were bent outward immediately under the capitals, thus giving more width below than above. The result is a shouldered arch whose marked peculiarity can hardly fail to arrest the attention of every visitor to the church. Inasmuch as the eastern wall of the southern chapel abutted against one of the lancet windows on the south side of the chancel, it was thought desirable to close them all, and then in order to get the light which had thus been lost, a large Perpendicular window was substituted for the three lancets in the east wall. The small chapel on the north side of the chancel was also rebuilt before or at the time of the erection of the monument of Sir Hugh Luttrell already described. Thus the church of St. George at Dunster became a Perpendicular building of considerable dimensions, though of inferior workmanship. The high altar stood at the east end of the chancel, and there were other altars in the different chapels. The rood-loft stretched across the western arch of the tower, and was approached by a staircase cut in the thickness of the north-western pier of the tower. The monks had their stalls and said their offices in the chancel, while the parishioners for the most part attended the ministrations of the vicar, a secular priest, who had the cure of their souls.

The Benedictine Order had by the end of the fifteenth



century lost the popularity which it formerly enjoyed in England, and its members were regarded with jealousy if not with suspicion. At Dunster a controversy arose in the reign of Henry VII between the monks and the parishioners at large about the rights and emoluments of the vicar. The Abbot of Glastonbury, Thomas Tremayle, one of the justices of the realm, and Thomas Gilbert, a Doctor of Canon Law, were chosen as arbitrators between the different parties concerned, Sir Hugh Luttrell appearing as the representative of the lay folk who were for the most part his own tenants. In the award which was formally delivered in April 1498, the arbitrators decreed that the eastern part of the church of St. George should belong exclusively to the monks, and that the parishioners should make a new chancel for their vicar in the eastern part of the nave at the altar of St. James which stood either between the western piers of the tower, or close against the south-western pier. This altar was thus converted into the main altar of the parochial church, and it was ordered that all offerings made there should be received by the vicar on behalf of the prior and brethren who had of old enjoyed the offerings made at the high altar of the undivided church. The eastern and western parts of the church became distinct and separate churches, the transepts and the tower being apparently treated as common to the monks and the parishioners alike. Inasmuch however as it was desirable that the regular and the secular clergy of Dunster should sometimes unite in solemn procession, it was decreed that on the thirteen principal festivals of the year the monks should walk down the middle of the old chancel, and so into the nave through a door on the north side of the parochial chancel. The order of procession was also strictly laid down by the arbitrators in order to prevent future dispute. First were to go the cross-bearer of the monks and the cross-bearer of the parishioners, then the vicar and his clerks, then the prior and brethren, and lastly the body of the parishioners. When the procession had made its accustomed circuit the monks were to return to their chancel and the vicar and his clerks to theirs.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Register of Bishop King at Wells. number of the "Archæological Journal." The document will appear in a future

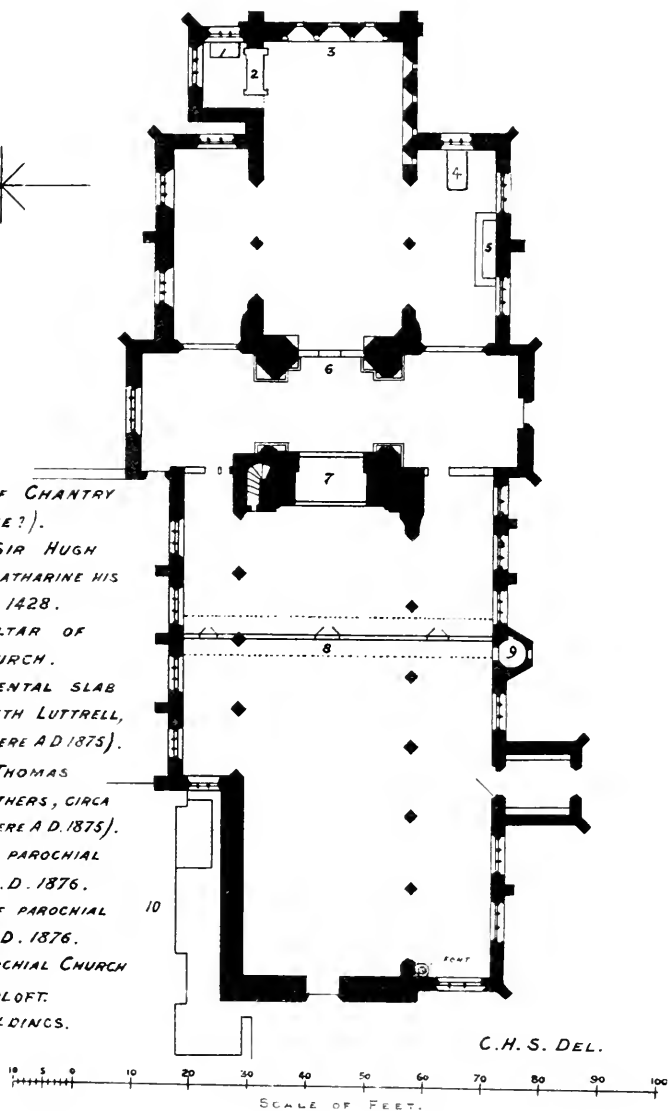
The terms of this award explain the singular position of the external turret which contains the spiral staircase leading to the rood-loft. It will be seen by the view of Dunster Church from the south-west, as well as by the ground plan, that this turret instead of being attached to any part of the architectural chancel stands to the west of the transepts, and projects from the south aisle of the architectural nave. It was placed there in order to give access to the upper part of the beautiful rood-screen which the parishioners erected at the end of the fifteenth century to separate their new chancel from the nave. The south aisle of the architectural nave was at the same time either built from the ground or so altered as to allow the erection of the turret. The general design and the details of the rood-screen are almost exactly the same as those of the rood-screens in the adjoining parishes of Carhampton, Minehead and Timberscombe. The south porch is also a specimen of very late Gothic architecture, its walls being in part made of fragments of older shafts. The rood-loft of the undivided church under the western arch of the tower was probably taken down when the new one was made to the west of it, and the monks appear to have put up an open screen at the western end of the old chancel and its aisles so as to separate them from the parochial church. At any rate the screen which now stands under the curious shouldered arch already described stood until lately under the eastern arch of the tower. The award of the Abbot of Glastonbury and his colleagues in 1498 has had a very lasting effect, for notwithstanding all the changes of nearly four hundred years there are still at Dunster two distinct churches under one roof.

The arrangement made about the emoluments of the vicar was that he and his successors should have the house in which he then dwelt, and a yearly stipend of £8, and also all the offerings that the devout parishioners might make for obits, trentals, anniversaries, private masses, together with the offerings known as "the Bederaele Penys." Fresh disputes however arose before long, and in 1512 the Bishop of Bath and Wells, Cardinal Adrian de Castello, issued a new decree on the subject.

<sup>1</sup> Register of Bishop King.



1. ANCIENT ALTAR OF CHANTRY  
(OF ST. LAWRENCE?).
2. MONUMENT OF SIR HUGH  
LUTTRELL AND CATHARINE HIS  
WIFE, CIRCA A.D. 1428.
3. SITE OF HIGH ALTAR OF  
CONVENTUAL CHURCH.
4. INCISED MONUMENTAL SLAB  
OF LADY ELIZABETH LUTTRELL,  
A.D. 1493 (PLACED HERE A.D. 1875).
5. MONUMENT OF THOMAS  
LUTTRELL, AND OTHERS, CIRCA  
A.D. 1621 (PLACED HERE A.D. 1875).
6. SITE OF ALTAR OF PAROCHIAL  
CHURCH SINCE A.D. 1876.
7. SITE OF ALTAR OF PAROCHIAL  
CHURCH UNTIL A.D. 1876.
8. ROODLOFT OF PAROCHIAL CHURCH
9. STAIRS TO ROODLOFT.
10. CONVENTUAL BUILDINGS.



PLAN OF DUNSTER CHURCH.



By this he ordained that the Vicar of Dunster should receive a stipend of only £4 a year from the revenues of the Priory, together with the rent of a certain field, a rent of 2s. from some fulling mills, and another rent of 2s. from the house hitherto occupied by the vicar. He also restricted his other receipts to the payments made by the parishioners for the publication of the bede-roll after the gospel at high mass, and those made by them when they went to confession in Lent. On the other hand he ordained that the vicar should sit at table with the monks in their refectory, and partake of all their meals free of charge. He also assigned to him a chamber in a house adjoining the churchyard.<sup>1</sup> It is probable that the picturesque building at the south eastern corner of the churchyard near the south transept was the house formerly occupied by the vicars of Dunster for the time being. In a deed of the reign of Elizabeth, it is simply described as "the stone-healed house."<sup>2</sup>

Sir Hugh Luttrell's first wife was Margaret, daughter of Robert Hill by Alice his wife, daughter of John Stourton, and widow of William Daubeney.<sup>3</sup> There is among the family papers at Nettlecombe a letter from Giles, Lord Daubeney, to Sir John Trevelyan, thanking him for taking care of the king's game in the Forest of Exmoor. It proceeds:—

"Howe soo be it I am enformed that of late a litle grugge is fallen bitwene my brother Sr Hugh Luttrell and you, for that he hunted of late in the outewoods of the same forest, and therupon a couple of hounds were taken up by servants of yours from his servants. After that, cousyn, inasmoche as my said brother Luttrell is a boderer of the said forest, and that ye knowe he hath married my sister, and the man whom I doo love tenderly, my mynde is and desire unto you that you shuld have an yghe unto hym above all others in those parties. And that when it shall like hym to kyll a dere or to hunte for his disporte, that ye suffer hym soo to doe, I pray you as hertely as I can. Written at Grenewich the xx daie of Fevver. And I pray you cousyn, let my said brother take his disporte, and if he list let hym kyll one dere in somer and a nother in wynter hereafter."<sup>4</sup>

A contract of the year 1514 between Sir Thomas

<sup>1</sup> Register of Bishop Adrian at Wells, f. 104.

<sup>2</sup> Dunster Castle Muniments, Box xiv, No. 26. The existence of this deed was not known a few years ago when under

Mr. Street's directions the house in question was roofed with tiles.

<sup>3</sup> "Collectanea Topographica et Genealogica," vol. i, p. 313.

<sup>4</sup> "Trevelyan Papers" (Camden Soc.), vol. i, p. 120.

Wyndham and Sir Hugh Luttrell shows the way in which marriages were arranged in those days. The first clause runs :—

“Andrew sonn and heir apparent of the saied Sir Hugh by the grace of God shall marry and take to his wief Margaret, one of the daughters of the saied Sir Thomas, or any other of the daughters of the said Sir Thomas suche as the saied Andrew shall best like byfore Wonsdaie next after lowe Soundaie next comminge, after the custome and lawe of holye Church, if the said Margaret or such of her sisters as the said Andrew shall best like therunto will agree, and the lawe of holy church it wyll permytt and suffer.”

The time specified was certainly not over-long, as there were only four weeks between the date of the contract and the last day allowed for the solemnization of the marriage. It was nevertheless stipulated that if Andrew Luttrell should die during that short interval his next brother John should in his stead marry one of the daughters of Sir Thomas Wyndham within forty days of the last day allowed for Andrew's wedding. Another clause runs :

“The said Sir Hugh at his proper costs and charges shall apparell the saied Andrew or John that shall happen to marry with one of the daughters of the said Sir Thomas at the saied daie of maryage as shalbe convenient for his degree.”

Sir Thomas Wyndham on his side undertook to “apparell” his daughter for the wedding, and to pay one half of all other expenses connected therewith. The lady's portion was seven hundred marks (£466 13s. 4d.), which were paid to Sir Hugh Luttrell in instalments, he giving a guarantee that his heir should eventually inherit all his real property.<sup>1</sup>

Andrew Luttrell was duly married to Margaret Wyndham, and on the death of his father, in February 1521, he became Lord of Dunster.<sup>2</sup> He had some trouble, however, with his stepmother Walthean, a lady who had survived three successive husbands, and who now claimed the manor of East Quantockshead as part of the jointure settled on her by Sir Hugh Luttrell. In her answer to a bill of complaints against her she stated that her stepson Andrew Luttrell, “of his wilful and cruel mind, without any cause reasonable,” had on Sir Hugh's death taken away all her goods and chatels, not even leaving her

<sup>1</sup> Dunster Castle Muniments, Box ii, No. 3.

Henry VIII. The date is wrongly given on his monument as 1522.

<sup>2</sup> *Inquisitiones post mortem*, 12-13



dishes, pots, or pans, and that she and her children and servants "stood in daily peril of their lives." She accordingly removed to London, leaving only a certain Lewis Griffyth and an "impotent poor man," eighty years of age, to keep possession of the manor of East Quantockshead in her name. She professed to have instructed her representative to offer no active resistance if Andrew Luttrell or any other person should attempt to eject him from the manor house. A serious fray, however, soon occurred in the deer-park known as Quantock Park. One of Andrew Luttrell's servants, John Gay by name, declared that on the 7th of June 1521, Lewis Griffyth and several other evil disposed persons "with force and armys, that is to say araed in harnys with bowes and arrowes, swards, bockelers and byllys," assaulted him "in ryottus wyse," shot eleven arrows at him and "grevously strake hym yn dyvers places of hys body, so that and yff socoure of trees hadde nott byn they hadde kylded and murdered hym oute of hand." Griffyth's account of the affair was entirely different. He maintained that he had shot only one arrow, and that merely in order "to fere" Gay, who had unlawfully come with two other persons to cut sixty trees for posts in Dame Walthean's park. According to his version, Gay and the two woodcutters returned an hour later with "two idell men" from the town or village, assaulted and beat him and a child of sixteen, and took them nearly three miles to the house of Lord Fitz-Warren, who put them in fetters and locked them up for two hours in his porter's lodge. Gay's bill of complaint and Griffyth's answer were laid before the king, but it does not appear what course the Court of Star Chamber took in the matter.<sup>1</sup> The quarrel between Andrew Luttrell and his step-mother had probably been appeased before the marriage of his sister Eleanor with Roger Yorke, Serjeant-at-Law, a son of Lady Walthean Luttrell by one of her former husbands.<sup>2</sup> John Luttrell of Dunster, Andrew's younger brother, became the ancestor of the Luttrells of Kentsbury and Spaxton.

<sup>1</sup> Star Chamber Proceedings, Henry VIII. (Record Office, Floor A, Press 3, Div. G, Shelf 3, No. 16, ff. 20-22).

<sup>2</sup> Dunster Castle Muniments, Box xxiii, No. 22.

Andrew Luttrell served the office of Sheriff of Dorset and Somerset in 1528, and soon afterward took knight-hood.<sup>1</sup> Leland records that he re-built part of the wall of Dunster Castle on the east side.<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless he, like his father Sir Hugh, chose to live at East Quantocks-head rather than at Dunster. It is probable that one or other of them built a great part of the manor-house at the former place, a tower at the south-western angle being the only part of the existing fabric that appears earlier than their time. The keep at Dunster had already fallen into decay, and the Luttrells may have found the buildings in the lower ward of the Castle ill suited to their mode of life in the peaceable reign of Henry VIII. Sir Andrew Luttrell described himself as "of East Quantockshead" in his will, and gave instructions that he should be buried in the chancel of that church.<sup>3</sup> A monument on the north side of the altar has the arms of Luttrell impaled with those of Hill and of Wyndham. The inscription which is cut in rude characters on the slab runs:—

"Here lyeth hugh luttrell knyght wch departed 1522 the fyrst day of february, here lyeth Andro luttrell knyght hys sone wch departed the yere of our lord god mcccxxxviii the iiii day of may on whos soules ihu have m'cy."

Lady Margaret Luttrell survived her husband Sir Andrew by about forty years, and continued to occupy the manor-house at East Quantockshead.<sup>4</sup>

Sir Andrew Luttrell's son and successor, John Luttrell, spent very little of his time at Dunster, as he was generally engaged in the king's service. He fought with distinction in the Scotch wars, and in 1544 he was knighted at Leith by the Earl of Hertford, then Lieutenant of the English king.<sup>5</sup> Three years later he led three hundred men in the front of the battle of Pinkie, and by his skill and valour on this and other similar occasions he earned the reputation of "a noble captain."<sup>6</sup> He was afterwards sent to St. Coomes Ins on the Frith of Forth, in command of a hundred hakbutters, fifty pioneers, with two row-barks and seventy mariners.<sup>7</sup> In

<sup>1</sup> Fuller's "Worthies."

<sup>2</sup> "Itinerary," vol. ii, p. 101.

<sup>3</sup> Wills at Somerset House. "Dingelley," i. 20.

<sup>4</sup> East Quantockshead Register, 1580, July 7. "Died the right worshipful

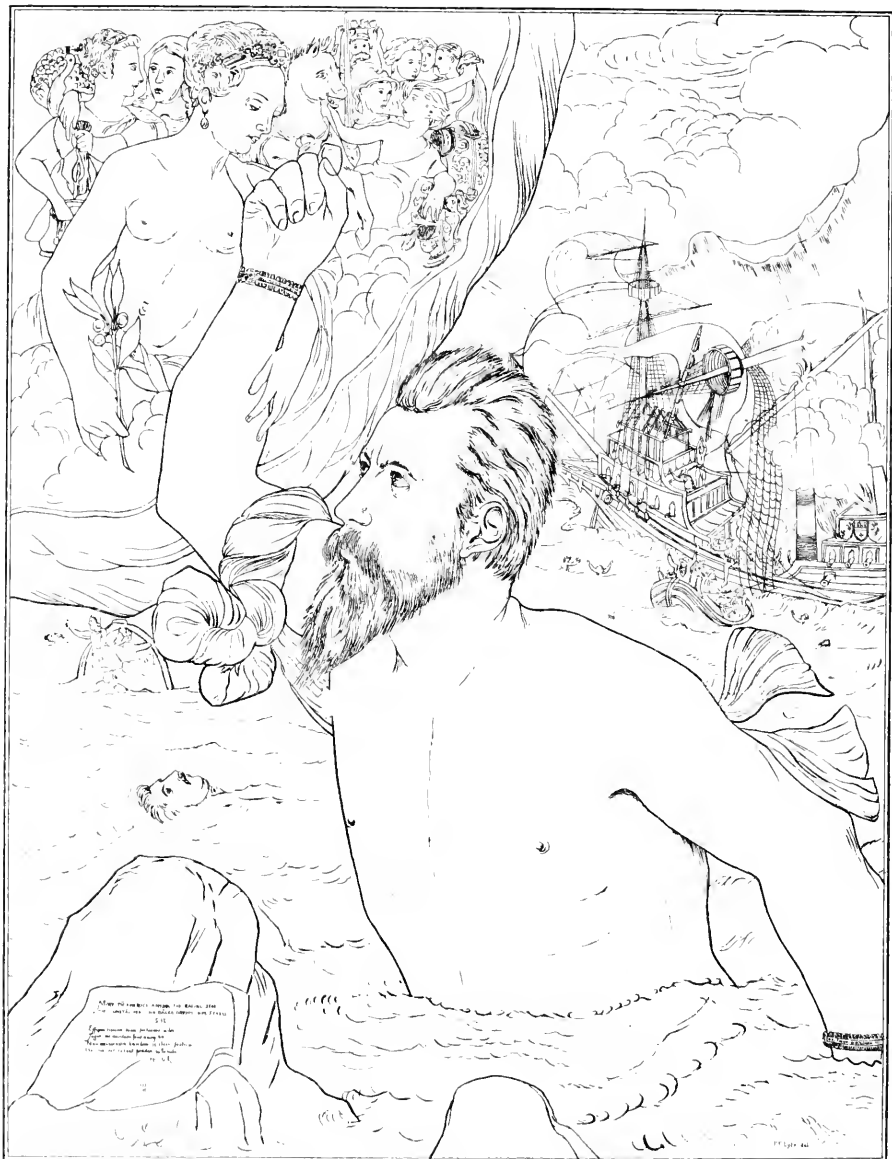
Dame Margaret Luttrell and was buried the 8th of August following."

<sup>5</sup> Stowe's "Annals" (1631), p. 586.

<sup>6</sup> "Machyn's Diary" (Cunden Soc.).

<sup>7</sup> Holinshed's Chronicle, vol. iii, p. 990.





SIR JOHN LUTTRELL, A.D. 1550.  
FROM AN ORIGINAL PAINTING AT DUNSTER CASTLE.  
by Lucas de Heere.

February 1549 he borrowed the sum of £132 2s. "for the service of the King's Majestie in the northe parts of England."<sup>1</sup> A few months later, being in command of the fort of Boutieraig, he found himself attacked by the Scots and French, eight thousand strong, and although his troops made frequent sallies and captured the artillery of the enemy, he was forced to yield himself a prisoner. The rest of the garrison was mercilessly put to the sword.<sup>2</sup> Sir John Luttrell was again at liberty and in England in 1550. Collinson says in his description of Dunster:—

"There is an ancient picture in the castle done by a tolerable hand, of a man swimming in the sea, and looking up to certain figures in the clouds; to which is added, by a later and very indifferent painter, the figure of a lady floating by his side. This is traditionally said to have been the picture of Sir John Luttrell, and refers to his having saved a certain lady from drowning, whom he was then in love with, and afterwards married."<sup>3</sup>

Savage quotes this passage in his "History of the Hundred of Carhampton," and adds:—

"The lady is represented as being secured to his arm by a handkerchief, and he holds up the arm so that she may float on the surface of the sea, whilst he is swimming with the other. A figure of victory, accompanied by a numerous group, appears as if ready to crown him with laurel."

A careful examination of this interesting picture shows that these descriptions are grossly inaccurate. The man in the water is really represented in the act of wading ashore; the handkerchief or scarf wound round his arm is not attached to any other person or thing, and the figure floating by his side is that of a young man with a well-defined moustache. The supposed crown of laurel is a single sprig of olive or of bay. The chief figure is unquestionably that of Sir John Luttrell, but it is uncertain whether the picture is intended to commemorate a real event in his life, or whether it is wholly allegorical. The man-of-war in the background, struck by lightning and deserted by its affrighted crew, may be held either to represent a real wreck from which Sir John Luttrell made an adventurous escape, or, like the smaller boats and figures, to be a mere accessory illustrative of the violence

<sup>1</sup> Dunster Castle Muniments, Box iii, ii, p. 291. Stowe's "Annales," p. 601.  
No. 3. <sup>3</sup> "History of Somerset," vol. ii, p. 12.

<sup>2</sup> Kennett's "Complete History," vol.

of the tempest. The different inscriptions on the panel seem rather to favour the latter view. Sir John Luttrell wears a bracelet on either arm inscribed respectively "*Nec flexit lucrum,*" and "*Nec fregit discrimen.*" A rock in the foreground on the right bears the following inscriptions :—

"MORE TIĒ THE ROCK AMYDYS THE RAGING SEAS

THE CONSTAT̄ HERT NO DAGER DREDDYS NOR FEARYS.

S. I. L.

*Effugiem renotare tuam fortissime miles*

*Ingeus ne meritum fecit amorque tui.*

*Nam nisi curasses heredem scribere fratrem*

*Hei tua contigerant prœdia nulla mihi.*

1591. G. L.

1550

HE."

The initials S. I. L. may be those of the author of the English couplet, which evidently forms part of the picture as originally painted in 1550. The monogram HE is certainly that of Lucas de Heere, a Flemish artist who painted in France and in England in the second half of the sixteenth century. This portrait must have been one of his earliest works, as he was only sixteen years of age in 1550. The head of Sir John Luttrell is done with some spirit, but the drawing of the figures shows a very imperfect knowledge of anatomy. As it is doubtful whether de Heere visited England as early as the year 1550, it is possible that he may have taken the portrait in France, while Sir John Luttrell was a prisoner of war. The Latin lines were added by George Luttrell, Sir John's nephew, when he had the picture "restored" in 1591. The semi-nude female figures above the clouds are evidently allegorical. One of them holds Sir John Luttrell's war-horse, another his breast-plate, another his sword, another his money bag, another his helmet, and another his crest, a peacock. The principal female figure has in her right hand a sprig of foliage, which, if intended to represent olive, may be emblematical of the peace that was made between England and Scotland in the very year in which the picture was painted. This is not the only picture in which Lucas de Heere gave rein to his fancy, for in a

portrait of Queen Elizabeth at Kensington he introduced figures of Juno, Minerva, Venus, and Cupid.<sup>1</sup>

While Sir John Luttrell was in his teens, or absent serving in the king's wars, the great tide of religious innovation swept over the whole of England, and left its mark on Dunster, as on other places. At the dissolution of the monasteries the Priory of Dunster, which was then inhabited by three Benedictine monks of Bath, and which had a nett revenue of about £38 a year, was confiscated by Henry VIII.<sup>2</sup> The site was in 1539 let for twenty-one years to John Luttrell, the second son of Sir Hugh, at a yearly rent of £3 13s. 4d., with remainder to a certain Humphrey Colles, gentleman. The Luttrells were naturally unwilling that a building which adjoined and apparently included within its precinct the monastic chancel in which several of their ancestors lay buried should for ever pass into the hands of strangers. Accordingly in 1543 Lady Margaret Luttrell of East Quantockshead, widow of Sir Andrew and mother of Sir John, persuaded Humphry Colles to sell his remainder to her for the sum of £85 16s. 8d.<sup>3</sup> At her death, some forty years later, the priory with all its appurtenances passed to her nephew George Luttrell of Dunster Castle, and it is now the property of his descendant and representative.<sup>4</sup>

It should here be remarked that successive owners of Dunster Castle have for a long time past claimed as their own that part of Dunster Church which was assigned to the monks by the award of the Abbot of Glastonbury and his colleagues in 1498. They have claimed it, not in the sense in which a rector, whether clerical or lay, claims the chancel of an ordinary parochial church, but in the sense in which they have claimed their own castle. In other words, they have claimed the right to close it against the vicar, to secularize it, or even to pull it down. There are well-known instances of similar claims at Arundel and elsewhere, and in this case it is certain that the Luttrells were accounted responsible for the repair of "the old church" long before they acquired the Rectory and

<sup>1</sup> Walpole's "Anecdotes of Painting," vol. I.

<sup>2</sup> Dugdale's "Monasticon," vol. iv, pp. 209-203.

<sup>3</sup> Dunster Castle Muniments. Box xvi.

Nos. 11, 22. State Papers, 37 Hen. VIII Bundle iv, No. 69.

<sup>4</sup> Dunster Castle Muniments, Box xvi, No. 17.

advowson of the living in 1825. They kept it as their private mausoleum until a few years ago, and when a faculty was obtained for the restoration of the whole church under Mr. Street's direction, no mention was made in it of any part east of the transepts.

The dissolution of the monasteries was followed very shortly by the suppression of the colleges and chantries throughout the realm, and the property of the chantry of St. Laurence at Dunster became thereby vested in the Crown.<sup>1</sup> Part of its revenue, which in the reign of Edward VI amounted to about £9 a year, was derived from a very picturesque weather-tiled house generally called "the Nunnery," on the north side of Middle Street in Dunster. This name, however, is of modern origin and quite misleading, the house in question having been known as "the High House," even in the present century. In former times it was described as "the Tenement of St. Laurence," and the street in which it stands as "Castle-bayly."<sup>2</sup>

There are two other old houses in Dunster which deserve a passing notice here. One of them known as "Lower Marsh," and standing near the railway station, has a rich Perpendicular oratory over the entrance porch, and traces of an open roofed hall. The other, now known as "the Luttrell Arms Hotel," stands at the north-eastern end of the principal street. Besides some curious plaster work of the time of James I, it has a stone porch pierced with openings for cross-bows, and a wing with a good open roof, and an elaborately carved façade of oak. Nothing is certainly known about the origin or history of this picturesque building, but there are some grounds for believing that it formerly belonged to the neighbouring Abbey of Cleeve.

There were in the early years of the Reformation at least three stone crosses in the parish of Dunster. Of the Early English cross which stood in the churchyard the steps and a short stump only remain in their old

<sup>1</sup> Certificates of Colleges and Chantries, (Augmentation Office), Somerset xlii, No. 12.

<sup>2</sup> Dunster Castle Muniments, Box viii, No. 2. (1 Henry VII.) "Totam illam domum meam vocatam *le Corner Shopp* situatam ad finem australem vici foralis

de Dunster, inter vicum regium ex parte orientali, et tenementum Cantarie Sancti Laurentii ex parte occidentali, ac tenementum heredium Rogeri Ryvers ex parte boreali, et vicum regium ex parte australi." 30 Henry VI.



position. The remains of the "Butter Cross" of the fifteenth century, which formerly stood at the southern end of the main street, were some years ago removed to a less frequented spot near the old road to Minehead. The Alcombe cross has entirely disappeared. An interesting little cross, bearing a figure of St. Michael, is still to be seen above the western gable of Dunster Church.

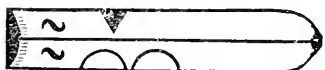
The rood or roods in the church and most of the side altars were probably taken down by the iconoclasts in the reign of Edward VI. In his second or third year a large Bible and a copy of the Paraphrases of Erasmus were bought for Dunster Church at a cost of £1 5s. and 13s 4d. respectively.<sup>1</sup> There were about that time fifty "partakers of the Lordes holy sooper" resident in the parish. The vicar was still in receipt of daily food in kind and of a salary of £4 as allotted to him by the award of the Bishop in 1512.<sup>2</sup>

There is among the muniments at Dunster Castle the following small memorandum about swan-upping written on parchment in the time of Queen Elizabeth.

"Sr John Lutterell.



Sr Andrew Lutterell.



These were the markes wch these men above written had upon the becles of their swanes belonginge unto the Castell of Dunster by inheritance and alwayes kepte at the Mere by Glastonberrie. Yt is good to renewe yt. S.L".<sup>3</sup>

Soon after his escape or release from captivity in Scotland, Sir John Luttrell received from Edward VI a grant of a hundred marks a year for life in consideration of his faithful services.<sup>4</sup> Collinson says that in his desire to obtain glory Sir John Luttrell "greatly wasted the fair patrimony which descended to him from his ancestors; selling great part of his demesnes at Dunster, Kilton, and elsewhere; and at last mortgaging the plate and furni-

<sup>1</sup> Ministers' Accounts (Court of Augmentation), 1-2 Edward VI, Roll xlv. m. 16.

<sup>2</sup> Certificates of Colleges and Chuntries,

Somerset xlii, No. 42.

<sup>3</sup> Box xxxvii.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. Box xxxvii, No. 27.

ture belonging to Dunster Castle and his other houses."<sup>1</sup> The chief foundation for this exaggerated statement lies in the fact that Minehead Park was in May 1551 mortgaged to Hugh Stewkeley for £230 13s 4d.<sup>2</sup>

Sir John Luttrell died at Greenwich, on the 10th of July 1551.<sup>3</sup> At the time of his death he was endeavouring to obtain a divorce from his wife, Mary, daughter of Sir Griffith Rys, K.B.<sup>4</sup> By her he had issue three daughters and co-heiresses, Catharine, Dorothy, and Mary. He was anxious, however, that his estates should be preserved in the Luttrell family, and he accordingly entailed them on the male issue of his brothers Thomas, Nicholas, and Andrew successively.<sup>5</sup> The property to which Thomas Luttrell succeeded on the death of Sir John was comparatively small. Lady Margaret Luttrell, his mother, was in possession for life of the manors of East Quantockshead, Vexford, Exton, Carhampton and Rodhuish, and Lady Mary Luttrell, the widow of Sir John, had received for her jointure the castle, lordship, and borough of Dunster, the manor of Chilton Luttrell and Kilton, and various other lands in the county of Somerset.<sup>6</sup> The arrangement by which this last widow received for her jointure the *caput* or head place of a feudal barony, was certainly unusual. She did not, however, care to inhabit the castle, and she let it and the demesne lands "of the parke of Dunster called Hanger," to a certain Robert Opy of Cornwall, for £47 a year.<sup>7</sup> She herself went to live at Kilton, and it was not very long before she married a second husband, James Godolphin. She was buried at East Quantockshead in 1588.<sup>8</sup> Lady Catherine Edgcombe of Cothele, her mother, bequeathed to the eldest daughter of Sir John Luttrell "one cheque of gold with a flower set in two diamonds, and a rubie to the said cheque annexed," and to his other two daughters a great bowl apiece of silver gilt.<sup>9</sup> All these three ladies married, but there is no occasion to

<sup>1</sup> "History of Somerset," vol. ii, p. 12.

<sup>2</sup> Inquisitiones post mortem, 2-3 Philip and Mary.

<sup>3</sup> Machyn's "Diary" (Camden Soc.).

<sup>4</sup> Strype's "Ecclesiastical Memorials," book ii, c. 29.

<sup>5</sup> Dunster Castle Muniments, Box.

<sup>6</sup> Inquisitiones post mortem, 13 Eliz. Dunster Castle Muniments, Box ii, No. 17.

<sup>7</sup> Dunster Castle Muniments, Box ii, No. 13.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid. Box xiv, No. 6.

<sup>9</sup> Wills at Somerset House. "Tash," f. 22.

trace their history any further in this place, as they sold their third part of their father's lands to their uncle.<sup>1</sup>

Thomas Luttrell, like his elder brother Sir John, served in the wars against Scotland in the reign of Edward VI.<sup>2</sup> He, about that time, entered into a contract of marriage with Margaret, daughter and heiress of Christopher Hadley of Withycombe, a lady who brought him a considerable landed estate on the east of Dunster and Carhampton. It is not quite clear whether the marriage was solemnized in church with the accustomed rites, but however this may have been, it was pronounced invalid in the reactionary reign of Mary, on the score that the bridegroom's mother had stood godmother to the bride many years previously. The matter was referred to Pope Paul, and by his order the Cardinal of St. Angelo in November 1588, released the parties from the sentence of excommunication which they had incurred by marrying within the prohibited degrees, ordered them to go through a new marriage in the face of the church, and removed all taint of illegitimacy from their children.<sup>3</sup> It does not appear how much money it cost to obtain this concession from Rome. The re-marriage was solemnized at East Quantockshead in August 1560, the bride being described in the Register of that Church as Mrs. Margaret Hadley. The inscription on the monument of Thomas Luttrell, set up some sixty years later, mentions expressly that he was "lawfully married" to his wife.

He appears to have lived for the most part at Marshwood in the parish of Carhampton, which had been settled on him by his father Sir Andrew. He sold the manors of Stonehall and Woodhall in Suffolk and several outlying estates in Somersetshire, but on the other hand he bought land at Hopcot and Wootton Courtenay near his own home.<sup>4</sup> In 1556 he obtained from Robert Opy a surrender of his lease of Dunster Castle, though he at the same time re-let to him "the hall, parlor, kichyn, and every rome within the same pyle called the Inner pyle or lodgings of the said Castell, and the stables, the grist mill of

<sup>1</sup> Dunster Castle Monuments, Box xxix, No. 37.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. Box iii, No. 3.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. Box xxxvii, No. 26.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. Box xxxviii, Nos. 81, 84, Box xxxvi, No. 2.

Dunster aforesaid, and the fedinge and pasturinge of tenne rother beasts or kyne and thre geldings in the hanger or park of Dunster" for two years if Lady Mary Luttrell should live so long.<sup>1</sup> In point of fact she survived her brother-in-law by several years, so that, though he seems to have lived at Dunster Castle in the later years of his life, he never held it and the Barony in fee. He died in January, 1571, being at that time Sheriff of Somerset.<sup>2</sup> It would appear that the monument to his memory in Dunster Church was not erected until about fifty years after his death.

Nicholas Luttrell, a younger brother of Sir John and Thomas, lived at Honibere, and was buried at Lillstock in 1592. His son Andrew married Prudence, daughter of William Abbot of Hartland Abbey in Devonshire, and became ancestor of the Luttrells of that place, and of Saunton Court. Narcissus Luttrell of Chelsea, the author of the well-known political Diary, was a great-grandson of this Andrew Luttrell.

George Luttrell, the eldest son of Thomas and Margaret, was under eleven years of age at the time of his father's death. During the later part of his minority he was in ward to his cousin Hugh Stewkeley of Marsh in the parish of Dunster, a London lawyer. When he was little more than fifteen years old he was induced to plight his troth to his guardian's daughter Joan, who was a year or two younger than himself. Thenceforth he styled himself her husband, and addressed her parents as "father" and "mother" respectively. His own family, however, opposed the match strenuously, declaring that he would be "utterlie cast away in maring with such a miserees daughter," and saying that "she was a slutt and that she had no good qualities." They wished him to go over to Wales "to be matched to some other which they would appoynt." His grandmother Lady Margaret Luttrell of East Quantockshead threatened that if he should marry in defiance of her wishes she would leave away from him the Priory of Dunster, and so make him "a poore gentleman."<sup>3</sup> The marriage was nevertheless

<sup>1</sup> Ibid. Box xiv, No. 5.

Fuller's "Worthies."

<sup>2</sup> Inquisitiones post mortem, 13 Eliz.

<sup>3</sup> Dunster Castle Muniments.

duly celebrated at Dunster in September, 1580, when he had finished his studies at Cambridge, and Lady Margaret Luttrell so far relented as to bequeath to her grandson George "the hanging of arras that was made for the Parlor at Dunster, and two bolles of sylver guilt, and a drinking cup of sylver guilt that was his father's, and two spoons and a salt," and, what was more valuable, "the Priorie of Dunster with all the landes and other revenues and other profitts belonging to the same."<sup>1</sup>

Hugh Stewkeley was evidently unpopular in Somersetshire. In 1566 the inhabitants of Dunster made formal complaint that though he had bought the great tithes, which were worth more than a hundred marks a year, he allowed only £8 a year to the curate, and that as no clergyman would undertake the duty for this low stipend, the cure of Dunster, which was the head church of the Deanery, was "altogether unserved," to the infringement of the Queen's orders and to the "great disquiet" of the parishioners.<sup>2</sup> At another time we find him claiming of his son-in-law George Luttrell a shoulder of every deer killed in his park, on the score that in the reign of Edward VI the South Lawn was in tillage and consequently subject to tithe.<sup>3</sup> The Hanger Park began to be called Dunster Park in the middle of the sixteenth century, although the greater part of it lay in the parish of Carhampton. Two men who one night in the month of June, 1595, went to Dunster Park "weaponed with diverse unlawfull weapones and did together with others in most riotouse and unlawfull manner hunt, hurte, and kille some of George Luttrell's deer," were committed to the Fleet Prison for three months by the Court of Star Chamber, and subjected to a fine of no less than £100 apiece to the Queen, a very large sum in those days.<sup>4</sup> George Luttrell had a deer-park at East Quantockshead as well at Dunster, and in 1584 he undertook to give yearly to his mother, Margaret Strode, "one fee bucke of season in the summer, and one fee doe in the winter," from one or other of these parks at her choice.<sup>5</sup>

On the successive deaths of his mother, his grand-

<sup>1</sup> Wills at Somerset House. "Butts,"  
f. 8.

<sup>2</sup> Dunster Castle Muniments, Box xiv,  
No. 14.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* No. 6.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* No. 39.

<sup>5</sup> Dunster Castle Muniments, Box  
xiv. No. 24.

mother, and his uncle's widow, George Luttrell became possessed of the different estates that they held for their jointures. In the course of his long and prosperous life he greatly improved the chief houses on his property. At Dunster he transformed the building at the north-eastern end of the lower ward of the old fortress into a comfortable Elizabethan residence. It is not always easy to distinguish his walls from those of an earlier date, but the whole of the principal façade appears to have been rebuilt by him. The plaster ceiling of the hall, and many of the existing doors and windows may safely be ascribed to him. There only remain two Edwardian windows, those of a garderobe, in the whole castle, and except in the gatehouse there are very few Perpendicular windows or doors left. The alterations must have been in hand some time, as a coat of arms in the hall is dated 1589, and a fireplace in one of the rooms upstairs is dated 1620. The graceful cornice of the gallery is probably of this later date. Nothing unfortunately is known about the history of the interesting *corámi*, or leather hangings, with which the walls of this gallery are decorated. They are certainly of Italian, and probably of Venetian origin, and they must date from the seventeenth century. The skins are covered with silver leaf, which in some parts is glazed over with a warm transparent colour, giving the effect of gold, and there are a number of small patterns stamped on them with bookbinders' tools. On this uneven surface there are depicted in oil colours, several incidents from the history of Antony and Cleopatra. As the original series of *corámi* did not exactly fit the wall spaces in the gallery at Dunster, they were supplemented by upright strips of the same work representing female figures. Some leather hangings similar in execution, though not in design, were presented to the Duke of Marlborough by Victor Amadeus II of Savoy about the year 1708. There was also another set in the old palace at Turin.<sup>1</sup>

The very picturesque octagonal market house in the main street of Dunster was built by George Luttrell, who was Sheriff of Somerset in 1593 and 1609. The initials G. L., however, pierced on its vane are those of

<sup>1</sup> Ex inf. P.C. Hardwick. See also "Archæological Journal," vol. xvi, p. 178.

his grandson of the same name, who repaired it in 1647, a year after the siege of Dunster Castle by the Parliamentary forces under Blake. This market house was erected for the sale of yarns, for which the neighbourhood was formerly famous. Leland, writing in the reign of Henry VIII, says, "The town of Dunestorre makith cloth," and an Act of Parliament of the reign of James I specifies the exact width and weight of the "broadcloth commonly called Tauntons, Bridgewaters, and Dunsters." Deeds of his reign mention "two tuckinge milles or fullars mylles under one rough" near the grist mills, and the terraces may still be seen on Grabbist, on which the fullers had their racks for drying the new cloth.<sup>1</sup>

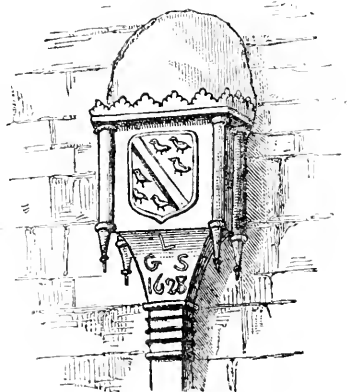
The broad street leading from the Yarn Market and the Luttrell Arms Hotel towards "the Castle Tor" was, until about sixty years ago, two streets, the space between them being occupied by shambles. At the southern end of it formerly stood the Butter Cross already mentioned.

There is in one of the upstairs rooms at the Luttrell Arms Hotel a curious mantel-piece, on which are represented in plaster three figures in costume of the seventeenth century, a group of dogs devouring a man, presumably Actæon, and shields of the arms of England and France. This and other mantel-pieces in the same material at Dunster Castle, at Marshwood, at East Quantockshead, and at other places in the neighbourhood are evidently the work of one man, as they have a distinctive character of their own. The arabesques and other ornaments on them are bold and spirited, though the figures, and especially the faces, are somewhat grotesque. The earliest of these mantel-pieces at East Quantockshead is dated 1614, that in Dunster Castle 1620. George Luttrell rebuilt the house at Marshwood about the time of the marriage of his eldest son Thomas with Jane daughter of Sir Francis Popham, a lady who brought £3000 to her husband.<sup>2</sup> He also built the quay at Minehead, at a cost of £5000. On the death of his wife Joan Stewkeley in 1621 he erected a large monument on the south side of the old chancel of Dunster Church to her memory and to the memory of his own father and

<sup>1</sup> Dunster Castle Muniments, Box xv, Nos. 10, 29, 52.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* Box iii, No. 6. Inquisitiones post mortem, 6 Charles I.

mother. These three persons being all dead are represented in a recumbent position, facing eastwards, as if expecting the general resurrection, while George Luttrell, being alive, is represented kneeling westwards. There is also a portrait of George Luttrell in the hall at Dunster Castle painted in oils in 1594 when he was 34 years of age. Soon after the death of his first wife he married Silvestra Capps a person of humble extraction.<sup>1</sup> His own children were not too well pleased at the liberal scale on which he provided for her and her children in the closing years of his life. For her benefit he greatly altered and enlarged the old manor-house at East Quantockshead. The whole of the eastern front, except the south-eastern angle, was added by him, as he built a spacious hall, with a large wing and a porch tower projecting from it against the former outer wall, which is easily recognized by its great thickness. The head of a leaden water pipe has the initials of George and Silvestra Luttrell and the date 1628. A stately staircase, square on plan, was about the same time substituted for the old winding stairs. George Luttrell died on the 1st of April 1629 and was buried at Dunster. Nine months later his widow was married at East Quantockshead, to Sir Edmund Scory, and in 1634 she was married at the same place to a certain Giles Penny.<sup>2</sup>



Thomas Luttrell, son and heir of George, found it very difficult to steer a safe course through the political troubles of the reign of Charles I. His sympathies were on the Parliamentary side; his interests made him for a time appear a Royalist.<sup>3</sup> Clarendon relates that in the middle of June, 1643, the Marquis of Hertford obtained in three days Taunton and Bridgewater, and that

<sup>1</sup> Dunster Castle Muniments, Box iii, No. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Register of East Quantockshead.

<sup>3</sup> "Trevelyan Papers" (Camden Soc.),

vol. iii, pp. 234, 251, 252. "Domestic State Papers," Charles I, vol. cclv, No. 39.

"Lords' Journals," vol. v, p. 189.



"Dunstar castle, so much stronger than both the other, that it could not have been forced ; yet by the dexterity of Francis Windham, who wrought upon the fears of the owner and master of it, Mr. Lutterel was, with as little bloodshed as the other, delivered up to the king ; into which the marquis put in him that took it as governor ; as he well deserved."<sup>1</sup>

On the 23rd of that month Thomas Luttrell paid down £500 as part of the sum of £1000 which he undertook to contribute towards the expenses of the King's army in the west.<sup>2</sup> Two years later, after the battle of Naseby, Charles I. gave orders that the Prince of Wales should take up his residence at Dunster Castle in order to "encourage the new levies," it being "not known at Court that the plague, which had driven him from Bristol, was as hot in Dunster town, just under the walls of the castle."<sup>3</sup> An account-book, formerly belonging to Minehead Church, records payments amounting to 14s "given to the ringers in beer at severall times when the prince and other great men came to the town," and a payment of 5s 6d "to the prince's footman which he claymed as due to him to his fee."<sup>4</sup> A room leading out of the gallery is still known as Prince Charles's room. There is a secret door in one of its walls giving access to a very narrow chamber, which has no window and only contains a stone bench. Prince Charles, however, can hardly have required a place of concealment when he was at Dunster surrounded by loyal soldiers. "The King's chamber" is mentioned in an inventory of the year 1705, and it was certainly situated near the gallery, though some descriptions of it do not quite suit Prince Charles's room. The plague of 1645 was deemed so terrible that the inhabitants of a long street in Dunster are said to have established communication along it by opening doors internally between the different houses, "so as to avoid all necessity of going into the open street."<sup>5</sup>

Thomas Luttrell, who was a Master of Arts of Oxford, and Sheriff of Somerset in 1631, died in 1643, in the middle of the Civil War. George Luttrell, the eldest son, succeeded to the property. In his time Dunster Castle was twice besieged by the Parliamentary forces.

<sup>1</sup> "History of the Rebellion" (1826), vol. iv, p. 110.

<sup>2</sup> Dunster Castle Muniments.

<sup>3</sup> Clarendon, vol. v p. 189.

<sup>4</sup> Savage's "History of Carhampton," p. 591.

<sup>5</sup> "Archæological Journal," vol. xv, p. 388.

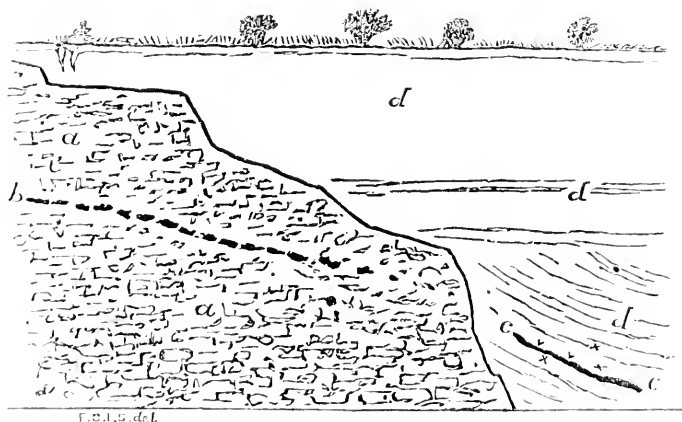
## ON IMPLEMENTS AND CHIPS FROM THE FLOOR OF A PALEOLITHIC WORKSHOP.<sup>1</sup>

By F. C. J. SPURRELL.

The chips which I exhibit and their restoration to position in the block, represent the remains found on a sandy beach of the ancient river Thames, under its chalk cliff, when the river was nearly two miles wider on that (south) side than it is now.

They lay on a slope, from thirty-six to nearly forty-one feet below the present surface of the ground and about thirty-five feet above the present high water mark of spring tides.

This ancient river in working its way had cut cliffs, in some places, a hundred feet or more in height, with occasional "gates," as they are called in Kent, or ways down to the water; and it was gently filling up again the gully it had made with debris brought from its basin. Sometimes the river, whether from tidal or other causes, left sandy margins below the cliffs constituting its banks. Under one such cliff, running north and south, and at one of these "gates," is the place I am describing; the accompanying sketch is from the section actually in view, in the chalk pit, very nearly half a mile N.N.E. of Crayford Church, Kent.



*aa.* chalk cliff; *b*, band of flints; *c c*, layer of chips; *d d*, sand clays.

<sup>1</sup> Read at the Monthly Meeting of the Institute, July 1st, 1880.





Near this place were many blocks of flint stone which had fallen on the shore from out of the cliffs above, and the "Palaeolithic" man (excuse the awkward phrase) sitting on the beach or fore shore, on a suitable spot of the cleanest hard sand, chipped the flints into the shapes required by his wants. The blocks of weathered and bruised flint were obstinate and flawed, and great difficulty was experienced in getting good pieces to work upon, which contentment with inferior stone proves his inability to mine it from the rock, besides the fact that there are no such excavations in the ancient cliff hereabouts, (unlike the "Neolithic" man, a description of whose mines, within fifty yards of this spot, is printed at page 332), and it is lucky that it was so, for we have before us a *hâche*, which in making he had split and thrown away. Its length is 4·4 by 3·1 inches. I have built up around it the pieces he struck off, so as to shew his method, a wild one, betokening great necessity and little art. The upper half of the "restoration" has been lifted off, to shew the interior. Its dimensions are 10·5 by 5·5 inches. (See plate I).

Another block is "restored," shewing that the object was to obtain flakes for smaller implements, such as arrow-heads, knives, &c. Its greatest width is 4·2 inches. Very many flakes appear to have been used at their broad ends. (See plate II, fig. 1).

There are two stones, which have been employed as strikers or hammers; one, a green coated flint (here engra-



ved), which, having been chosen to suit the grasp of the hand, had been trimmed at either end to further that intent, and it is peculiarly suited to the work for which it was chosen; the thick layer of tough crust on one side of it enabled the blow to be delivered with precision, and its

own wear was reduced thereby, while it was not until continued use had worn away this coat down to the black splintery stone that it was thrown aside. Its dimensions are 3·8 in length and 6·7 circumference. The other is smaller, and appears to have been merely used tentatively.

The work was done on the spot where I found the chips and tools, for they lay each near the other as they originally fell; some, having fallen over others, broke, and I found two long flakes broken in halves, with the ends scarcely separated, which are studded on the opposed surfaces with crystalline concretions, contracted after breaking, and of course while still in the soil; thus shewing that there was no water at that spot when they fell. Then all the edges are perfectly sharp; this would not have been the case had they been rolled or rubbed over each other; from the cleanness of the sand in which they lay no dirt had been contracted, but that which could be easily removed, and which from its being found only on the upper side, I take to be blown dust or rain splash. A few crystalline concretions of carbonate of lime stud some flakes here and there (Plate II, fig. 2) while rough spots of iron oxide are occasionally found on them, cementing a few to each other or to particles of bone.

The finer and most minute splinters lay in a thin layer unmixed with sand, and I have one flake from which a minor splinter has separated (the result of continued action from the same blow which separated it from the block) after it had fallen on the sand. It is of extreme delicacy, and is still in apposition, being preserved by steeping it in gum water. This proves that the position of the workman was a sitting one.

Among the chips and above them were numerous pieces of bone, the remains of extinct animals, with which these works are associated, some specimens I have luckily preserved (with great care) which have flakes adherent to them. One is important; it is the right, and part of the left ramus of the lower jaw of the *Rhinoceros tichorhinus*, containing all the milk molars and premolars; the alveoli of the outer incisors (shed) were intact, and the inner incisors just visible. It is broken in half. The two pieces lay about eighteen inches off each other on the

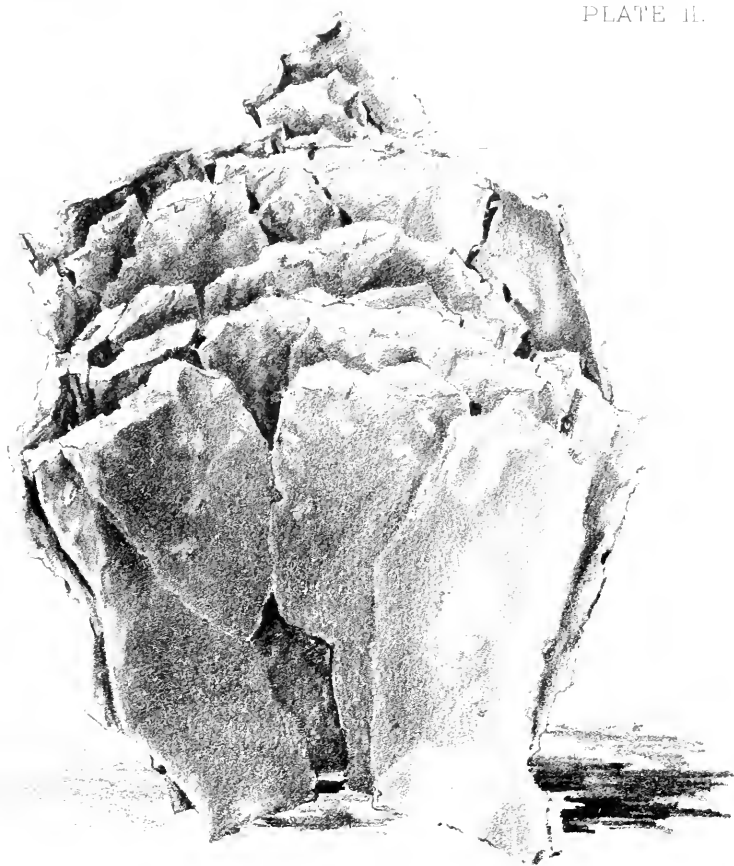


Fig 1



Fig 2



Fig 3

M.W.





flakes, of which three adhere still; a small and delicate half formed tooth of the coming series, from the body of this jaw, lay close by.

These bones were broken, they had been either slightly worn or gnawed, but some of the bones of the gigantic pachyderms had been splintered. I cannot find the marks of teeth of hyæna, and I incline to the belief that they are the remains of beasts used as food. The big blocks of stone lying on the beach at hand would serve to crush anything. A large bone which I found shews cracks and considerable weathering, the result of exposure in a fresh state before being covered by the sand.

This spot appears to have been a chipping ground for ages; indications of several layers are visible, extending at least a dozen feet above that first described, while others may be found below.

The bones of the animals actually in contact with the flints belonged to several sorts, but the young and old of rhinoceros tichorhinus and the mammoth are easily identified. Without going too deeply into the subject, I shall notice the animals with which the man who worked here was contemporary, in order to realize—

1. What game he trapped or preyed on.
2. The probable extremes of climate he struggled against.
3. The far distant period of time to which, by their clear connexion with earlier geologic eras, he is relegated.

There are but eighteen mammals summed up by Professor Boyd Dawkins in his recent book (*Early Man in Britain*), as found in these brick-earths, in which human handiwork is found commingled, to them I shall add the dog, fox, the roe? and wild boar. Thus we have, surviving from the—

Pliocene—The rhinoceros megarhinus.

Early Pleistocene—The brown bear, wolf, urus, horse, Irish elk, mammoth, straight tusked elephant, lion, spotted hyæna, grisly bear, bison, wild boar, musk sheep, marmot, fox, red deer, roe? water rat.

Mid Pliocene (in which man first appears)—Rhinoceros tichorhinus, rhinoceros leptorhinus, canis.

All the above are now extinct in this country, except

the dog, fox, red deer, water rat, and the roe, or a similar small deer.

Some of the animals required a warm climate, and some an arctic, as the musk sheep and the marmot, several of which last I found in a mass, drowned whilst hibernating.

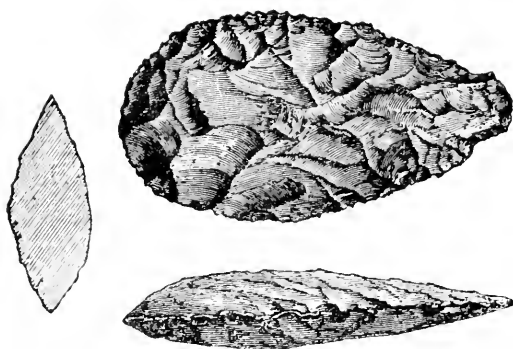
How came the "man" to leave these apparently valuable remains, is a question often asked. I cannot tell, perhaps an offensive beast or an enemy frightened him away, perhaps a great storm forced him to seek shelter, the results of which, in the rise of the river, and the layer of mud brought down by the flood, covering up the spot, prevented his return; but many another cause can be easily surmized.

Though from many blocks the majority of flakes may be recovered and recognized, yet it is clear, on the other hand, that from other blocks but few pieces can be retrieved, and these were of better quality and more compliant to the striker.

A word as to the relation of this "man's" works to those before and after him in the immediate neighbourhood.

The water once had its level above the top of Shooter's Hill, this appears to have been the sea, but as it got lower it became estuarine, leaving terraces, now only represented by patches of gravel at different heights. From that at 400 feet on Shooter's Hill down to that at 100 feet on Dartford Heath and Crayford no implement has been procured "in situ," but I found a large implement (of the broad Abbeville type) at an elevation of 175 feet on Northumberland Heath, Erith, which had been rolled and stained a bright yellow; this, though found on the surface, I believe to have been a relic of a gravel patch since removed.<sup>1</sup> But in the Dartford heath layer I found a "hâche" "in situ," which was figured by Mr. J. Evans in his *Ancient Stone Implements of Great Britain*, and which he has kindly allowed me to reproduce here, while another was found by Mr. C. C. Fooks in the same gravel last year.

<sup>1</sup> It had been used as a tool for freeing a horse-hoe from weeds, and was much worn thereby, before I succeeded in rescuing it.



The river then descended slowly to about its present level, a hundred and fifty feet below that last mentioned, when it began to deposit very gently the "lower brick-earths of the Thames valley," as they are called, being the debris from the lands and cliffs adjacent, among others the higher gravels of the old river, and it is from these, perhaps the nearest, that (looking at their situation, mineral condition, and wear) I believe the earliest flint flakes recorded as being found at Crayford were derived; viz., those by the Rev. O. Fisher, Mr. Cheadle ("one considerably worn"), and Dr. Gladstone, F.R.S., while I have found one or two which I feel sure have a like history.

The water meanwhile got higher and higher, reaching the 100 feet level again. During this last rise and deposit of mud these chips were covered up. Then the river slowly went down, and in its latest deposit, the marsh clay and forest bed, may be found the latest implements of the stone-using times.

These rises and falls are of course only relative, as they are due in this case to motions of the earth, and but little to changes in the sea level, and were gradual and of long continuance.

#### PLATE I.

Large "restoration" with hache inside.

#### PLATE II.

Fig. 1. Small "restoration."

Fig. 2. Long flake, 5.0 by 1.5 inches.

Short flake, 4.1 by 1.6 inches.

Fig. 3. The hache from large "restoration."

# ON THE TWELFTH AND FIFTEENTH ITINERA OF ANTONINUS,

By J. B. DAVIDSON, M.A.

A revived interest appears to be felt in this old and much debated subject. At the meeting of the Somerset Archaeological Society at Bruton, in 1878, a paper on the Twelfth Iter was read by the Hon. and Rt. Rev. Bishop Clifford;<sup>1</sup> and in the September number of the *Journal* of the Archaeological Association for 1876, in an article by Mr. Gordon M. Hills,<sup>2</sup> several of the Itinera are dealt with, but Nos. VII, and especially XV, are presented under very striking features of novelty.

Those who are acquainted with the matter are aware that there are questions arising upon the Twelfth Iter which are affected by the Fifteenth, and that the former cannot be satisfactorily discussed without taking the latter into consideration.

Now upon reading the treatises referred to, there is one thing which cannot fail to strike attention, namely, that the writers have put forward their theories without reference to the labours of their predecessors in the same field. Each expositor starts from his own point of view, regardless of what may be conceived to be the successes, and what the failures of former essayists. Yet the matters at issue have a tradition. They were very industriously studied in times past, and have been abundantly illustrated by a long series of modern observations. All that we here desire to do is to state the case as it was considered by the men of old, as compared with the way in which it presents itself to us, in the hope of shewing that, notwithstanding the innovations to which we have adverted, a *consensus* has been actually arrived at on the main particulars involved, if not as to all the minor details.

Taking then the Fifteenth,<sup>3</sup> which happens also to be the last, of the Itinera relating to Britain, and employing for the present, the text of MM. Parthey and Pinder, we find that it stands as follows :—

## (Iter XV.)

"Item a Calveya Isca Dummuniurum		-	m p m	xxxxvi	sic
Vindomi	-	-	-	m p m	xv
Venta Belgarum	-	-	-	m p m	xxi
Brige	-	-	-	m p m	xi
Sorbiiodomi	-	-	-	m p m	viii
Vindogladia	-	-	-	m p m	xii
Dumoniouaria	-	-	-	m p m	viii
Muriduno	-	-	-	m p m	xxxvi
Isca Dummuniurum	-	-	-	m p m	xv"

<sup>1</sup> "Course of a Roman Military Road through Somersetshire"; *Proceedings* Som. Arch. Soc., N.S., vol. iv, p. 22.

<sup>2</sup> "Measurements of Ptolemy and the Antonine Itinerary"; *Journal* of the

Arch. Assoc., vol. xxxiv, p. 271.

<sup>3</sup> The numbering from 1 to 15, commonly and most usefully adopted is, we need scarcely say, quite an assumption, and has no warrant in the original.

The sum of the station distances is 126 miles, being less than the summary given in the title by ten miles.

Now if we turn back to the Twelfth Iter, still for the present using the text of MM. Parthey and Pinder, we find that it presents itself as follows :—

## (Iter XII.)

"Item a Muriduno Viroconium	-	-	m p m clxxxvi sic
Vindomi	-	-	m p m xv
Venta Belgarum	-	-	m p m xxi
Brige	-	-	m p m xi
Sorvioduni	-	-	m p m viii
Vindogladia	-	-	m p m xii
Durnonovaria	-	-	m p m viii
Muriduno	-	-	m p m xxxvi
Isca Dumuniorum	-	-	m p m xv
Leucaro	-	-	m p m xv
Nido	-	-	m p m xv
Bonio	-	-	m p m xv
Isca leg. II Augusta	-	-	m p m xxvii
Burrio	-	-	m p m viiii
Gobannio	-	-	m p m xii
Magnis	-	-	m p m xxii
Bravonio	-	-	m p m xxiiii
Viroconio	-	-	m p m xxvii"

Here we are struck with the circumstance that Iter XII consists of precisely the same eight stations as those of XV, with nine more stations appended to them, so that Isca Dumuniorum, which is the terminal station of XV, becomes an intermediate station of XII. Moreover, one particular place, Muridunum, which is an intermediate station of XV and also of XII, appears as the name of the initial station or starting point of XII. The station distances of XII, also, make together 292 miles, the number in the summary being only 186 miles.

This however does not exhaust the question. There prevails a difference of authority as to the proper reading of the heading of Iter XII. Bishop Clifford, in the paper referred to above,<sup>1</sup> cites it thus :—"Iter xii a Caleva per Muridunum Vericonium M. P. CCLXXXVI." As a great deal turns upon what the true reading of this heading or title is, we propose to examine briefly the authorities on the point.

## ON THE READING OF THE HEADING OF ITER XII.

The first printed edition of the Itinerary is that of H. Stephanns, Paris, 1512. It received the corrections of Christopher Longueil, and is the *editio princeps*. Copies exist in the Grenville Library and in the Bodleian. This edition gives the following as the heading of the Twelfth Iter :—

*"Iter a Muridono Viroconiorum*  
186<sup>a</sup>  
*milia plus minus; 286, sic . ."*

<sup>1</sup> Page 23.

<sup>2</sup> The number 186 is inserted above 286, evidently by way of proposed emendation.

In like manner the Aldine edition of 1518, the Florentine of 1519, the Lyons edition, undated, but probably of 1536, and the edition published at Basle in 1575, with Simler's notes, all read, "Item a Muridono Viroconiorum M. P. CCLXXXVI, sic . . ."

Hitherto no printed edition of the Itinerary had mentioned Calleva in the heading of Iter XII; but Simler, in his notes to the Basle edition of 1575, observes:—"In Scudii<sup>1</sup> exemplari, 'A Caleva per Muridunum Viroconium,' atque ita rectius legitur, nam Muridunum vel Moridunum in medio hoc itinere ponitur."

This is the first we hear of Calleva in the heading of the Iter; and the first occasion of its appearance in print is believed to be the English publication in 1577 of Holinshed's Chronicle, by Harrison. At the end of the "Thirde Booke" of the "Description of Britaine," after a table of English roads, the reader is, very appropriately, treated to a version of the Itinerary, and in that version the following is given as the heading of Iter XII:—"Item à Caleva aliàs Muridono aliàs Viroconiorum," a reading which may be at once set aside as hopelessly unauthorized and wrong.

Next in order of date comes the Cologne edition of 1600, published by Andrew Schott, with notes by the Spanish scholar, Hieronymus Surita; and next the sumptuous Leyden edition, in 1618, by Peter Bert, geographer to Louis XIII. Then follows, in 1658, a commentary by our countryman William Burton, schoolmaster, of Kingston-on-Thames. Neither of these editions contains any mention of Calleva in the heading of the Twelfth Iter.

We are thus brought down to the era of Dr. Gale, whose work marks a new departure in the literature of the subject. Dr. Gale died Dean of York in 1709, and in the same year his posthumous treatise on the Itinerary was published by Roger Gale, his son. The authorities upon which Dr. Gale is represented to have relied are:—Two MSS. from the King's Library at Paris; readings from a copy of the work of Surita, which had been collated by Dr. Richardson, master of Peterhouse, Cambridge, with MSS. of Isaac Vossius; and, thirdly, readings attributed to Bentley, and taken from what is called the "Atrebatensian MS."

Whether Simler's note influenced Dr. Gale, or whatever his reason was, there is no doubt that he does read<sup>2</sup> the heading of XII as follows:

"ITER XII.

A CALLEVA MURIDUNO VROCONIUM  
M. P. CLXXXVI."

and that he did adopt this reading, is little less than a calamity, for his conclusion, as will be seen, not only misled Horsley, and through Horsley, the foreign editors, Wesseling and Mannert, but has survived to lead topographers astray even in our own time.

Dr. Gale's error, however, did not long remain uncorrected. In the

<sup>1</sup> The reference is to Giles Scud, of Glaris, who died in February, 1571, at the age of sixty-seven. His unfinished history of Switzerland was continued by Simler; Teissier, *Eloges*, ii, 426. Scud's was probably an annotated copy of one of the above-mentioned editions.

<sup>2</sup> *Antonini It.*, pp. vi, 124. In the *XV Scriptores*, by Gale and Fell, 1691, we find, on the other hand, "Iter à Muriduno Viroconium," iii, App. 754. But this text professes to be merely a copy of the reading of Surita, see p. 742.

following year, on the 5th of December, 1710, was issued, or at least was dated prior to publication, an edition of the Itinerary by Hearne. This work appears at the end of the third volume of Leland. This will be found to be, in every respect, a laborious and conscientious performance as a piece of editing, considering the age in which it appeared, and the materials at hand. A commentary, indeed, it is not, for the modern designations of Roman names are all copied from Gale. What Hearne undertook to do was to publish notes, which had been made a century before by the learned Richard Talbot,<sup>1</sup> who was canon of Norwich in 1547, and he prefaces this publication by the edition in question, which he collates with the Florentine, the Lyons, the Cologne, and Leyden editions, taking note also of Harrison and Gale, and of some annotated copies of Surita in the Bodleian. When he comes to the Twelfth Iter, he produces the following heading :—

“¶ ITER A M[V]RIDONO VIROCO[V]IO-  
RVM MILIA PLVS MINVS . CCLXXXVI . SIC.”

where, again, we find no mention of Calleva.

Thus matters stood until the age of Stukeley and Horsley ; and here, in order to explain the relation in which these two writers stood to each other, it is necessary to be precise as to dates. In 1724 Dr. Stukeley first published the results of his antiquarian journeys, under the imposing title of “*Itinerarium Curiosum, Centuria I.*” With the characteristics of this work every one is familiar. Whilst we are amused with the learned doctor’s credulity, we cannot but be grateful to him for the descriptions and illustrations he has handed down to us. Horsley’s *Britannia Romana* followed in 1732. Horsley, who was personally unacquainted with the south-west of England, depended wholly for his topographical knowledge on Stukeley’s descriptions. The latter, as he tells us, visited Bath and Exeter, where he was entertained by Dr. Musgrave ; thence he made his way back along the coast to Seaton, and thence to Bridport in Dorsetshire. Fifteen years after Horsley’s publication, namely, in July 1747, Stukeley was first addressed by the notorious Charles Julius Bertram, of Copenhagen ; and ten years later appeared the second edition of the “*Itinerarium*,” with an account of the fictitious chronicle, map, and treatise *De Situ Britannie*, falsely ascribed to the innocent and simple chronicler, Richard of Cirencester. The forgery, though not unsuspected, was first publicly exposed by F. C. Wex in 1845 and 1846, and more fully in 1852, having tainted the sources of history for about a century.<sup>2</sup>

Dr. Stukeley gives no edition and no version of the Roman Itinerary, but Mr. Horsley, in the *Britannia Romana*, which is a critical, as well as a topographical work, does both ; and in a disastrous hour for his reputation and success, he preferred to adopt from Gale the erroneous reading of Calleva in the heading of Iter XII, rather than to follow the uniform current of authority afforded by seven foreign editions of the first rank, and by the English works of Burton and Hearne.

<sup>1</sup> This is said to be the first commentary extant in English. It does not go beyond Iter V. Camden and Burton were both indebted to it ; Leland, *Itin.*, by Hearne, iii, 130.

<sup>2</sup> See the papers in the *Gentleman’s Magazine* for 1866, by the late Mr. Woodward, and the edition of Richard, by Professor John E. B. Mayor, of Cambridge, in the Rolls Series.

In our own day, but for Bishop Clifford's authority, we should have considered the point beyond controversy. The work of MM. Parthey and Pinder, published at Berlin in 1848, seems really to close the question. These editors state that having examined a large number of codices in all parts of Europe, they selected twenty-one as the foundation for their text, giving *variorum* notes at the foot of the page. They pledge themselves that no different reading amongst the twenty-one of their selection has been unnoticed.<sup>1</sup> If this statement is to be accepted literally, nothing more remains to be said, for no one of the twenty-one codices contains any mention of Calleva in the heading of Iter XII.

#### ON THE EIGHT STATIONS COMMON TO ITER XII AND ITER XV.

The result just arrived at is of the first importance, for if Calleva is to find no place in the title of the Twelfth Iter, we are left with the indication that it is an Iter leading only from Muridunum to Uriconium, to which the first eight recorded stations are plainly inappropriate. How then are these eight stations to be dealt with? The only alternative is to adopt the solution of William Burton, who says, writing so far back as in 1658—

"This Author" (namely, Antoninus), "by the heedlessness of the *Librarii* or Transcribers is much abused, for they have very coarsely handled him, having confounded two distinct Journeys, the last and this same here; and this oversight and error is in every copy which is extant, and hitherto hath escaped the curious eyes of the undertakers of the several Editions of him: the main cause of the error was the ignorance of *Muridunum*, and the taking it for *Maridunum*, which is known by most to be *Kaer Marthin* in *Wales*, so that this journey will prove from thence to *Wrocester* in *Shropshire*, and it is by *Kaer-Marthin* or *Μαριδουνον*, as *Ptolemy* calls it here: the journey which begins *Muridunum* is exactly the same with the last, as you may see plainly in what comes after; neither doth *Antoninus* continue his marches beyond this *Maridunum*. The next station which happens in this journey is *Leucarum* in *Glamorganshire*, by the river *Loughor*, which also we now call *Loughor*."<sup>2</sup>

With this view Dr. Gale, notwithstanding his retention of Calleva in the title, distinctly agrees. He says expressly<sup>3</sup> that in this instance two Itinera have been jumbled together, one being a route starting from Calleva and ending at Isca Dumuniorum, the other a route setting out from "Maridunum," the modern "Caermardhin," being a different place from Maridunum, near Isca Dumuniorum, which, he says, is in Devonshire, and now called Seaton. And in his table of identifications, he assigns to Leucarum, Loughor; to Bonium, Boyerton; and to Nidus, Neath in Glamorganshire.

It was Mr. Horsley's ill-fortune not to be able to agree in this plain

<sup>1</sup> "Codices meliores quamquam in universum secuti sumus, tamen ibi ab iis recessimus ubi vel aliorum Itinerarii nostri locorum vel scriptorum veterum auctoritas deterioribus libris accederat. Rarissime codices omnes depravati, ideoque relinquendi videbantur; sed ne in his quidem libri nostri fides detrimentum passa est, lectionibus codicum religios-

issime adscriptis. Cuiusvis enim codicis lectio aut in notis ponitur, aut, ubi non commemoratur, cum textu prorsus congruit. Igitur quod recepinus, id omnium codicum auctoritate nititur, quorum discrepantia non annotata est."—Pref., p. x.

<sup>2</sup> Burton, vol. i, p. 247.

<sup>3</sup> Page 121.



and simple solution of the difficulty. He made the double mistake of adopting the name Calleva in the title of Iter XII, and of treating No. XII as one long continuous route, reaching all the way round from Calleva to Uriconium, that is to say, from Silchester to Wroxeter. Burton and Hearne might have saved him from the former lapse; Burton and Gale from the latter. But it was not to be; and the result was to launch this learned commentator upon a sea of difficulties, in which he not only himself laboured, but over which he has unhappily induced many others to follow him, until a subject originally clear has become clouded over with obscurity, and a series of suggestions have been placed before the world, not merely distracting from their variety but absolutely unnecessary when the nature of the question is fairly examined.

The *Britannia Romana* was followed abroad by the elegant edition of Peter Wesseling at Amsterdam in 1735, which, in some respects, is treated abroad as an *editio princeps*. The pagination of this edition is followed by MM. Parthey and Pinder. Wesseling gives notes indicative of the supposed modern localities. His plan manifestly was to have recourse for each country to the *opus magnum* on the subject which that country had produced, and thus to compile his notes. For Britain, he naturally turned to Horsley, and accordingly we find him in his text adopting Calleva in the heading of No. XII, and in his identifications of places he invariably accepts Horsley's conclusions.

The "continuous" theory of Iter XII was in like manner, and in deference to Wesseling, adopted by Conrad Mannert. The portion of this voluminous work which relates to Britain was published at Leipzig in 1822. Probably the author never visited this country, and his interpretations seem to have been suggested only by a study of maps and station distances.

Although the soundness of Horsley's conclusions was questioned in 1754 by Dr. Borlase, who had the advantage of local knowledge,<sup>1</sup> and disputed by Reynolds in 1799,<sup>2</sup> yet the true source of his error, namely the "confusio" of two itinera in No. XII, seems not to have been much adverted to by English topographers of the eighteenth century. The deservedly great weight of Horsley's authority counterbalanced that of Burton and Gale. But it was not so in France. M. Lapie, writing in 1845, brings earlier authority than his own to bear on the point. He observes,<sup>3</sup> "La route devait, d'après les localités, s'arrêter à Isca Dumnoniorum. Ce qui suit paraît former une autre route partant probablement de *Maridunum* (Caermarthen), qui dans l'Itinéraire, a peut-être confondu avec *Maridunum* (Salcombe Regis). Telle est du moins l'opinion d'Anville et de M. Reichard, à laquelle nous nous rangeons volontiers."

And then, finally, MM. Parthey and Pinder deal with the matter thus. They print the first eight stations of No. XII, as we number it, in smaller type, and add in a note the remark<sup>4</sup> that these eight lines appear to have been transferred hither by mistake from the last of the British Itinera; and that the scribe ought to have gone on from the "Viroco" of "Viroconiorum" straight to the "niorum" of "Dumnoniorum," without inserting what he has inserted between these two portions of words, for, as they observe, the reading of Viroconiorum for Viroconium appears in

<sup>1</sup> *Antiquities of Cornwall*, p. 295.

<sup>2</sup> *Iter Britanniarum*, p. 334.

<sup>3</sup> Page 146 (n).

<sup>4</sup> Page 231.

all the older MSS., as, we may add, it certainly does in all the old printed editions of the Itinerary, whether foreign or English.

Such, in brief, is an outline of the history of the two questions. One of these, relating to Calleva, is a question of fact; the other, respecting the eight stations, is a question of criticism. We have shown how considerable is the weight of evidence, arising from books and MSS., against the retention of Calleva in the heading of Iter XII; and how great is the preponderance of opinion that the insertion of the eight stations is an error in the original. We claim, therefore, to have established the fact, that a *consensus* of opinion has been actually arrived at, to which it behoves topographers to give in their assent, unless they are prepared to displace the evidence by facts, or to dispute the conclusions by argument. There seems no longer any reasonable doubt that what the *librarian* ought to have written in what we call the Twelfth Iter, in place of what he did write, was as follows:

“Item a Muriduno Viroconiorum			- m p m clxxxvi sic
Leucaro	-	-	- m p m xv
Nido	-	-	- m p m xv
Bonio	-	-	- m p m xv
Isce leg. II Augusta	-	-	- m p m xxvii
Burrio	-	-	- m p m viiii
Gobannio	-	-	- m p m xii
Magnis	-	-	- m p m xxii
Bravonio	-	-	- m p m xxiii
Viroconio	-	-	- m p m xxvii.”

The sum of the station distance is now found to be 166 miles, being less than the total given in the heading by only twenty miles.

With this amended text, it is seen at once that the theory put forward in the first of the papers above referred to, has no *locus standi*. There is no longer any need for such a theory, and no longer any ground for it in the nature of the case. Bishop Clifford thinks that Leucarus can be found at Hembury Fort, Nidus at Taunton, and Bonium at Burnham on the Bristol Channel. Some of the reasons which oppose this view have been stated by Mr. Prebendary Scarth,<sup>1</sup> and need not be repeated here. To them might be added the improbability that the Romans would husband their energy so ill as to make two branches of a military road meeting at an acute angle at Exeter, when one road would have served their purpose, whereby to go and to return; or that they would have constructed, not a mere vicinal way, but a main military route through the marshy lowlands of Somerset. But these considerations need not be discussed, if we have good grounds for thinking that Iter XII has nothing to do with Calleva, and nothing to do with the eight interpolated stations of XV, but is simply a military route leading from Caernarthen in South Wales to Wroxeter in Shropshire. Such was the opinion of Burton and Gale, such the judgment of D’Anville, and such the conclusion arrived at by MM. Parthey and Pinder, who, in their map mark one Muridunum on the south coast of Devon, and another on the south coast of Wales; and this we venture to think must be the result to which the written testimony of the past must inevitably lead the careful inquirer.

<sup>1</sup> *Journal*, vol. xxxvi, p. 325, note.

## ON THE STATIONS OF ITER XV.

Having thus far indicated the considerations which lead to a removal of the difficulties attending what we call Iter XII, we are left free to discuss the questions which, in the paper secondly above referred to, have been raised respecting the last of the Britannic Itinera, namely that which is commonly numbered XV.

What we undertake to show respecting XV is, that a great preponderance of opinion, amounting practically to a *consensus*, has been established with regard to the two terminal and three of the intermediate and major stations of this route; and that the differences which still exist, and the questions which still remain to be settled, are differences and questions which relate only to the three remaining intermediate and minor stations. And we think that if such a *consensus* is shown to prevail, then we have a right to expect, that when a writer departs as widely as Mr. Gordon Hills departs, from established conclusions, he is bound at least to show how those results are to be got rid of, before he can assume that there is a clear field on which to build a new and adverse theory.

Briefly stated, the common interpretation of Iter XV is, that it represents the course of a Roman military road, from Silchester to Exeter. Mr. Hills' view is, that it represents a road from Silchester to Dorchester. A short review of what has been the current opinion with regard to these eight stations will serve at once to illustrate the extravagances into which Horsley was led, and to show to what extent Mr. Gordon Hills has deserted the *vie antique* of English tradition.

CALLEVA. This, the starting point of XV, was placed by Burton at Wallingford, by Gale at Henley on Thames, and by Stukeley at Farnham. The difficulty arose thus. In Iter VII there is only one stage of twenty-two miles between Calleva Atrebatum and Venta Belgarum. Iter XV gives two stages from Calleva, one of fifteen miles to Vindomis, and then another of twenty-one miles to Venta Belgarum. Anticipating the conclusion below, that Venta Belgarum is Winchester, there are two alternatives, one to place Vindomis at Silchester, and Calleva fifteen miles further away, the other to accept one direct straight road of twenty-two miles from Winchester to Calleva, as Silchester, and to find Vindomis at some point to the north-west, or the south-east of this direct road, at a point twenty-one miles from Winchester and fifteen from Silchester. Camden, Burton, Gale, and Stukeley preferred the former alternative; Horsley was the first to propose the latter, and his demonstration is now the accepted doctrine. To this conclusion the interesting drawing by Stukeley of the Roman walls and amphitheatre at Silchester, no doubt, greatly assisted. Reynolds, indeed, writing in about 1799,<sup>1</sup> and Dr. Bleeke in 1804,<sup>2</sup> placed Calleva at Reading; but the absence of remains at this town, as contrasted with the extent of the ruins at Silchester and the meeting of numerous roads at the latter place have turned the tide of opinion strongly in favour of this last named "chester."<sup>3</sup> An additional argument that Calleva is not likely to have been Henley, as Camden, Gale, and the older authorities supposed, is this. From Calleva, according

<sup>1</sup> *Iter Britanniarum*, p. 292.

<sup>2</sup> *Archæologia*, vol. xv, p. 179.

<sup>3</sup> Some other designations will be found

in Sir R. Colt Hoare's *Ancient Wills*, vol. ii (1821), *Roman Æra*, p. 53.

to the Itinerary, two military roads started westward, and two towards the south. Roman legionaries would be constantly moving along these roads. But Henley is so situated that any one leaving it for the west or south-west must necessarily cross the Thames. It is unlikely that a military base of operations for the south and south-west of Britain, such as Calleva was, would have been chosen at a place which had this barrier at its gates.

I. VINDOMIS. This is an intermediate station between the two important posts of Calleva and Venta Belgarum. Gale, as we have observed, and also Stukeley, placed Vindomis at Silchester; Horsley adopted Farnham; Reynolds, a residence near Basingstoke, called "The Vine." Sir R. Hoare, however, claims to have found this station on the Port Way. This is a Roman road, not otherwise mentioned in the Itinerary. It leads from Silchester to Old Sarum, and may be seen by the traveller on the South Western Railway, running for miles by the side of the line, between the stations of Grateley and Porton. Vindomis is said by Sir R. C. Hoare to be situated half a mile due east of Finchley farm, the farm house of which stands exactly on the Port Way. So that a Roman Legion departing from Calleva by Iter XV would march along the Port Way to within two to three miles of Andover, and would then leave that road and strike south-west by another route for Winchester.

II. VENTA BELGARUM. The identity of Venta Belgarum and Winchester was asserted by Camden, Burton, Gale, Stukeley, Horsley, Wesseling, Reynolds, Mannert, Sir R. C. Hoare, and Lapie, and is acquiesced in, so far as we know, by all modern authorities. The difficulty is to find a dissentient. Sir R. Hoare having expressed his inability to account for the origin of the word Venta, the point was explained by Dr. Guest, who observes:—"The downs west of the Andred were known by the name of the Gwent, or champaign. There seem to have been several of these Gwents in Britain, and the Romans obtained this name for the capital towns, by turning Gwent into a feminine substantive and then adding the name of the race which inhabited the particular district, as Venta Belgarum, Venta Icenorum, Venta Silurum," &c.<sup>1</sup> He then proceeds to shew how from Venta Belgarum the Saxons derived their English name of Wintanceaster.

III. BRIGE. This is a small intermediate station between Venta Belgarum, or Winchester, and Sorbiodunum (assumed by anticipation to be Old Sarum). It was found by Sir R. Hoare, as he explains, on the line of Roman road, which is still at intervals visible and traceable between Winchester and Old Sarum. The actual spot is still called Cold Harbour, a little to the north of the actual road, at a point half a mile to the east of Buckholt farm house, which is nine miles from Sarum. This Cold Harbour with its bare walls and roof represented, we may suppose, the actual *mutatio*, where the *parochus* was bound to be ready with a change of horses and store of forage and provision, whenever an officer of state or a wealthy traveller was on the road.<sup>2</sup> We have here an instance of a rule, probably generally adopted, that the resting place did not stand by the side of the road, but was removed a few hundred yards from it.

IV. SORBIODUNUM. Again a great *consensus* of distinguished names

<sup>1</sup> *Archæological Institute*, Salisbury vol., p. 32.

<sup>2</sup> *Hor. Sat.* i, 5, 46; *Cic. ad Att.* v, 16.

places this station at Old Sarum. To those above enumerated may be added that of Mr. G. T. Clark, in a paper published in 1875.<sup>1</sup> Indeed we know of no authority, ancient or modern, who has ever questioned this piece of identification.

V. VINDOGLADIA. This is an intermediate station, lying between Sorbiodunum (Old Sarum) and Durnonovaria, which, by anticipation, we fix at Dorchester. The Itinerary places Vindogladia at twelve miles from the former place and nine from the latter. Gale assigned for this station Wimborne, attracted possibly by a fancied resemblance of name. But Wimborne is not on the line of road. The Roman road from Old Sarum to the south-west is just here the finest example in the South of England of this class of monument. It may be traced with the eye, almost from its passage over the Nodder, just above Stoney Stratford, to Woodyates, and from thence along the Blandford road, until it diverges to the south, and crossing the downs between the villages of Gussage St. Michael and Gussage All Saints, displays itself with the utmost distinctness and even grandeur, as the celebrated Aekling ditch. This road, under the protection of the present owner, the Earl of Shaftesbury, happily remains practically in the same state as it was when described by Stukeley and Sir Richard Hoare; the natural properties of the chalk soil assisting materially in its preservation. It enters the woods of Moor Crichell, and is there for a time lost, but emerges again under the northern ramparts of Badbury, and crossing the Stour at Shapwick, proceeds through Kingston, Winterborne, and over Bere Down to Dorchester. All this is so manifest to the eye, so thoroughly established by demonstration, and so clearly laid down in maps, as to be beyond the reach of controversy. The localities, however, were not known to Gale. Stukeley made search for Vindogladia on this line of road, and fancied he found it at Boraston.<sup>2</sup> A want of local knowledge misled Reynolds,<sup>3</sup> who placed the station at Blandford. Somewhere on the actual, visible, road, the station must have existed, and accordingly we assent to the conclusion of Sir R. Colt Hoare, who claims to have found it on Gussage Cow Down.<sup>4</sup> The whole matter is fully discussed in *Ancient Wilts.*<sup>5</sup> In this conclusion Dr. Guest acquiesces, as appears from his map.<sup>6</sup>

If this be the true position of Vindogladia, it follows that the Itinerary distance from hence to Dorchester, namely eight miles, must be erroneous. For eight, we should have to read something like twenty-two. Now it will be remembered that the summary at the head of this Iter, XV, exceeds the sum of the station distances by ten miles. Here then is an opening for a plausible correction. Reading eighteen for eight, the distance would be approximately true. This explanation, however, did not occur, or was not satisfactory to Stukeley, and he started the idea of a "lost station" between Vindogladia and Durnonovaria. The name of this station, Ibernio, he imported from the geographer of Ravenna. To this idea Sir R. C. Hoare also acceded; and finally Mr. Warne, the first

<sup>1</sup> *Journal*, xxxii, 290.

<sup>2</sup> *Itin. Cur.*, p. 180. The learned doctor's conversation with the landlady at the Rose, which convinced him that he had found the locality he was in search of is highly characteristic.

<sup>3</sup> *Iter Britann.*, p. 373.

<sup>4</sup> In Cruchley's map (not in the Ord-

nance) is marked the pair of parallel lines still visible on the down, called "The Cursus." Vindogladia is supposed by Sir R. Hoare to have stood exactly at the south-eastern extremity of the Cursus.

<sup>5</sup> *Roman Era*, p. 29.

<sup>6</sup> *Archæological Institute*, Salisbury vol. p. 28.

amongst living field antiquaries of Dorset, claims to have found Ibernio near the village of Winterborne Kingston, at about 40 yards north of the Icknield Street, here still distinctly visible.<sup>1</sup> This interesting side question does not in any way affect the direction of the actual road.

VI. DURNONOVARIA.—With a strange unanimity our English writers have agreed to curtail this name of its proportions, and to speak and write of it as Durnovaria. Yet it may well be that Durno and NOVARIA are separate portions of the name. Novaria is the Itinerary name for Novara in North Italy. Durno seems to have been the root of the names Dornsetas, and Dorchester. The *consensus* that we have noticed for Venta Belgarum, and Sorbiodunum, does not desert us here. All the above authorities, Mamert excepted, agree in assigning this place to Dorchester, where the remains of the city walls, and the amphitheatre, now called Maunbury,<sup>2</sup> abundantly attest Roman occupation.

VII. MURIDUNUM. This is the fourth of the *mansiones*, or minor stations, which occur on this military road, being intermediate between Durnonovaria and Isca Dumuniorum, and distant thirty-six miles from the former fortress, and fifteen from the latter.

Two separate controversies, or groups of questions, have arisen respecting the site of Muridunum. One of these was initiated by Horsley, who located it out of Devonshire entirely. Having unfortunately adopted the theory that Iter XII was one long continuous route from Silchester to Wroxeter, it was necessary for him on reaching Durnonovaria (which he recognized as Dorchester), to discover some turning point from a western to a northern direction. Now from Dorchester the Roman road runs a visible, manifest course for about nine English, or ten Roman miles, to Eggardon barrow, where, from the ending off of the great chalk district, it enters upon the green-sand, oolite, and lias formations, and thereupon becomes indistinct, and difficult to trace. Half a mile to the north-west of the barrow is the important earthwork of Eggardon, remarkable even in that district of great field fortresses, whence a magnificent view of the south-west coast is obtained, reaching in clear weather to the Start Point. Dr. Stukeley, in about 1720, having followed the course of the Foss road from Bath to the neighbourhood of Hampden or Ham Hill, and having lost sight of it, as every one else loses sight of it, at Dinington, continued, as we have said, his journey to Exeter. Thence he returned by Seaton, of which place he gives an interesting sketch, still in search of the western Roman road, which at length he finds, as he says,<sup>3</sup> "north of Bridport." The remark is rather puzzling, as there is no trace of the road north of Bridport; but upon close examination of the narrative it is plain that what the learned Doctor means is "east of Bridport," namely this very Eggardon Barrow, where the road first became visible to him. Horsley, then, relying wholly upon Stukeley for descriptions, unable to make the required turn northwards at Exeter, to do which two roads would be necessary, one to arrive at the place, another to depart from it, whereas he did not know even of one,<sup>4</sup> was induced to make the turn here at Eggardon, and not only so, but to locate Muridunum at this very place, where Stukeley coming from the west, first found the road. To do this, however, he had to transpose the mileages of the

<sup>1</sup> Warne, *Ancient Dorset*, (1872) p. 201.

<sup>2</sup> "Maunbury," Coker, p. 68.

<sup>3</sup> Page 153.

<sup>4</sup> *Brit. Rom.*, p. 462.

Itinerary. But this was a small matter, as compared with the difficulty which he had to encounter further on. This was, to find a locality for Isca Dumuniorum. We need not dwell on the process of reasoning whereby he was led, after hovering for a while over South Petherton and Ilchester, to the melancholy resource of fixing upon Chiselborough Hill, in Somerset, where there is no fortress, no ruin, no earthwork of any kind, British, Roman, English or Danish, and the name of which indicates no antiquity earlier than that of the Saxon settlers.<sup>1</sup> Horsley's decision as to Muridunum was followed implicitly by Wesseling. Mannert, the German geographer, another follower of Horsley in the matter of the continuous route, being unacquainted with Sir R. Hoare's then quite recent publication, *Ancient Wiltshire*, and relying very confidently upon the accuracy of the station distances, having admitted Calleva to be Silchester, thinking Vindomis might possibly be Whitechurch, agreeing that Venta Belgarum was "unquestionably," *unstreitig*, Winchester, and that Sorbiodunum was Old Sarum, assigned to Vindogladia, a place called Pentridge, near Woodyates; placed Durnonovaria at Moor Cribbell, Muridunum at Dorchester, and Isca Dumuniorum at Bridport. Entertaining, as we do, the view expressed as to the unsoundness of the "continuous route" theory, and thinking it can be shown conclusively that Isca Dumuniorum is Exeter, it is needless to dwell further upon this theory of Mannert.

The other, and more weighty contention respecting Muridunum is that which, allowing Isca Dumuniorum to be Exeter, differs between assigning this station to Seaton on the one hand, and to Honiton or Hembury Fort on the other. Either place answers tolerably well, perhaps Honiton best, to the mileages of the Itinerary. The first writer who assigned Seaton to Muridunum appears to have been Camden. Whether he ever visited the spot is doubtful.<sup>2</sup> He conjectures the fact from the signification of the name—"for Moridunum is the same in British that Seaton is in English, namely 'A town upon a hill by the sea.'"<sup>3</sup> So also Sir R. C. Hoare, who says "The exact site of Moridunum is unknown, but the most probable situation is Seaton; and the derivation of the former from *mor*, sea, and *dunum*, from *dun* undè *ton*, corresponds precisely with Seaton."<sup>4</sup> But, unfortunately for Camden's opinion, Seaton is not a town upon a hill by the sea, but is a town on the western edge of an alluvial flat by the sea. Nor will Sir R. Hoare's assumption, "*dun*, undè *ton*," stand the test of modern philology. Probably it was unknown to either of these writers, that Seaton is a comparatively modern word, making its first known appearance in the bull of Pope Eugenius respecting Sherborne Abbey, in 1145.<sup>5</sup> At the conquest the name of the place was Flveta.<sup>6</sup> In a charter of Æthelred, in

<sup>1</sup> Ceosol, gravel, shingle, whence presumably the name *Chesil Bank*.

<sup>2</sup> Camden was at Ilfurcombe (Ilfracombe) in 1589, where he held for a time a prebend of the church of Salisbury; *Biog. Britann.*, i, 1121.

<sup>3</sup> Gibson's *Camden*, i, 165; and see *Risdon*, Ed. of 1811, p. 31.

<sup>4</sup> *Ancient Wilts, Roman Æra*, ii, 37; and see Bullet, *Mémoires sur la langue Celtique* (1754) i, 376.

<sup>5</sup> The bull enumerates among the possessions of Sherborne "The church of Fleote, with a chapel," and among others the "towns" of "Fleote, Bere, and Seton, with the salt pits and other appurtenances," and the fisheries of "Fleota, Bere, and Seton;" *Hutchins' Dorset*, iv, 93.

<sup>6</sup> *Domesday*, 104 (1).

1005, it is called Fleote.<sup>1</sup> Thus the supposed derivation of Seaton from Mordun is seen to be impossible. And why was it called Fleet? Evidently because it was then an estuary which was covered by the sea at every tide. Gradually as the sea retired from the valley the appellation Fleet became inappropriate, and the new name Seaton came into use. This retirement of the sea from the mouths of the Devonshire rivers was noticed both by Leland<sup>2</sup> and Camden,<sup>3</sup> and is too well known to need being insisted on. Certainly in the Axe valley, the sea in 1086 flowed to within one-and-a-half miles of the town of Axminster, for salt was made at the now extinct manor of Haccombee.<sup>4</sup> Supposing the same natural causes to have been at work before the eleventh century as since, the question arises, Is it probable, as a question of engineering, that the Romans would have projected and made their military road between the fortresses of Durnonovaria and Isca, right through an arm of the sea? Besides this, it is evident upon examination that there never has been, until within the last few years, a crossing of the river by a road, at Seaton. The village is on the sea shore, the church about half a mile from the sea. Two miles above the sea, at Axe Bridge was formerly the only crossing of the river by road in this neighbourhood. There, if at this part of the valley at all, must the Roman road have crossed, first the Axe, at Axe Bridge, and then the Coly, at Colyford. Indeed if the coast line from Charmouth, through Colyford, Sidford, Newton Poppleford and Sandy Gate be actually the course of Iter XV from Dorchester to Exeter, then Axe Bridge answers to Muridunum much better than Seaton. The authority of Camden was followed unhesitatingly by Gale, Hearne, and Stukeley, and received no check till the publication of the *Britannia Romana*, with the extravagant conclusion above stated of placing Muridunum at Eggardon Fort. Reynolds, in the *Iter Britanniarum*, published in 1799, was the first writer to suggest Honiton for Muridunum,<sup>5</sup> and gradually since his day a conviction has sprung up that the true course of Iter XV was a road which led from Dorchester through Bridport to Charmouth, past Pen Inn and Hunter's Lodge to Yarty Bridge, thence over Shute Hill to Wilnington, and so to Honiton and Exeter. If this be correct, Muridunum must, from the station distances, have been at or near Honiton or Hembury. Dr. Borlase, in 1754, who knew something of the road between Honiton and Exeter, appears to hesitate. "Muridunum, likely Seaton," he says,<sup>6</sup> "as by the name in British." Dr. William Bennet, the learned Bishop of Cloyne, writing shortly before 1820, weighs *pro* and *con*, with much deliberation, the reasons so far as they were known to him, and finally gives a doubtful preference to Seaton over Hembury.<sup>7</sup>

The principal grounds for deciding in favour of the inland route are the following:—

Mr. Warne, who traced the course of the road to the limits of Dorsetshire, demonstrates the line which it took after leaving Eggardon Barrow. For a full description we refer to his pages, where the matter is thoroughly worked out, having nothing to add to that very clear and convincing

<sup>1</sup> *K.C.D.*, MCCC (vi, 152).

<sup>2</sup> *Itin.*, iii, fol. 41, p. 47, 599.

<sup>3</sup> Gibson's *Camden*, 561.

<sup>4</sup> *Domesday*, 110 (2).

<sup>5</sup> Page 377.

<sup>6</sup> *Antiquities of Cornwall*, i, 296.

<sup>7</sup> Lysons' *Devon*, Intr. p. cccxx.



demonstration.<sup>1</sup> The line he designates is past a place called Spyway (a well-known concomitant of Roman roads, being probably only a vulgar form of Spurway or Spoorweg), and past Wallditch to Bridport; thence to Morecomb Lake, near which is a "Cold Harbour;" thence to Charmouth, where there was an ancient manor called Strete; thence straight to Pen Inn, past a farm still called Hogehester. At Pen Inn, the county boundary, Mr. Warne leaves it.

From Pen Inn, according to the writer's observation, the road struck a nearly straight course to Hunter's Lodge, along the line of the then turnpike road, as shewn in the edition of 1809 of the Ordnance Map. Near this portion of the road was discovered in 1818 in a field called Shellacres, on Higher Wild Farm, in Whitechurch parish, a deposit of Roman silver coin. Under powers contained in a Turnpike Act passed in 1822, the road was some years afterwards diverted slightly to the north, but no less since the diversion than before, it forms the northern boundary of Uplyme parish. This fact shews at least the high antiquity of the road, for the manor of Uplyme was laid out as early as in A.D. 938.<sup>2</sup> From Hunter's Lodge the road was carried in nearly a straight line to Yarty Bridge, skirting the direction of a lane called Woodbury Lane, in the parish of Axminster, passing several places called Wick, and crossing the rivers Axe and Yart above their point of confluence, probably near the then head of the tide flow. Some traces of this old road, now disused, are marked in the Ordnance Map, near the junction of Wick and Woodbury lanes, about half-a-mile south of Axminster, and are to be discerned, though now ploughed over, near a farm called Horseleers. From Yarty Bridge the Roman road coincided with the old western turnpike road as far as to the hoar stone on Shute Hill. Thence, owing to the nature of the ground, it swerved to the left but recovered its direct line at Dalwood Down, and so passed on, by a place called Moorcot, to Wilmington. During this portion of its course, it has for many centuries formed the southern boundary of the parish of Dalwood, which was formerly a chapel to Stockland. These two parishes were formerly, until Sir R. Peel's Act, an outlying member of Dorset, King Ethelstan having conferred them both upon Milton Abbey in Dorsetshire, in A.D. 939.<sup>3</sup> Dalwood Down is the point to which Dr. Musgrave refers,<sup>4</sup> when he writes (in 1719)—"Et trans Axium" (by which name he means to designate Axminster) "interque illud et Honiton, vic militaris certa sunt vestigia." Wilmington is a village which, like the town of Bridport and the village of Charmouth, has grown upon either side of the broad track of the Roman way. Here it forms the boundary of two parishes. From Wilmington it passed over the hill, straight to Honiton, its course being marked by two or three hoar stones, one or two of which, it is understood, have of late years disappeared.

The result of this demonstration, if correct, necessarily is, to place Muridunum at Honiton. Dr. Bennet, though he decided in favour of Seaton (not being aware, as the writer conceives, that the Axe

<sup>1</sup> *Ancient Dorset*, p. 145.

<sup>2</sup> MS., Bodl. Wood, i. 212.

<sup>3</sup> *K.C.D.*, cccxxv (ii. 211).

<sup>4</sup> *Antiq. Britanno-Belgiæ*, cap. vii, sec. ii, p. 74. Dr. Musgrave, it should be

added, was nevertheless an advocate of the coast line for Iter XV. The road at Dalwood he takes to have been a branch of the Foss.

valley was in ancient times an arm of the sea), deliberates between that place and Hembury, not Honiton. How Hembury can be a candidate for Muridunum the present writer cannot understand. Honiton is on the road (as we shall presently see), conveniently situated in the valley, Hembury, which is a strong fortress, is inconveniently situated, two long miles off, on a hill. Why the traveller or the army on its march should have been condemned to mount this hill merely to descend again, is not clear. That the Romans chose their intermediate stopping places near fortresses is likely, and is confirmed by observation. Into a walled town, with gates, the military roads entered; but they were carried past fortresses like Badbury, Weatherbury, and Eggardon in Dorset, and presumably, Hembury in Devon, so as not to break the line of vallation. From the main road a path led up to the fortress in one direction, and another path led away from it in another. The Bishop relied upon the discovery of a presumed Roman lar at Hembury, which is quite consistent with the place having been a Roman fort, but does not prove that it was the *mansio* of Muridunum.<sup>1</sup>

The most convincing of all reasons why Muridunum should be Honiton is the appearance of the road between that town and Exeter. It would be difficult to find a piece of road with better claims to Roman origin than this. Its rectilinear course, whether as marked on the map, or as seen on the ground, and the way in which it crosses the Otter at Fenny Bridges, mounts the opposite hill, and descends from that point to Exeter, bear the stamp of military road making on an imperial scale. Then there are the names. "Fair Mile" is translated by Dr. Musgrave "*milliare aureum*,"<sup>2</sup> whether with reference to any tradition of a Roman milestone having stood there, the writer is not aware. *Strete-way*, now *Straightway Head*, and *Strete*, the manor which "taketh his name of the great street way wch passeth through it,"<sup>3</sup> are corroborative evidence. This Street, afterwards Street Raleigh, lies on either side of the road, which here divides two parishes, Whimble and Aylesbeare. The former parish is in Cliston, the latter in East Budleigh hundred. The road is the boundary of several other parishes and of the ancient manor of Monkerton.

The result, so far as the two roads, the coast or lower and the inland or upper roads, are concerned, seems to be this—the coast line was probably that of the old Icknield Way, and was first used by the Romans when they invaded the country. Afterwards when the district was subdued, and Isca occupied and fortified, there arose the necessity for a direct military route from Dorchester to Exeter, and the construction of the inland, *i.e.* the Itinerary, route followed. But the coast line would still continue to be used for non-military purposes.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The Peutinger Table seems to represent [Mo] "*Riduno*" as an inland station on an inland road; and marks it as "xv" miles from "*Isca Dumnoniorū*," also an inland town. See Scheyb; and Gough, *Topog.*, vol. i.

<sup>2</sup> Continuing the sentence above quoted, about the "*vie militaris vestigia*," the learned Doctor adds, "*cisq; Honiton milliare versus aureum* (Fair Mile) *manifestissima*." *Antiq. Brit. Belgicæ*, p. 74.

<sup>3</sup> Sir W. Pole, pp. 161, 168.

<sup>4</sup> The coast road is not rectilinear in direction, nor does it present any Roman names. In 1850, in the parish of Uplyme, on part of Holcombe Farm, were discovered the remains of a villa (*Arch. Journal*, xi, 49); and it is said that a hoard of Roman coin was previously found at the same spot. This villa has again been recently exhumed, and its foundations explored. Its position is indecisive, as it is situated between the two roads, distant about one mile from the lower,

VIII. ISCA DUMNUNIORUM. That this final station of Iter XV was Exeter, no one, until Horsley (1732), is known to have ever questioned. Bartholomew of Exeter, who became bishop of the see, and died in 1185, was surnamed Iscanus; so was Joseph of Exeter, the poet, who flourished in about 1210. Dr. Musgrave, in 1711, writing in Latin, prints "Iscae Dumnuniorum" at the foot of every title page of his book. The sources of Horsley's error have been already too fully dwelt upon to need repetition; it is useful, nevertheless, to see how so earnest and sincere a writer deals with the question. He admits<sup>1</sup> the universal consent up to his day. He further admits "some seeming affinity of names," and he adds, "It is true Exeter appears to be Roman, both from the name and antiquities that have been found there; but I could never yet hear of any military way leading to it or from it, nor indeed the least evidence of any further west than what Dr. Stukeley gives the account of, quoted just before; and I see nothing material said to prove Seaton to be Roman. It is not easy to know what to make of Ptolemy."<sup>2</sup> Nothing can be more just than these admissions; and in our view nothing more conclusive. The name Exanceaster is indeed sufficient; for if it be difficult to find a single "ceaster," "chester," or "eaistor" in England which is not of Roman origin, there is no reason why Exeter should be an exception. Neither could Horsley deny the antiquities, the Roman foundations of the city walls, the Roman streets,<sup>3</sup> the fragments of inscriptions seen by Leland,<sup>4</sup> the pavements,<sup>5</sup> the *cella* containing *penates* of bronze,<sup>6</sup> to which may be added the discoveries, since 1732, of enormous quantities of pottery and glass utensils, and especially of Roman and Greek coins, to the number, it is said, of seventy-five distinct deposits, measuring in one instance half a bushel.<sup>7</sup> These things could not be gainsaid; and, indeed, without labouring a point which is clear to demonstration, it is manifest that had Horsley known what we know of the Roman military way which approaches Exeter from Honiton, he too must have given in his adhesion with the rest of the world, whatever might have been the fate of the subsequent stations, which according to his theory formed part of the long circuitous route from Calleva to Uriconium.

The result of what may be termed the literary history of Iter XV is thus found to be a general *consensus* as to the position of the five main *castella* or fortified citadels, and some uncertainty as to the locality of the four minor halting places. Of three, the position rests solely on the demonstrations of Sir R. C. Hoare, whilst the fourth, Muridunum, may be deemed to be still *sub judice*.

and two miles from the higher. At Seaton, on the other hand, direct proofs of Roman, or Romano-British occupation have recently been brought to light. Specimens are preserved in the Albert Museum, Exeter.

<sup>1</sup> Essay on Ptolemy. *Brit. Rom.*, p. 371.

<sup>2</sup> *Brit. Rom.* p. 462.

<sup>3</sup> Mapped by Mr. Freeman, *Norman Conquest*, iv, 153; subject to corrections by Mr. Kerslake, *Journal* (1873), xxx, 211.

<sup>4</sup> "There appere 2 fragmentes of Inscriptions of the Romaines sette by

chaunce of later tymes in the Town Waulle wid" (vide ?) "on the bak side of [this] House sumtyme longging to the Blak Freres. One of the[m] standith in a Tower of the Waul, [the] other is in [the Waul hardby (the Towrre)."] *Itin.*, vol. iii, fol. 33, p. 47 of the 2nd edition by Hearne.

<sup>5</sup> Stukeley, i, 151; Jenkins' *Hist. of Exeter*, p. 6.

<sup>6</sup> *Archæologia*, vol. vi, 1.

<sup>7</sup> Shortt, *Sylva Antiqua Iscama*, pp. 19-78, 93-108, 119; *Collectanea*, p. 85.

This final conclusion respecting Iter XV seems to be in all respects satisfactory. What course can be imagined more consistent with Roman practice than to erect a fortress within the territories of each tribe, and then to link together these fortresses by direct military roads, forming a network of dominion over the whole island? Thus Calleva would dominate the Atrebatæ, Gwent or Venta the Belgæ, Sorbiodunum the tribes of the plain and of the Wily valley, Durno the Durotriges, and Isca the Dumnnii. And when at length the iron hand of Rome was withdrawn, and a new set of conquerors appeared on the scene, still the districts would be governed from the ancient fortresses, and whilst Wintanceaster became the capital of all Wessex, Searobyrig would remain the capital of the Wilsætas, Dornceaster of the Dornsetas, and Exanceaster of the Defnas.

#### VIEW OF MR. GORDON HILLS.

In this time-honoured and reasonable view of the case Mr. Gordon Hills by no means concurs. As if the subject were untouched by authority, unstudied by the labours of generations, perfectly virgin soil, he takes up Iter XV, and by a novel process of reasoning arrives at the following results. Calleva he allows to be Silchester; for Vindomis he gives Alton in Hampshire; Venta Belgarum he places at Havant; Brige at Titchfield; Sorbiodunum at Bittern; Vindogladia at Winchester; Durnonovaria at Romsey; Muridunum at Wareham; and Isca Dumnniorum at Dorchester. This is more extravagant than even Horsley, for if it was hard to find Dumnnii out of their own region, though no further off than at Chiselborough in Somerset, "so near the borders," as Horsley observes, how much harder is it to find them from twenty to thirty miles off, amongst the Durotriges. And this too in Roman times, when one subject tribe was not likely to be permitted to invade the territories of its neighbour.<sup>1</sup> And where is the Dorsetshire Isca? Horsley found a rivulet called the Axe, six miles from Chiselborough; but many times six miles from Dorchester must be traversed in order to find an Isc, an Axe, or an Usk. Moreover, of what strategic value would such a contracted circuit as this have been to the Romans? For we are dealing now, not with roads made for trade, or the convenience of residents, but with a branch of a military system which extended from Britain to Syria, and from Spain to the Black Sea. What great fortresses would such a route as this unite? How could the tribes of the south-west have been controlled from so distant a post as Dorchester?

#### ON THE ABBREVIATION "M P M."

Mr. Gordon Hills relies very strongly upon measurements made exactly to suit the number of Roman miles appended to the name of each station in the Itinerary. He seems not to be aware of the fact, which has been very little noticed by eminent topographers, even by Horsley and Sir R. C. Hoare, that the abbreviation "m p m" preceding the numeral does not mean "milia passuum" at all. It means "milia plus

<sup>1</sup> There was a time indeed when the Dumnnii, ruled by independent native princes, did "conquer certain tracts of Britain lying beyond the boundaries of

their proper territories"; Guest, *Arch. Journal*, vol. xvi, p. 130. But this was not till after the Romans had ceased to be their masters.

minus," so many miles "more or less;" "about so many miles." So that all accurate measurements with rule and compass are by the conditions of the problem entirely out of the question. As this is a somewhat important matter, and has been little attended to, we may be excused for dwelling upon it somewhat particularly. It is noticed by MM. Parthey and Pinder in their preface. After observing that the abbreviation *it* with which each new route begins has been erroneously rendered *iter*, whereas it really stands for *item*: they proceed—

"To the number of miles are prefixed in the MSS. the letters *m p m* or *m p*. That this is to be rightly explained by *milia plus minus* appears from the Itinerary of Jerusalem, which reads *leugas plus minus*. Surita, nevertheless, on the authority of a MS. in the Escorial, took pains everywhere, instead of *m p m*, to write *m. p.* which is the proper abbreviation for *milia passuum*. He was followed by Wesseling, who ought to have known better."<sup>1</sup>

Accordingly, in turning to the Itinerary from Bordeaux to Jerusalem, we find in the title the phrase "*leugas plus minus*;" and at the beginning of the Itinerary of Antoninus many of the MSS. write out full in the first and second lines the expression "*milia plus minus*" which they afterwards abbreviate to "*m p m*." The point was noticed by Roger Gale, the son, in his preface to his father's posthumous work, though Dr. Gale himself seems to have been unaware of it;<sup>2</sup> and Hearne, in his edition of the Itinerary, invariably prints "*milia plus minus*" at length in the headings of the Itinera. But since this date, circ. 1710, every English writer, so far as the writer is aware, has fallen into the inaccuracy of treating these rough estimates as if they were carefully measured mile distances; and it is startling to think of the amount of minute calculation which must be consigned to oblivion by this rectification alone.

#### ON THE LONGITUDES OF PTOLEMY.

Mr. Gordon Hills, however, does not rest wholly on the mileages of the Itinerary; he leans more confidently on the longitudes assigned to various places by Ptolemy. But will this ground of support prove to be more valid than the other? Let us consider for a moment what the longitudes of Ptolemy really were. That Ptolemy made astronomical observations at Alexandria with the astrolabe is recorded by the historians of astronomy.<sup>3</sup> But the same authorities tell us that Ptolemy had no clocks. Not that the Greeks and Romans had not water clocks, *clepsydræ*, just as they had shadow clocks or sun-dials. But the kind of clock that would be needed to determine the longitude would be a time-keeping clock or chronometer, which set at Alexandria would keep time for any other part of the world to which it might be carried. Can we believe that Ptolemy possessed such an instrument as this? The only other possible method was a simultaneous observation made at Alexandria and at the place of which

<sup>1</sup> "Miliū numeris codices præponunt *m p m* vel *m p*; quod recte per '*milia plus minus*' explicari vel inde patet quod in Itinerario Hierosolymitano legitur *leugas plus minus*." Quamquam Surita ex auctoritate codicis Scorialensis ubique *pro m p m* scribendum curavit M.P., quod

'*milia passuum*' interpretatur. Eum secutus est Wesselingius, etsi meliora edocuit"; *Praf.*, p. xi.

<sup>2</sup> *Pref.*, p. v.

<sup>3</sup> See a paper by Captain Drayson, *Monthly Notices of the Astronomical Society*, xxviii, 207.

the longitude was required, by two observers, of some astronomical event, such as an eclipse of the moon. Is it credible that such a series of observations was made by Ptolemy and his assistants for every place of which he has purported to give the longitude? If not, it must follow, that what are called the longitudes of Ptolemy are not longitudes in the modern sense of the term at all. Whereas the moderns estimate the sea or land space over which they travel by means of clocks or star-reading observations, all that Ptolemy did or could do was to reverse the process, and calculate his meridian distances from the estimated extent of land or sea passed over in travelling. This does, in fact, appear from Chapters xii and xiii of Ptolemy's treatise. So that his so-called longitudes were mere estimates of the true longitude, and a system of elaborate calculations based upon such a foundation must result in faulty calculations. Dr. Hutton, in his *Philosophical Dictionary*,<sup>1</sup> mentions the remarks of very old critics, Cellarius and Salmasius, who question Ptolemy's accuracy, on the ground that he delivers himself with the same fluency and certainty concerning things at the remotest distances, which it was impossible he could know anything of, as he does concerning those which lay nearest to him. But we need not attribute either carelessness or pretentiousness to Ptolemy in order to account for the many errors into which he fell, and which render it impossible to rely with certainty upon his indications of places in Britain. Neither is it his fault that a word not used by him, but adopted as a translation of his process of measurement, should have since come to signify a system of scientific observation of the nature of which he had no idea.

Nor can we imagine that the work of Ptolemy, immeasurably superior as it was to those of his predecessors, ever went through the test of every day service, as did the Itinerary, called that of Antoninus. Compiled as the Itinerary was, from the accumulated notes, preserved at Rome, of military commanders, beginning possibly with Julius himself, and published probably by Marcus Aurelius Antoninus,<sup>2</sup> afterwards surnamed Caracallus (son of Septimius Severus, our British Roman wall builder), it did not remain a stereotyped work. That it was altered from time to time is proved by the occurrence in it of such names as Diocletianopolis, Maximianopolis, Constantinopolis. To such alterations may perhaps be attributed the differences between the summaries of miles and the sums of the station distances. The inference is tolerably plain, that it was a document in constant use, subject to revision from time to time. With such a practical working road book as this, the measurements of the geographers cannot be placed in competition. If the statements of the Itinerary on the one hand, and of Ptolemy or the Ravennate on the other, come into conflict, the presumption must be against the geographers.

The result of all that is extant on this subject seems to shew that in fact a definite conclusion has been arrived at on all the main features of the case. That conclusion is not, we think, likely to be disturbed by either of the essays above referred to. Certainty, so far as it has been attained, will not readily be abandoned. The knot of confusion has been disentangled, and it is useless to revert to complications which are obsolete. An adoption, on the one hand, of errors into which the author of the *Britannia Romana* was unfortunately led, for want of the informa-

<sup>1</sup> Art. Ptolemy.

<sup>2</sup> Parthey and Pinder, Pref. p. vi.

tion we possess, or an attempt, on the other hand, to supersede a long current of observation by a resuscitation of the measurements of the geographer Ptolemy, must be regarded as too retrogressive a step for acceptance at the present day.

### CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF EDITIONS AND AUTHORS.

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Paris Edition (Stephanus)	...	...	1512
Venetian Edition (Aldus)	...	...	1518
Florentine Edition	...	...	1519
Lyons Edition	...	...	1536?
Basle Edition (Simler's notes)	...	...	1575
Harrison in Holinshed's Chronicle,	1st Edition	...	1577
Ib.	2nd Edition	...	1587
Camden, Magna Britannia	1st Edition	...	1586
Cologne Edition (Surita)	...	...	1600
Leyden Edition (Bertius)	...	...	1618
Burton	...	...	1658
Gale	...	...	1709
Hearne	...	...	1710
Musgrave, Antiq. Britanno-Belgiæ	...	...	1719
Stukeley, Itinerarium, 1st Edition	...	...	1724
Horsley, Britannia Romana	...	...	1732
Wesseling	...	...	1735
C. J. Bertram addresses Stukeley	...	...	1747
Borlase, Antiquities of Cornwall	...	...	1754
Richard of Cirencester, Publication of spurious	...	...	1757
Milles, Exeter Antiquities, Archaeologia	...	...	1779
Reynolds, Iter Britanniarum	...	...	1799
Hoare, Sir R. C.	...	...	1821
Bennet, Bishop of Cloyne (Intr. to Lysons' Devon)	...	...	1822
Mannert	...	...	1822
Shortt, Sylva Iscana, and Collectanea	...	...	1841
Lapie, Recueil des Itinéraires	...	...	1845
Parthey and Pinder	...	...	1848
Guest; Salisbury Volume	...	...	1849
Bertram's Forgery exposed	...	...	1852
Woodward's Letters on R. of Cirencester	...	...	1866
Warne's Ancient Dorset	...	...	1872

## RECENT ROMAN DISCOVERIES AT MARYPORT, BECKFOOT AND CIRENCESTER.

By W. THOMPSON WATKIN.

Since the beginning of April Mr. Joseph Robinson of Maryport has been making considerable excavations in the vicinity of the Roman *castrum* at that place, which have resulted in a number of interesting discoveries.

The primary object in view was to trace the Roman road from the great station (*Acclotunum*) at Maryport to the newly discovered *castrum* at Beckfoot, noticed in the *Journal* in December last. This had been satisfactorily done to the fourth field beyond the Maryport station, the road having been uncovered in many places, and found in perfect condition and of the most substantial structure, when on the 17th April two stones were observed slightly projecting above the surface of the ground, which were immediately dug out. One was found to be only the square base of a pedestal or altar. The other stone was found entire, and is most interesting in its features. Its total height is four feet, of which there is, first, a square base fourteen inches high, on which is, secondly, an octagonal shaft one foot ten inches in height, then a nearly circular head one foot high. On the latter there is sculptured, on the front of the stone, a female face or mask face, with two snakes above the head and two fishes under the chin. The whole length of the back of the stone is occupied by the figure of a serpent three feet nine inches in length. The sculpture would seem to belong to a good period of art; but this point may be judged from the accompanying illustrations, which represent the front and back of the entire stone.

In front of the larger stone was a pavement thirteen feet by six, and underneath were several urns containing burnt bone and charcoal. Three stone cists were discovered in the vicinity, two of them containing human remains, also two stones cut to represent fir cones (a well known Roman emblem of immortality), one sixteen inches high, the other nine inches. There was also a portion of a monumental figure, with the head and lower extremities broken off. It resembles several found on the line of the Wall of Hadrian. A portion of another serpent was also found, which had probably been part of the monument of which the base was discovered previously.

It is an interesting question, What is the nature of the larger stone? Is it a tombstone? If so, does it refer to the deceased being a member of any particular sect? The surroundings of the discovery suggest that the spot was one of the usual road-side Roman cemeteries. Again, is it





Roman Tombstone found at Maryport.



probable that it was a medium of worship in the same sense as an altar? I incline to the opinion that we have in it a relic of Gnosticism.

The Rev. C. W. King writes to me as to these stones to the following effect :—

“There can be no doubt they are Phalli, which emblem was a primitive style of tombstone, for example on the tumulus of Alyattes at Sardis, where a gigantic specimen stands to this day.

“The sculptures are Mithraic. Caylus, *Rec. d'Antiquités*, iii, Pl. 94, figures a tablet with a serpent of the same form, inscribed, ‘*Deo invicto Mith. Secundinus dat.*’ It is a marble slab found at Lyons. The serpent forms a regular part of all Mithraic groups, where it is explained as signifying the element water.

“The meaning of the full face mask is not so easy to divine, but may be that of the Gallic sun-god Belenus, who wears a more ferocious aspect than his Greek brother Phœbus-Apollo. The nature of these tombstones seems to imply that they marked the interment of persons initiated into the Mithraic rites. They are certainly the most curious things of the sort that have ever come to light in this country.”

Returning to the second field from the camp Mr. Robinson dug up on the 28th April a rough freestone pavement, apparently leading direct to the spot where the great find of seventeen altars occurred in 1870, and by the side of it was found an altar with the base broken off, inscribed :

I . O . M  
G . CABA  
LLIVS . P  
RISCVS  
TRIBVN

*i.e.*, I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) G(aius) Caballius Priscus Tribun(us). This is the fourth altar dedicated by this officer to Jupiter which has been found at Maryport. From the others we learn that he was the Tribune of the first cohort of the Spaniards. The altar is one foot eleven inches in height.<sup>1</sup>

At the end of the pavement were found the foundations of a building measuring (nearly east and west) forty feet in length and of oblong shape, with an entrance vestibule of six feet, making forty-six feet as the entire length. The breadth is twenty-five feet. The walls were two feet six inches in thickness, and near the north-east angle was the base of an altar *in situ*. In front of the vestibule was a very peculiar pavement. It appears evidently to have been a temple. Can it have been, from the close proximity of the altar of Jupiter, dedicated to that divinity?

On the 1st May, twenty feet to the west of this temple, Mr. Robinson came upon the foundations of a circular building, thirty-four feet in external diameter, with walls two feet thick. In the centre is a large heap of stones, three feet in depth and without order, but the area has not yet been excavated, with the exception of an opening of a foot square in the middle of the heap, which contained nothing but water, and this disappeared in a few days. Above the centre was a coin of Antoninus Pius. On one side of the building was a funeral pyre and a cist, with a layer of charcoal fourteen inches in thickness. The building very strongly resembles one found at Keston (Kent), adjoining the Roman

<sup>1</sup> A heap of broken pottery and four Roman coins were found lying with it.

camp at that place, by the late Mr. T. Crofton Croker, F.S.A. Like this last, it has buttresses.

On the 3rd May a fine altar, which had been inscribed, was dug up, but the inscription had been purposely obliterated, with the exception of two letters at the end of the first line. These letters are ET, and serve to shew that the altar had been dedicated to more than one deity. Probably the inscription commenced in a similar manner to others found in the same place.—

I. O. M. ET  
NVM. AVG.

Two carved heads, which appear to have been portions of a tomb, were found, and also a *Dea Mater*.

Simultaneously with Mr. Robinson's operations, a new quarry has been opened upon the slope of the hill between the camp and the sea. The workmen found a number of squared stones, as if from some building above, and a quantity of pottery, &c. One of the stones bore the inscription :—

LEG. XX.

It is, of course, the mark of the twentieth legion.

Mr. Robinson turned his attention subsequently to this quarter, with a view of preserving any remains which might be found. In this excavation a fine altar three feet five inches high has been dug up, but the inscription is much weathered. As far as I can make it out the inscription is :—

I. O. M.  
N .....  
..... AM  
..... IANA. Q. F.  
HERMIONE.

The base of another small household altar was also found and a number of peculiarly cut stones. Excavations are still proceeding.

The whole of these remains have been added to the already great collection of Roman monuments at Nether Hall, the seat of Mrs. Pocklington Senhouse.

#### BECKFOOT.

In the recent excavations at the *castrum* here an uninscribed altar and a figure of a presumed deity were found. The latter Mr. C. Roach Smith thinks is Diana as Luna Lucifera, but I doubt this appropriation, and consider it to have been a local deity, from the fact of a similar figure existing in the Museum at St. Germain, near Paris, understood generally to be a local divinity.

#### CIRENCESTER.

A Roman altar was found in May during the excavations for the sewerage works in Sheep street, Cirencester. It is thirty inches in height, and was broken into no less than forty-five pieces, but has been put together by Mr. Bowly, the curator of the Museum. It bears on its face the figure of a genius holding, as usual, in the left hand a cornucopia, and with the right pouring out a libation from a patera upon an altar. The inscription has evidently been :—

G. S. HVIVS LOCI

which I would expand, as in other instances where we have the two first words in full :—*Genio Sancto Hujus Loc*i ; but Professor Hübner expands the s. as *Sacrum*.

## Original Documents.

CHARTER BY MARK KER, ABBOT OR COMMENDATOR OF  
NEWBOTTILL, TO HELEN LESLIE AND HER SONS, OF  
LANDS IN THE PARISH OF TEMPLE, CO. EDINBURGH,  
BELONGING TO THE ABBEY, DATED 13 JUNE, 1565.

Communicated by JOSEPH BAIN, F.S.A. Scot.

Omnibus hanc Cartam visuris vel auditoris Marcus Abbas seu Commendatarius monasterij de Newbottill et eiusdem loci conventus, Sancti Andree Diocesis Superioresque terrarum et molendini subscript' Salutem in Domino sempiternam Noveritis nos unanimi consensu et assensu dedisse concessisse et hac presenti carta nostra confirmasse necnon dare concedere et hac presenti carta nostra confirmare honorabili mulieri Helene Leslie in vitali redditu pro omnibus sue vite diebus et Marco Ker eius filio, et heredibus suis masculis de corpore suo legitime procreandis, quibus deficientibus Andree Ker etiam filio dicte Helene et heredibus suis masculis de corpore suo legitime procreandis, quibus deficientibus nobis dicto Marco commendatario et heredibus nostris quibuscunque reversuris Omnes et singulas terras de Huntlawcoit cum molendino de Gledhouss vulgo nuncupato Gledhoussnylne, cum terris molendinariis croftis domibus edificiis hortis earundem et astrictis multuris totius Baronie nostre de Morphet solitis et consuetis Necnon totam illam partem de Toksydehill quam quondam Hugo Dowglas Burgensis de Edinburgh in assedatione habuit cum omnibus suis pertinent' Jacen' in Domino nostro de Morphet infra vice-comitatum de Edinburgh. Quaequidem terre cum molendino terris molendinariis croftis domibus, edificiis et ortis earundem et astrictis multuris antedictis cum singulis suis pertinentiis fuerunt honorabilis viri Joannis Blacater de Tulliallane perprius in feudifirma hereditarie Et quas idem per fustim et baculum ut moris est in manibus nostri dicti Abbatis seu Commendatarii tanquam in manibus Domini sui superioris earundem personaliter apud Edinburgh sursum reddidit pureque et simpliciter resignavit Ac totum jus et clameum proprietatem et possessionem que in eisdem habuit habet seu quovismode habere poterit pro se et heredibus suis omnimodo quieteclamavit in perpetuum Tenendas et Habendas omnes et singulas pre-nominatas terras de Huntlawcoit cum molendino de Gledhouss terris molendinariis croftis domibus edificiis et hortis earundem et astrictis multuris antedictis Necnon terras de Toksydehill predictis cum omnibus suis pertinentibus prefatis Helene Leslie In vitali redditu pro omnibus sue vite diebus et prefato Marco Ker eius filio et heredibus suis masculis de corpore suo legitime procreandis quibus deficientibus dicto Andree

Ker etiam filio dictæ Helene et heredibus suis masculis de corpore suo legitime procreandis quibus deficientibus nobis dicto Marco commendatario et heredibus nostris quibuscunque reversuris de nobis et successoribus nostris dicti Monasterij Abbatibus seu Commendatariis et Conventu in feudifirma et hereditate imperpetuum. Per omnes rectas metas suas antiquas et divisas prout jacent in longitudine et latitudine. In boscis planis domibus edificiis moris maresiis viis semitis aquis stagnis lacubus rivolis pratis pascuis et pasturis aucupationibus venationibus piscationibus petariis turbariis carbonibus carbonariis cuniculis cuniculariis columbis columbariis molendinis multuris et eorum sequelis lignis lapicidiis lapide et calce fabrilibus brasinis brueriis et genestis silvis nemoribus virgultis cum curiis et earum exitibus herezeldis bludewittis et mulierum merchetis cum communi pastura libero introitu et exitu Ac cum omnibus aliis et singulis libertatibus commoditatibus proficuis asianentis ac justis pertinentibus suis quibuscunque Tam non nominatis quam nominatis tam subtilem quam supra terram procul et prope ad predictas terras cum molendino terras molendinarias edificia et astrictas multuras antedictas cum pertinentibus spectantibus seu juste spectare valentibus quomodo libet in futurum. Libere quiete plenarie integre honorifice bene et in pace sine aliqua revocatione impedimento aut obstaculo aliquali. Reddendo inde annuatim dicta Helena durante vita sua Et deinde prefatus Marcus Ker et heredes sue predictæ ac assignati Nobis et Successoribus nostris antedictis summam Viginti unius librarum sex solidorum et octo denariorum usualis monete regni Scotie ad duos anni terminos, festa viz. Penthecoste et Sancti Martini in hieme per equales portiones. Necnon heredes dicti Marci Ker predictæ ac assignati duplicando dictam feudifirmam primo anno eorum introitus ad prefatas terras et molendino prout usus est feudifirme. Ac etiam prefata Helena durante vita sua et postea dictus Marcus Ker heredes sui suprascripti ac assignati prestando tres sectas curie ad tria nostra placita capitalia Baronie nostre de Newbottill annuatim apud monasterium eiusdem tenenda tantum secundum formam nostre infeodationis feudifirme dicto Joanni Blacater suis heredibus et assignatis desuper confectis Pro omni alie onere exactione questione demanda seu servitio seculari que de predictis terris cum molendino et pertinentibus per quoscunque juste exigi poterit quomodo libet vel requiri. Insuper dilectis nostri Joanni Kirkpatrick et Joanni Forsyt ac vestrum cuilibet conjunctem et divisim Ballivis nostris in hac parte specialiter constitutis Salutem, vobis precipimus et mandamus quatenus visis presentibus indilate statum sasinarum hereditariam pariter et possessionem corporalem actualem et realem omnium et singularum prefatarum terrarum de Huntlawcoit cum molendino antedicto terras molendinariiscroftis domibus edificiis et hortis eorundem ac astrictis multuris antedictis ac terrarum de Toksydehill antedictarum et omnibus suis pertinentibus dictæ Helene Leslie in vitali reddito pro omnibus sue vite diebus ac prefato Marco Ker hereditarie vel suis certis actornatis latoribus presentium secundum tenorem prescripte carte nostre que de nostris inde habent juste haberi faciat et deliberetis. Et hoc nullo modo omittatis ad quod faciendum vobis et vestrum cuilibet conjunctim et divisim ballivis nostris antedictis nostram plenariam et irrevocabilem tenore presentium committimus potestatem. In cuius rei testimonium huic presenti carte nostre preceptum sasine in se continenti manibus nostris subscriptis Sigillum ac Capituli nostri est appensum Apud idem nostrum monas-

terium decimo tercio die mensis Junii Anno Domini Millesimo Quingentesimo Sexagesimo quinto.

MARCUS COMMENDATARIUS  
DE NEWBOTIL.

JOHANNES BANNATYNE.

WILLIUS. HAIRLAW.

GORGIVS RYCHARDSON.

THOS. GULD.

This Deed is clearly written on parchment, with contractions, which have been extended. The signatures opposite that of the Abbot are probably those of the monks. The seal (in fair preservation) is still appended. It is in red wax enclosed in white, and vesica shaped. In the upper compartment the Virgin Mary crowned, and seated, under a canopy. In the lower, an ecclesiastic with a nimbus stands holding a pastoral staff in his right hand, and a book (?) in his left. On the right is a small shield with the arms of Scotland. On the left another with the Commendator's family arms, a chevron charged with three stars, and in base a unicorn's head. Below the shield the letters M.K. The legend is:—

“✠ [S. COMM]VNE + MONASTE[R]II + DE + NEVBOTTIL +”

#### ABSTRACT.

Mark, the Abbot or Commendator of the Monastery of Neubottill, and the Convent, Grant to an honourable woman Helen Leslie in liferent, and to Mark Ker her son, and the heirs male lawfully to be procreated of his body; whom failing to Andrew Ker, also son of the said Helene, and the heirs male lawfully to be procreated of his body; whom failing to the said Mark and his heirs whomsoever, the lands of Huntlawcoit, with the Mill of Gledhouss and the astricted miltures<sup>1</sup> of the granter's Barony of Morphet, and all that part of Toksydehill which the late Hugh Douglas burgess of Edinburgh had in lease, lying in the granter's Lordship of Morphet in the Shire of Edinburgh, which lands, mill, &c., belonged to an honorable man, John Blacattir of Tulliallan in fee farm, and were resigned by him in the granter's hands by staff and baton. To be holden by the said Helen Leslie in liferent, and Mark Ker and Andrew Ker and their respective heirs male in succession, whom failing by the said Commendator and his heirs whomsoever, of the granter and his successors Abbots or Commendators of said Monastery in fee farm for ever, Paying therefor annually to them £21 6s. 8d. Scots money at Whitsunday and Martinmas by equal portions, the heirs of the said Mark [junior] or his assigns doubling the same the first year of their entry, and making suit at the three head Courts of the Barony of Newbottill held at the monastery thereof. Signed and sealed by the granters at Newbottill on the 13 June 1565.

The above Grant is a specimen of the Scotch conveyancing of the Reformation era. Its prolix clauses and repetitions show how the elegant brevity and simplicity of the early charters, by which half a shire was often conveyed in a deed of a few lines, were being expanded into the “damnable iteration”—the disgrace of Northern conveyancing—which has been with difficulty extinguished within the present generation, by the successive efforts of enlightened Lords Advocate.

The chief interest of the Document, however, is centred in the granter

<sup>1</sup> *i.e.*, the miller's dues for grinding corn.

and grantees. Though nothing in the deed shows this, they stood in very close relationship. Abbot Mark Ker was (so far as a churchman could be) the husband of Helen Leslie, to whom he grants the lands in liferent and *her* [he does not say *his*] two sons successively in fee. The "Abbot or Commendator," as he styles himself, was a type of the Scottish Churchmen of the day, who, by accommodating themselves to the new order of things, secured the temporalities of the religious houses over which they presided for their own families. Many, as the records show, were dissolute persons, and provided for their illegitimate offspring; but Abbot Mark was of a different stamp, and founder of the distinguished House of Lothian, the present head of which has shown a noble example to his countrymen in the care and munificence with which he has restored the beautiful ruins of Jedburgh.

In Douglas' *Peerage of Scotland* (Wood's Edition) ii, p. 130, the following account is given of Mark Ker and his immediate descendants. "Mark Ker, second son of Sir Andrew Ker of Cessford, entering into Holy Orders, was promoted in 1546<sup>1</sup> to the dignity of Abbot of Newbottle, which station he possessed at the Reformation of 1560, when he renounced the profession of Popery, and held his benefice in commendam. He had the vicarage of Lintoun, co. Peebles, for life, 26th March 1564, got a Charter under the Great Seal to Mark Ker, Commendator of Newbottle, and Helen Lesly his wife, of the lands of East and West Bernis, in the Constabulary of Haddington, 13 May 1567; was appointed one of the Extraordinary Lords of Session, 20th April 1569, and died in 1584. He married Lady Helen Lesly, second daughter of George, 4th Earl of Rothes, and by her had

1. Mark [his successor].
2. Andrew, of Fentoun.
3. George, mentioned in Robertson's History as an Emissary from the Catholic Noblemen to the Court of Spain 1592.
4. William.

And a daughter Catherine, m. William, Lord Herries.

II. Mark, Master of Requests, 20 March 1577, confirmed therein in 1581. On the death of his father, the Commendatorship, to which Queen Mary had provided him in 1567, was ratified to him by Letter under the Great Seal, 24th August 1584;<sup>2</sup> was made an Extraordinary Lord of Session, *loco patris*, 12th Nov. 1584."

He was the first Earl of Lothian, so created by patent 10th February, 1606, to him and the heirs male of *his body* [according to Douglas]; but Riddell<sup>3</sup> says to his "heirs male" simply, without the limitation. He had at least two sons (1) Robert, second Earl, and (2) Sir William Ker of Blackhope.

III. Robert, second Earl of Lothian, succeeded his father under the patent, and died on 15th July, 1624, leaving two daughters *only*. The undoubted heir male, his brother Sir William, then assumed the dignities of Earl of Lothian and Lord Newbottle, retaining the title for seven

<sup>1</sup> This date is wrong. From a Deed in the Glorat Charter Chest, dated 18th January 1556-7, the then Abbot was James [Hassmell], and Mark Ker, styled "Magister Marcus Ker," was only third in the order of precedence in the Convent.

<sup>2</sup> The original of this document, with about two thirds of James VI's Great Seal appended, is still in the Glorat Charter Chest.

<sup>3</sup> Peerage and Consistorial Law, vol. i. p. 73.



years. Earl Robert, however, was *said* to have resigned his honours to James VI, who made a re-grant, *said* to have been confirmed by Parliament, to Lady Ann Ker, his eldest daughter and heiress, and her husband Sir William Ker, eldest son of Robert, 1st Earl of Ancrum, through which, and some subsequent transactions, closed by a patent by Charles II. in 1678, the Lothian earldom is held by the Kers descended of Fernherst. But Mr. Riddell<sup>1</sup> shews from authorities that the second earl never resigned his *honours*; there was no re-grant of these by James VI. or any confirmation by Parliament. He did resign his *Estates*, however, in favour of the heirs male of his body, whom failing, his eldest heir female (under which destination his daughter and her husband eventually took) and these were duly granted by the King, and the grant ratified by Parliament in 1621. The subject is too technical to be discussed here; but there are some singular circumstances connected with it. Charles I. interfered directly to extinguish the claims of Sir William Ker of Blackhope, the heir male of the first patentee, as appears by a curious letter of 30th October, 1631 (Register of Secretary Alexander), much as he did in the famous Stratherne case about the same time, where he forced William Graham the heir of the lawful Stewart line and possessor of "the reddest blood of Scotland" as in an evil hour he boasted, to resign the earldom of Stratherne and Menteith and take the inferior title of Airth in a high-handed fashion that a sovereign could scarcely venture to attempt now. Thus, like the present remarkable position of the double earldom of Mar, there *may* be two earldoms of Lothian—one under the original patent of 1606, devolving on the heir male (whoever he is) of the Kers of Cessford or Roxburghe; the other under the second patent of 1631, in which Charles I. "created" Sir William Ker (of Ancrum), husband of the heiress, Earl of Lothian and Lord of Newbottle, now enjoyed by his representative the present Marquess of Lothian. This noble house has produced many scions who have distinguished themselves in the service of their country.

The site of Newbottle, chosen with that eye to the picturesque which distinguished the Cistercian monks, in a pleasant haugh or holm, half encircled by the river Esk, is very charming. It was one of the foundations of David I, and was a favourite place of resort of the Scottish kings. Such parts of the monastic buildings as remain have been incorporated with the mansion of the Lothian family, which, in its name, Newbottle Abbey, perpetuates the memory of its early owners.

The deed that has suggested these remarks is, with some others connected with the Newbottle estates, in the archives of Sir Charles E. F. Stirling, Baronet, of Glorat, who has permitted the use of it with the liberality that on other occasions has been shewn by his predecessors in regard to their family muniments.

<sup>1</sup> Peerage and Consistorial Law, vol. i, pp. 73-82.

NOTE OF A GRANT OF LANDS AT DOCKING (CO. NORFOLK?) AND SEAL WITH UNUSUAL INSCRIPTION APPENDED.

Exhibited by Mr. R. READY at the Monthly Meeting of the Institute,  
April 1st, 1880.

John Luvel son of Sir John Luvel Lord of Suthemere, grants to Martin son of Ranulph of Sutnemere, and Miriella his wife and their heirs for their homage and service, 91 ac. 3½ roods "in the fields of Docking." The lands consist of 52 parcels, varying in extent from 1½ roods to 8 acres, and are enumerated by descriptive bounds and names, doubtless of interest locally. The only "reddendo" is a rose at Midsummer yearly in lieu of all services. The witnesses are Sir Hervey de Stanhowe, Sir Roger de Toftes, Sir James Luvel, Sir Nicholas de Dockingge and others. It is fairly written on a skin of about 12 inches square, and 33 lines. It is without date, and probably early in the reign of Edward I, or late in that of Henry III.

The seal, in brown wax, here engraved, shows a triangular shield, bearing the arms of Lovel, three bars nebulée, and a label of three points. The inscription "Signum eius cuius egis," may be read "His signet whose the shield [is]." There is a contemporary indorsement, "Carta Martini de Suthemere de quatuor ving (*sic*) acris terrar' in campis de Dockingg"; and some later possessor of the deed in the seventeenth century has added another—"An old deed without date of 811 acres 1 rood and a halfe of lands in Boxworth." There is a Docking in the extreme N.W. of Norfolk, which may be that named in the grant. J.B.



## Proceedings at Meetings of the Royal Archaeological Institute.

April 1, 1880.

C. S. GREAVES, Esq., Q.C., in the Chair

Mr. J. B. DAVIDSON read a paper "On the Twelfth and Fifteenth Itinera of Antoninus," in which he ably dealt with the various treatises of his predecessors in the same field, from the industrious studies of the sixteenth century to the papers by Bishop Clifford and Mr. Gordon Hills. With reference to these latest productions, Mr. Davidson noticed that the authors put forward their views regardless of the successes or failures of all previous essayists and of the traditions of the matters at issue, notwithstanding that a consensus had actually been arrived at on the main features involved. He considered the numerous editions of the Iters, both English and foreign, the main object of his paper being to weigh the case fairly as it was considered by the men of old, the entire question being handled with exceeding minuteness and learning. Mr. Davidson dealt with the novel process of reasoning with which Mr. Gordon Hills had departed from the line of existing tradition as regards the Fifteenth Iter, and expressed his surprise that the military road to the south-west of Britain could, with any controlling power, have ended at such a distant post as Dorchester. Mr. Hills's position being based upon accurate measurements to suit the number of Roman miles was further contested by the fact that the abbreviation of M.P.M., preceeding the numerals, does not mean *millia passuum*, but *millia plus minus*, so that all accurate measurements with rule and compass are out of the question. Mr. Davidson's reading of M.P.M. was certainly supported, as was also his reading of the abbreviation "it" for *item* instead of *iter*, by ancient and other strong authorities. Mr. Hills's confident use of the longitudes of Ptolemy was also vigorously combated, and the author concluded his paper with a careful survey of the routes of the Iters in question.

The CHAIRMAN spoke in high terms of the labour that had been bestowed upon a most difficult and intricate subject, and, with regard to the, to himself, new rendering M.P.M., doubted whether the Roman engineers would have measured a route, set up milestones, and recorded on them that the distances were uncertain.

Mr. Davidson's paper is printed at page 300.

The REV. E. PENDARVES GIBSON read a paper "On the Parish Registers of Stock and Ramsden Bellhouse, Essex," giving many interesting extracts concerning collections on briefs, excommunications, fees, affidavits, &c.

The CHAIRMAN, Mr. T. H. BAYLIS, and others took part in a discussion with regard to the value and interest of Church Registers, specially re-

ferring to notices of affidavits and excommunications. Respecting the latter documents the Chairman alluded to an example in the registers of Chelmonton, near Buxton, for the following copy of which he was indebted to Mr. Fairless Barber :—

“Vicario servanti (? servienti) Ecclesie parochiæ de Bakwell.

“xxx<sup>o</sup> die mensis Augusti

Anno dñ<sup>no</sup> 1607.

“Absolvitur Richardus Godwine de Chelmonton parochiæ de Bakwell prædictæ a pœna (?) excommunicationis alias contra eundem latâ et pronulgatâ in non comparando coram venerabilibus viris Domino presidente et Capitulo Ecclesie Cathedralis Lichfieldensis certo die et loco eidem Richardo assignatis, ad sectam prenobilis viri Gilberti, Comitis Salopiæ, et prenobilis femine, Elizabethæ, Comitisse Salopiæ Dotale ; et in sacramentis matris (?) ecclesie et communionem fidelium restituitur.

“Tho. Glasier,

“Registrarius.

“hec verba superscripta cum originali probata et omnia concordant.”

We are also indebted to Mr. Greaves for the following note :

“Gilbert, Earl of Shrewsbury, was the son of George, Earl of Shrewsbury, whom the celebrated “Bess of Hardwick” married for her fourth husband ; but had no issue by him. Her monument in All Saints, Derby, states that she died ‘xiii die mensis Februarii, anno 1607-8.’ See Lysons’ *Derbyshire*, 115, for an account of this extraordinary lady. The earl, her husband, died in 1590. In 1282, two-thirds of the tithes of Chelmonton belonged to the Priory of Lenton in Nottinghamshire, and the Duke of Devonshire was impropiator in 1805, and there can be no doubt from this record that George, Earl of Shrewsbury, owned the tithes, and that they descended on his death to Gilbert, subject to the dower of ‘Bess of Hardwick,’ and this explains why she is described as dotata (endowed), and why she and Gilbert joined in the suit, which plainly was for the recovery of tithes. The whole law of excommunication is in Burn’s E. L. ; but it is well worth anyone’s while to refer to Spelman’s *Glossary*, if he desires to be amused by a collection of curses, which no one would imagine could have been invented. Excommunication was the regular process where a party failed to appear to answer to a suit in the Ecclesiastical Court, and it issued out of the Bishop’s Court ; for the Bishop by virtue of his office was *judex ordinarius* in his diocese.”

Votes of thanks were passed to Mr. Davidson and Mr. Gibson.

### Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

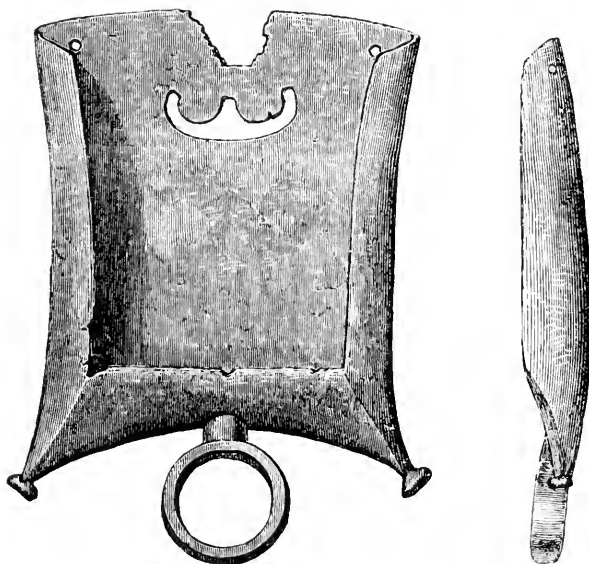
By MR. J. STEWART HODGSON.—An oval snuff-box of silver, 3 inches by 2½, the lid inlaid on the outside with a thin piece of the Royal Oak, in the centre of which is the well known oval medallion of Charles I. On the under side of the box is engraved a representation of the Royal Oak, shaped in silver, with the head of Charles II in profile, to the left, in the branches ; over the head, on a scroll, is the inscription, LAESAE MAJESTATIS ASYLUM, and under it, ZIGNUM VITAE. An angel offers three crowns on the right and a dove flies away to the left. On a silver foreground are two troopers, and at the foot of the tree on the stem is the following inscription—SACRA JOVI CAROLOQUE QUERCUS. The field of the picture is oak. Inside the lid appears the back of the medallion with the

royal arms surmounted by the crown and surrounded by the garter, the rest of the inside being plain silver gilt.

By Mr. P. E. MASEY.—A collection of antiquities found in the City of London, Mr. Masey was kind enough to contribute the following account of these objects:—

“In the erection of the new office of the Submarine Telegraph Company at the corner of London Wall and Throgmorton Avenue, the foundations had to be carried down to a depth of twenty-four feet, when the London clay was reached. The first eight feet was rubbish, then two feet of black soil, then running sand, at about fifteen feet gravel. At this level there appeared to be what has been thought a Roman road, crossing the site diagonally. It was twelve feet broad and about nine inches thick, of hard gravel. At this level the Roman remains were found. There was a small bronze figure, a bronze utensil of uncertain use, here engraved, a great quantity of broken Samian ware, the generality of it with the usual ornament, one piece had an exceptionally well modelled figure, and some of them were stamped with makers’ names. There was a great quantity of other pottery, mostly broken red, black, and grey ware, and portions of glass bottles, sandals, shoes, deer and goat horns, oyster and cockle shells in abundance, also keys, nails, and spinelle whorls. At the building of the neighbouring Carpenter’s Hall similar things were found, and can now be seen there.

The most remarkable of the above mentioned objects is that here figured, said to be of bronze, and which has more the appearance of



Half Linear.

brass. It is, perhaps, an open question whether this and some others of the objects found are strictly of the Roman period. For instance, a sandal leather, bearing traces of blue colour, exhibited certain delicacy and style of workmanship that might be almost referred to the thirteenth

century, while another nailed sole of a lady's shoe took the peculiar shape so familiar to us in illuminated MSS. of that period. And with further regard to this leather work, it may also be borne in mind that sand and gravel are distinctly destroying and not preserving agencies.

The fact of broken Samian ware having been found in abundance seems to point to a Roman refuse heap, and the extraordinary changes that the surface of the city has undergone would easily account for the juxtaposition of articles of a much later period.

By Mr. R. READY.—Copy of the seal and counter seal of the Abbey of Holy Cross, Waltham, attached to a deed preserved in Salisbury Cathedral, dated 1276, before the ornamental borders were added to the matrices.

The same seal with the ornamental borders.

Signet of William de Harleton, Abbot of Waltham.

Seal of the Guild of St. John the Baptist at Bristol.

Grant of lands at Docking, (see Original Documents, p. 328) with seal attached, bearing the legend + SIGNVM EIVS CIVIS EGIS, a variation of such usual forms of attestation as "teste sigillo," and "tesmoing mon seel ei mis."

May 6, 1880.

COLONEL PINNEY, V.P., in the Chair.

Dr. HAMILTON read a paper on "Two hitherto undescribed Vitrified Forts on the West Coast of Scotland." The author shewed that vitrified forts were not volcanic in their origin, nor sacrificial structures, but strongholds, shewing evident marks of design, and probably intended for defence, though they might serve as beacons. They stood for the most part—as in the case of the two now commented upon—at the edge of lofty rocks, guarding the entrances to inland bays and lochs, and the stones of which they are composed were artificially fused together at the top and sides, while the inner portion of the stones cohered naturally. This showed that the fire by which the materials were fused was applied externally. The existence of such forts had first been discovered about a century ago by John Williams, a mining engineer, who read a paper upon them before the Royal Society of Edinburgh, and they were also mentioned by the antiquary Pennant. Some antiquaries thought that they were used as places for purifying and smelting ores. Daines Barrington, on the contrary, held to the theory that they were of volcanic origin. Dr. Hamilton's opinion was that these forts were erected for the purposes of defence by the early Celtic inhabitants of the Highlands, but that they were afterwards re-occupied by their conquerors, and he illustrated the manner in which the stones that surrounded them were fused into a solid mass, by quotations from Professor Ramsey's account of a similar process which he had seen in operation near Barnsley and in other parts of Yorkshire.

In the discussion that followed, Mr. O. MORGAN spoke in high terms of the able manner in which a somewhat mysterious subject had been treated and satisfactorily cleared up. Dr. Hamilton's paper is printed at page 227.

Mr. F. C. J. SPURRELL read the following "Account of Neolithic Flint Mines at Crayford, Kent."

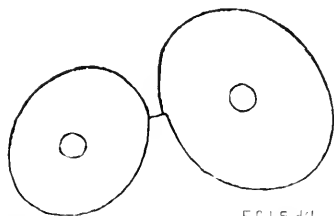
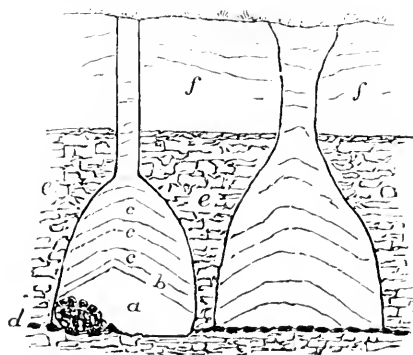
"As instances of mines for procuring flint with the object of making

implements (which should serve all the purposes that metals do now) are still rare, a note on some which can now be seen conveniently at Crayford, Kent, may not be unacceptable.

"At Crayford is a large chalk pit a mile north-eastward of the parish church, and being situated on an old river cliff, the chalk crops out, but lightly covered with gravel and chalk rubble. Here, at a depth of twenty-five to fifty feet, is easily reached a pretty good layer of flint, and the flint workers have accordingly sunk several pits in order to reach it.

"In the side of the great chalk pit, whose origin was a shaft belonging to this series of ancient caves, are exposed at present three flint mines and portions of two more, which have been worked later for procuring chalk.

"Indications of several more exist near two of these caves, which are within three feet three inches of each other, and are still exposed in the side of the pit. One of them (the eastern) measured from the surface to the chalk about eighteen feet, thence to the floor seventeen feet six inches; the floor was of flint, about six to nine inches thick, which had been taken up at one part and piled in a heap on the other side of the cave. About a quarter or perhaps a third of the area (an irregular oval of eighteen feet diameter) had been so treated.



F.C.I.S. 471

a. Neolithic layer.  
b. Roman layer.  
c. Post Roman.

d. Stratum of flint.  
e. Chalk.  
f. Sand and gravels.

"From this floor rose an obtuse cone of sandy clay six feet high, washed in very *slowly* and *evenly* by the rain, in the cone were found several flakes, one worked scraper, and a block of flint which might have been called a core, for it had begun to be regularly chipped, but no pottery was found so low as this; above this lay coarser soil, and humps of chalk with several sorts of broken pottery; very coarse, black, spongy pot,

scarcely baked, containing a large quantity of crushed shells not calcined, a few pieces of pot made with coarsely pounded chalk : then Upchurch or similar black ware, a Samian plate, and the usual rubbish of a Roman midden. The mass of pottery which could not have represented less than 150 vessels, consisted chiefly of pipkins and cooking pots, squat wide-mouthed jars, with the marks of fire and soot without, and dried crust of food remaining at the bottom within. It is of design derived from Roman models, but the ornament of the coarsest is only finger nail marks, and much of it was made by hand without a wheel. All this pottery mixed with bones and fragments of iron made a layer of about a foot in thickness.

"The bones represent food, and are all those of young animals ; they comprise pig, ox (*bos longifrons*), horse, sheep or goat, small deer, dog, a few bird bones, of which the goose is one kind. The large quantity of shells of the banded snail were also the remnants of food, for they lack the calcareous dirt within, shewing that they had been emptied : a good supply of oysters seems to have been attainable.

"On the surface around this cluster of mines are plenty of surface chips, and the simpler worked instruments, but it is obvious that in the one just described, but few chips, above or below ground, could be expected, seeing that the working of the product had but just begun.

"There are no signs around of any Roman building.

"The sister cave, from bad management in the digging, fell in early and was soon obliterated.

"Another mine further west was worked on a different principle, the centre was open down to fifteen feet, then smaller caves around, beyond the central area ten feet lower, reaching the layer of flint : flaking in this cave went much further, and a fire was lighted within. Possibly it served as a living place. It is not yet fully explored, and from its position cannot be reached at present.

"These caves present no marks which indicate the means by which they were dug, no pick-marks, and there is but one conclusion that the blocks were prized out, perhaps with wood, or horn.

"The time which has elapsed since the deposit of Roman remains we can calculate, and it is reasonable to date the commencement of the deposit of mud and the abandonment of the cave at half that period earlier."

Mr. Spurrell's paper was followed by a discussion, in which Mr. Sparvel-Bayly, Mr. Morgan, and others took part.

Votes of thanks were passed to Dr. Hamilton and Mr. Spurrell.

### **Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.**

By Dr. HAMILTON.—Diagrams, sketches and plans in illustration of his paper, and pieces of vitrified stone from the forts described in his paper.

By Mr. F. C. J. SPURRELL.—Flint flakes, pottery, bones and other objects described in his paper, the most noticeable among the pottery being the following objects :—Two black pipkins of coarse ware ; two black wide-mouthed jars ; a very thin black bottle (three pints) ; two red bottles of glazed ware with handles ; a Samian dish, 9½ in. wide ; half of a small black drinking cup ; a brown wide-mouthed bottle ; a large pot of unburnt black clay 9 in. high and 15 wide, containing shells, marked with the



finger nail; and other specimens; all were probably made on the Thames, except the Samian.

Mr. Spurrell also exhibited a gilt and enamelled badge, here figured, full-size, found near Dartford Priory. This is no doubt a pendant ornament of horse trapping. The coat—Gilt, three griffins passant—does not appear in Berry's edition of Glover's Ordinary.

By Mr. J. A. SPARVEL-BAYLY.—A collection of vessels of pottery and glass from Cyprus. Mr. Sparvel-Bayly has been good enough to contribute the following notes upon them:—

"The objects of pottery and glass, though perhaps of somewhat unusual size, fairly represent the contents of the large number of tombs of the primitive inhabitants excavated during the last few years; and afford us some idea of the manners, customs, and artistic attainments of their original possessors. They were discovered during the year 1878, in the district of Paphos, or south-western part of the island of Cyprus, in the immediate neighbourhood of the great discoveries made by M. de Cesnola, and were taken from tombs hollowed out in the earth, or rock, so as to greatly resemble in form the oven now in common use in all parts of the East. The collection comprises:—



"Nine clay lamps, several of superior workmanship. Two winged figures; one has its interior ornamented with a rose pattern, and is almost mediæval in appearance. One is ornamented with a design apparently representing two human beings, carrying a third, or some object for sacrifice. Several of these lamps bear evident traces of usage.

"Two basins or bowls of a fine thin light coloured clay, the larger one ornamented by a band of red colour nearly one inch wide round the outside of its rim.

"One large bowl of highly glazed red ware.

"Three large light buff-coloured Pinakes or plates, each with two triangular handles for suspension, the backs or outsides ornamented by a simple arrangement of circles in black paint, the insides destitute of any colour.

"Two smaller plates of thick, heavy, buff-coloured ware, with one triangular hook for suspension, the backs elaborately ornamented with various devices in black and red.

"One utensil formed of a light coloured ware with hinge, apparently the lid of some vessel.

"Three small ampullæ of elegant shape, made of buff coloured clay, one fitted with a stopper, evidently intended to contain some liquid scent.

"One ampulla made of a light coloured clay, but having apparently been stained to a purple colour. It is seven inches high, with a foot about one inch in diameter.

"A vase with one handle, of light red ware, of very beautiful form, nine inches high, embellished with raised lines forming heart-shaped devices.

"A vase eight inches high with handle, made of buff coloured clay.

decorated with various concentric circles in black and red, and a simple black diamond-shaped design.

"An ampulla or jug with handle and pinched-in neck, made of a darker ware, ornamented with black lines and circles.

"One water bottle for suspension with holes containing fragments of the leather thong used to suspend it. It is made of a light-coloured clay, and is (the neck missing) eight inches long and as many wide.

"One barrel-shaped vase of very light clay, the sides rather compressed and each ornamented by four black circles enclosing a four-spoked wheel. The neck is surrounded with black rings; and the front from the neck round to the handle decorated by two bands of four stripes each; between the bands is a string of diamond-shaped ornaments all in black paint.

"A larger barrel-shaped vase made of similar clay, about ten inches wide and of the same length, profusely ornamented with circles in black and red paint. On the front is a spirited painting in black and red of some aquatic bird, probably a duck; above the beak are three wave-like figures. Unfortunately a piece is broken from the back of this interesting object.

"A large ampulla or jug of light ware, holding about two quarts, the top, as usual, much pinched in; the ornamentation consists of black circular lines; around the neck are some rudely scratched characters.

"A highly glazed red vase with two necks, united by a scroll to form the handle. The whole of this beautiful vase is covered with incisions made in the clay when soft, forming a series of circles and lines arranged both parallel and at various angles to each other.

"The head of a bull made of a very hard red clay, one horn missing, the remaining one very long for the size of the head.

"Various small articles of light coloured clay, one probably representing a mask. Such objects are, I know not with what authority, frequently termed 'toys.'

"Some fragments of a bowl made of a very light clay, rudely ornamented by bands of red paint.

"Two vases,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches high and 3 inches wide, made of thin green glass, one slightly flawed, the other perfect.

"A pair of elegant green glass vases,  $7\frac{1}{2}$  inches high, perfect.

"Two small glass bottles of the kind usually termed 'lachrymatories' and with the above described glass vessels probably contained the unguents and aromatics usually deposited with the dead."

MR. SPARVEL-BAYLY also exhibited a collection of casts of 136 official, ecclesiastical and corporate seals of the county of Essex.

By LORD ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL.—A demi-suit of Harquibusier's armour, from the Cuminghame collection, assigned to the period of the Commonwealth.

By MR. W. THOMPSON WATKIN.—Photographs of a remarkable stone lately discovered at Mæyport. Mr. Watkin's notes upon this and other recent Roman discoveries are printed at p. 320.

By the REV. J. E. WALDY.—Impression from a heavy gold ring, showing an open wallet divided inside into five compartments, buckling in front with three straps, and surrounded by the legend *wulgan du porde*, which is, however, not very distinct. This fine late fifteenth

century ring was lately found at Bath, in the course of the operations for putting a new floor to the baths.

By Mr. C. J. THURUP.—An iron mace, consisting of a stem with the head formed of eight projecting flanges, said to have been used by Sir W. Walworth against Wat Tyler. It is probably well-known that historians differ as to the precise manner of Wat Tyler's death. The balance of opinion, however, seems to be in favour of his first having been struck on the head with a mace and then finished with a dagger. In any case the mace in question was not the weapon used, for it was pronounced by Mr. Bernhard Smith to be Indian.

By the Rev. W. LOFTIE.—A valuable collection of ancient Egyptian gold ornaments and scarabs.

# Royal Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland.

## BALANCE SHEET FOR THE YEAR 1879.

### RECEIPTS.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
To Balance at Bank, 1st January, 1879 (less payments made in 1879 in respect of Debts due in 1878)	-	132	4	8		
" " Petty Cash "	-	24	9	6		
					156	14
" Annual Subscriptions, including arrears and payments in advance, less £3 3s. deducted from Utting's bill	450	9	0			
" Entrance Fees	-	18	18	0		
" Subscriptions to General Index	-	14	8	0		
" Sale of Publications, etc.	-	116	5	11		
" Legacy, per the Exors. of the late John Henderson, Esq.	100	0	0			
					700	0
" Miscellaneous Receipts:						
Dividend on Investment in New 3 per cent. Consols	3	4	8			
Balance of Account of Taunton Meeting	-	195	0	5		
					198	5

### EXPENDITURE.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
By Publishing Account—						
Engraving, etc., for Journal	-	119	0	2		
Less deducted from Utting's bill for subscription (see other side)	-	3	3	0		
					115	17
W. Pollard, printing	-	212	19	4		
Editing Journal (including 2 quarters in arrear on 31st December, 1878)	-	60	0	0		
					388	16
" House Expenses—						
Rent of Apartments, one year	-	155	0	0		
Secretary's Salary (including 1 quarter in arrear on 31st December, 1878)	-	125	0	0		
W. S. Johnson, printing—						
Partridge and Cooper, stationery	-	59	6	0		
Bywater and Co., repairs	-	23	18	8		
Advertisement ( <i>Adieu</i> )	-	12	13	1		
Culleton, engraving Seal	-	7	13	0		
Housekeeper, and Sundries	-	8	14	0		
					13	3
					405	8
" Petty Cash included in Taunton Accounts (see other side)					5	0
" By Petty Cash Account—						
Office Expenses, Messenger, etc.	-	76	9	1		
Postage stamps, delivery of Journal, etc.	-	44	11	5		
Gas	-	16	4			
Cabs, omnibuses, portage, etc.	-	4	10	11		
Carriage of parcels, booking, etc.	-	6	1	9		
Stationery and office expenses	-	8	11	6		
					141	0

<p>„ Messrs. Coutts— Loan to the Institute on 3rd March, 1879</p>	200 0 0	<p>„ Messrs. Coutts— 1879, March 3, Repayment of Loan of 31st May, 1878 (by fresh Loan of 3rd March, 1879) - 200 0 0 „ May 9, Repayment of Loan of 3rd March, 1879 200 0 0 Interest on above Loans - 9 7 11 ----- 409 7 11</p>
<p>„ Investment Account— Amount realised from Sale of £220 New 3 per cent. Consols</p>	212 11 6	<p>„ Balance at Bank 31st December, 1879— Per Banker's Pass Book - 150 14 2 Reduced by following payments in 1880 in respect of Debts of 1879— A. Hartshorne - 25 0 0 Petty Cash - 15 0 0 F. Walker - 38 15 0 ----- 78 15 0 ----- 101 13 2</p>
		<p>„ Cash in hands of Secretary (being for subscriptions received in 1879, paid into Bank on 22nd January, 1880) 7 6 9 „ Petty Cash in hand - - - 8 12 1 ----- 117 18 0 ----- £1467 11 8</p>
		<p>Audited and found correct, } JOHN W. FOSTER, } Auditors. 28th July, 1880, } T. HENRY BAYLIS, }</p>

Presented to the Meeting of Members at Lincoln, July, 1880, approved and passed,  
(Signed) TALBOT DE MALAHIDE, *Chairman*.



## Archaeological Intelligence.

ON THE SITE OF TUNNOCELM. We have received the following from Mr. W. Thompson Watkin :—

“The subject of the site of the Roman station *Tunnocelum* being one which is at present exciting considerable interest, I venture to reproduce the substance of a letter which I communicated to a now defunct newspaper, the *South Shields Daily Despatch*, as far back as October, 1875, stating the grounds which seemed to me to form a basis for fixing the site of this station on the Cumberland coast, rather than at the mouth of the Tyne, whilst at the same time I brought forward the ideas of those antiquaries who preferred to place the station on the eastern coast :—

“Neither the Antonine Itinerary, nor the Geography of Ptolemy, name the Roman station *Tunnocelum*. Indeed, by that name it occurs solely in the *Notitia Imperii*, where under the head of *Item per lineam valli* a list of twenty-three stations is given in succession, with the names of their garrisons, which we know were not *all on* the Wall. The 14th, 15th, 16th, 17th, and 18th in the list are respectively *Aballaba*, *Con-gavata*, *Axelodunum*, *Gabrosentæ*, and *Tunnocelum*. In vol. xxviii of the *Archæological Journal*,<sup>1</sup> I shew from the evidence of inscriptions found on the sites, that the three first were now represented by Papecastle, Moresby, and Ellenborough (all in Cumberland). Since then Dr. Bruce, Professor Hübner and Dr. McCaul of Toronto have recognised the correctness of my views as to the first and third of these stations, while on the other they are doubtful. With regard to *Gabrosentæ* and *Tunnocelum*, they are stated by the *Notitia* to have been garrisoned by the second cohort of the Thracians, and the Aelian cohort of marines. Inscriptions by a force of marines (the epithet Aelian is not given) and an inscription by the second cohort of the Thracians have both been found in Cumberland, but none by those forces have been found on the east coast. Combining this with the fact that these two stations are placed by the *Notitia* immediately after *Axelodunum* (as if in the same neighbourhood) we have a *prima facie* hypothesis as to their locality, which is strengthened by other facts. The two inscriptions which bear upon *Tunnocelum* are—

PED  
CL . BRIT

and

PED . CLA  
BRI

From a manuscript in the Cottonian collection in the British Museum we learn that the first of these was found in a vault at Tredermaine Castle.

<sup>1</sup> In an article written in May, 1870.

It was afterwards (during the last century) preserved in a wall at Naworth Castle, but is now unfortunately lost. The second appears to have been found in the neighbourhood of Netherby. At the close of the last century it was preserved at Hoddam Castle, but is now in Sir F. U. Graham's collection at Netherby. The reading of both of these stones is *Pedatura classis Britannicae*, i.e., 'The ground of the British fleet.'

"Again, an inscription found at Camerino in Italy (Orelli, No. 804) tells us that Marcus Maenius Agrippa, who was a personal friend of the Emperor Hadrian, and commander of the first cohort of the Spaniards at Ellenborough, was also Prefect or Admiral of the British fleet. It was probably through this intimacy of the commander with the Emperor that both the first cohort of the Spaniards and the cohort of Marines adopted the epithet of *Ælia* from the family name of Hadrian. This officer has left several altars bearing his name at Ellenborough.

"I do not think that Netherby could have been *Tunnocelum*, as it is some miles from the sea, but it will be of interest to state that Leland, in his Itinerary compiled in the reign of Henry VIII, says that the river (Esk) came close up to the station, and that men then alive remembered having seen rings and staples in the walls as if for mooring ships. In the Antonine Itinerary, compiled circa A.D. 140, the name of this station is distinctly given as *Castra Exploratorum*, but it is to be remembered that this was before the advance of the Roman armies into Scotland, and as the *Notitia* was compiled two centuries and a half later, it is not likely that at that late period it would still bear the name of 'The camps of the Exploratores.' These 'exploratores' were, as their name implies, a body of light troops acting as scouts, in advance of the main body of the army which was then stationed on the Wall. Yet no other name has been preserved. It is also interesting to note that the other cohort commanded personally by the British Admiral (1st of the Spaniards) was removed to Netherby, subsequently to its assuming the title of *Ælia*, as we find by inscriptions which it has left.

"The anonymous Chorographer of Ravenna gives us in his list three stations in succession, named Cantaventi, Juliocanon, and Gabrosentio. Of these I recognise the first as Congavata, the second as Tunnocelum, and the third as Gabrosentæ. This would at once shew that *Tunnocelum* was near *Congavata*, and no antiquary will deny that the latter was in Cumberland.

"Ptolemy, the geographer, in his description of Britain, gives us the name of a river, which he places north of Morecambe Bay, as *Ituna*. This has generally been supposed to be the Eden or Solway, and if the word 'Ocellum' or 'promontory' be added, we get the words '*Ituna Ocellum*,' or promontory of the Ituna, of which *Tunocellum* or *Tunnocelum* might be a more euphonious pronunciation. The only 'Ocellum' named by Ptolemy is Spurn Head. This completes the evidence as to placing *Tunnocelum* on the west coast of England.

"On the east coast Ptolemy gives us the name of a river called the Tinna, generally supposed, from the position in which he places it, to be the Tyne. On this basis some writers have considered that *Tunnocelum* was a compound of 'Tinna' and 'Ocellum,' and thus placed the station at Tynemouth or South Shields. There was also somewhere in this part of Durham or Northumberland a place called by the Saxons in Bede's time Tunna-cester, but, as the Rev. J. Hodgson in his 'History of



Northumberland,' vol. iii, part 2, p. 228, states, it was named from its abbot Tunna. These facts, with the coincidence of South Shields being a marine station, are all the evidence, so far as I am aware, in favor of *Tunnoceum* being at that place. To antiquaries generally I, at present, leave the task of determining on which side the balance of evidence lies. In the meantime I refrain from naming any particular station as *Tunnoceum*. Further discoveries of inscriptions may at any moment enlighten us, and in fact may prove that it was after all on the east coast. Until then we can only judge by our present knowledge, which is very meagre.

"I may add that Horsley, in his 'Britannia Romana,' also recognises *Juliocænon* and *Gabrocentio* as the *Tunnoceum* and *Gabrosentæ* of the *Notitia*.

"There were several stations which must have been in Durham, of which we do not know the sites, amongst them the *Epiæam* of Ptolemy; possibly South Shields is one of these."

"The excavations to be made at the recently re-discovered *castrum* at Beekfort, on the Cumberland coast, will probably throw further light upon the subject."

Mr. Watkin also writes as follows:—"Another interesting inscription has been found at South Shields. Unfortunately it is not quite complete. It has consisted of three lines, but the commencement and end of each line is broken off. The extant portion is—

. . . . . SANCTE ET NVMIN . . . . .  
 . . . . . DOMITIVS EPICETETV . . . . .  
 . . . . . COMMILITONIBVS TEMPLV . . . . .

As it is evidently dedicated to a goddess and the divinities of the Emperor (or Emperors), I was inclined to read the first line—DEAE MINERVÆ SANCTE, &c., or MINERVÆ SANCTE simply: but Mr. Blair (to whom I am indebted for the copy of the inscription) thinks that there would not be room for more than the word DEAE.<sup>1</sup> The entire inscription has been something like this—*Minervæ Sanctæ et Numinib(us) Augg. Domitius Epictetus cum commilitonibus templum rest(ituit)*, or the last word may be *ædificavit*). Some of the letters are ligulate. Mr. Robinson has also found another altar at Maryport with a nearly obliterated inscription. An inscribed Roman stone has been found at Brough (*Verteræ*) in Westmoreland, the first this station has produced; and some others have been found near Blenkinsopp Castle on the line of the Roman Wall. All of these will be embraced in my annual list.

DISCOVERY OF ROMAN LEADEN COFFINS AT SANDY, BEDFORDSHIRE. This place has long been recognised by its large camps as an important Roman station. The 7th volume of the *Archæologia*, p. 412, and the 8th volume, p. 377-383, contain accounts of Roman pottery, urns, &c. found here, and Lysons alludes to similar remains in his *Magna Britannica*, p. 24. The excavations for the Great Northern Railway through ground below one of the camps known as "Chesterfield," surrendered large quantities of pottery, some of which found a resting place in the Bedford Museum. Within the last year these excavations have been extended, for the purpose of getting sand, into slightly elevated ground, known as "Tower Hill," long used for garden purposes. In 1879 two leaden

<sup>1</sup> I have thought of *Dianæ Sanctæ*, but it does not seem probable.

coffins were uncovered at a depth of three feet. These falling greatly to pieces were not accurately examined, but covered up again. In the spring of the present year a third leaden coffin, five feet eight inches long, quite plain, and slightly tapering to the feet, was found in good preservation. The lid has entirely perished, but fragments of angle irons, apparently connected with an outer wooden casing, were also discovered. There were no bones in these coffins, and this is accounted for by their lying in sand, a destructive agency. They lay east and west.

Many coins, Roman and others, have been found at Sandy and in the neighbourhood, and the fact of such extremely small ones being rescued from the earth is explained by the practice of the local labourers weeding the market gardens, and more particularly the onion fields which abound in these parts, working on their knees, thus nothing in the shape of a coin, however small, escapes such close notice.

It is in contemplation to carry the present excavations entirely through "Tower Hill," and we may hope for some important discoveries. Mr. F. J. Beart, the owner of the ground, has most obligingly given orders that every care shall be taken of the antiquities which the further progress of the digging may reveal, and he has placed the coffins in the hands of an antiquary who, we have good reasons to believe, will deposit them where they will be properly cared for. They will be exhibited at the Monthly Meeting of the Institute on Thursday, November 4th.

DISCOVERY OF ROMAN REMAINS AT RISEHOW, NEAR FLIMBY.—In making some extensions for coke ovens at Risehow, at the latter end of last month, the foundations of a building 13 feet 7 inches square inside, with walls 3 feet thick formed of large blocks of grey freestone, were revealed. The floor is paved with cobble stones set in clay, and covered with the same substance. The interior has possibly been used for burials, a fact suggested by the discovery of charcoal, small pieces of bones, pottery, &c., but it seems more likely that the building was originally a watch tower in connection with the Maryport camp, which is visible from this spot, and such a use would account for the presence of charcoal, bones, &c. Among the pottery found was a bottle, apparently for water, with a side handle. Mr. Wilson, the proprietor, will take every care of these remains.

THE ROMAN VILLA AT SANDOWN, ISLE OF WIGHT.—The work of uncovering this spacious building is proceeding. An elaborate tessellated pavement has been found containing panels with groups of heads of Perseus and Andromeda, the Seasons, Tritons, &c. Eleven chambers have now been opened.

ILLUSTRATED CATALOGUE OF ANCIENT HELMETS AND EXAMPLES OF MAIL. This Catalogue will be published with the *Journal* on December 31st. The subscription list of ten shillings for an extra and separate copy, bound in cloth, will be closed on October 31st. After that date the price to members and the public will be 12s. 6d.; after the date of publication the price to members will be 15s. 6d., and to the public £1 1s. Names of subscribers will be received by the Secretary. For further information, see p. 214.

Members of the Institute are particularly informed that Special Notices of the Monthly Meetings will be sent beforehand, on payment of one shilling a year.

# The Archaeological Journal.

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DECEMBER, 1880.

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## INAUGURAL ADDRESS OF THE RIGHT REV. THE BISHOP OF LINCOLN TO THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE INSTITUTE HELD AT LINCOLN.<sup>1</sup>

I feel honoured to-day in being associated with the mayor and corporation and other citizens of Lincoln and inhabitants of this county in cordially bidding you welcome on your visit to this city after an interval of thirty-two years. It is no part of my duty to-day to pronounce a panegyric on the study of archæology. It may well stand on its own merits. Some, I am aware, have disparaged it as only subservient to the indulgence of an idle curiosity or learned pedantry. And doubtless it has its weak side, and cautions are needed in its pursuit. Sir Walter Scott, archæologist as he was, has revealed some of its frailties in his *Antiquary*. And another English poet not unwisely says :

How profitless the relics that we cull,  
Troubling the last holds of ambitious Rome,  
Unless they chasten fancies that presume  
Too high, or idle agitations hurl ;  
Heaven out of view, our wishes what are they ?  
Mere *jibbe* without a robe to clasp,  
Obsolete lamps, whose light no time recalls,  
Urns without ashes, tearless lacrymids !

But I am speaking now of the study of archæology when rightly pursued. And at this time, and in this place, I do not scruple to claim for it something more than a technical and professional character, or even than a literary and scientific value. It has, I conceive, a high moral, social, intellectual, and spiritual dignity. Let me illustrate my meaning by reference to present circumstances. England has just been passing through the severe ordeal of contested elections, and is now approaching the close of a stormy Parliamentary campaign. At

<sup>1</sup> Delivered July 27th, 1880.

such a time it is surely a great relief to be raised above the troubled atmosphere of party politics, and to meet, as we do here to-day, as friends and brethren. Human nature is weary of strife; it craves peace, and longs for repose. The Middle Ages expressed that desire by their *trêve de Dieu*, their holy truce; and classical antiquity consecrated that longing every fourth year at the summer solstice beneath the light of the full moon, which gleamed on the waters of the Alpheus and on the olive groves of Olympia. Belligerent nations then laid down their arms; political feuds were forgotten in a general amnesty, and foes embraced one another in a periodic armistice. So it is now. We welcome all here to-day, as friends and brethren, to our own archaeological Olympia. We forget our political differences. In the present week we are all Liberals, and we are all Conservatives. We are all Liberals because we are all met to promote those liberal arts and studies which adorn society and dignify human nature; and we are all Conservatives because we desire to protect, preserve, and restore with affectionate reverence the time-honoured monuments of antiquity, and thus we are associated in the fellowship of a Liberal-Conservatism, and of a Conservative-Liberalism. And we give a hearty welcome to all who have come to this peaceful harbour from the stormy sea of politics, and we hope that they may feel refreshed, like the ancient hero and his prophetic companion as described by the greatest of Roman poets, when they emerged from the shades of Erebus into the clear light and pure breezes of Elysium.

Devenere locos letos et amena vireta  
 Fortunatorum memorum sedesque quietas;  
 Largior hic campos æther et lumine vestit  
 Purpureo, solemque suum sua sidera nôrunt.

But we may rise higher. We may claim for archaeology a nobler prerogative than this. It emancipates us from the thralldom of modern prepossessions and prejudices, and frees us from the tyranny of ephemeral passions and local conventionalities. It makes us contemporaries with every age and citizens of every clime. We are too prone to be absorbed and engrossed by the things of to-day, and to be the slaves of personal interests and party trammels. We need to be liberated from such vassalage.

Archæology does this, if studied aright, and especially if it is connected, as your present visit to Lincoln is, with a tour and pilgrimage to places hallowed by the memories of great men in bygone ages. Pardon a personal reminiscence. About forty-seven years ago, when returning from Greece and Italy, I read with delight a passage of the great Roman orator, statesman, and philosopher, Cicero, which exactly describes this feeling. At the beginning of the fifth book of his philosophical treatise, "De Finibus," he is describing an afternoon walk which he took with his brother and friends from the western gate of Athens to the gardens of the Academy. He there observes that we are more affected by visiting places in which great men have lived than we are when we read their writings, or hear of their deeds. "*Magis movemur, quum loca videmus in quibus viros memoriâ dignos versatos esse accepimus, quam quum scripta eorum legimus aut facta audimus.*" And he illustrates this by a reference to objects which he and his friends saw that afternoon. Among these was the tomb of Pericles, and the spot where Demosthenes trained himself to become the greatest orator of Greece, and the grove of the Academy, immortalised by the School of Plato, and the beautiful Colonus, the birth-place of Sophocles and death-place of Œdipus. If I might illustrate this by referring to sacred archæology and topography, I would do so by a notice of the earliest Christian itinerary of the Holy Land, the letter of St. Jerome, in the fourth century, describing his visit, in company with the noble, pious, and munificent Roman matron, Paula, the descendant of the Scipios, to the most celebrated sites and remains of Biblical history in Palestine. But I forbear, and will pass on to observe that in our archæological excursions and researches during the present week in Lincoln and its neighbourhood, our thoughts will be extended from the narrow range of to-day, and we shall be made contemporaries with nineteen centuries. In the Roman Arch standing in the northern wall of the ancient citadel of Lindum, and spanning the military road which stretched from Lincoln to the Humber, we may imagine ourselves spectators of the warlike legions of the ancient mistress of the world, which marched along those great

martial highways, marked by milestones, of which one was disinterred the other day from its grave of 1,600 years; and near it we may listen in fancy to oratorical pleadings of lawyers in the ancient Roman Basilica, of which the columns of the façade have just been revealed to our view. Near them we are brought into contact with the greatest of Saxon kings and of Norman conquerors in his feudal castle of Lincoln, and, with one of the greatest of Norman bishops, St. Hugh and with St. Hugh you will also hold spiritual communion in your visit to the noble Minister of Stow and to Stow Park; and when you make your pilgrimage to Southwell and its grand Collegiate Church, soon, we hope, about to become a Cathedral of a new diocese, you will be brought into union with Paullinus, the apostle of Northumbria and Lindissi, in the seventh century, who built a church at Lincoln, and with Cardinal Wolsey, Dean and Bishop of Lincoln in the sixteenth, and with King Charles I. in his later days, in the seventeenth century. You will thus be brought into sympathy with great men, and into synchronism with great events, and will drink in a refreshing draught of that generous spirit which the study of archaeology freely ministers, and which, if we are not wanting to ourselves, will make us wiser and better men.

We might, if time allowed, dwell on that consolatory influence which this study exercises in times of sorrow. It was said by the greatest critic of antiquity that tragedy has a purifying power, because it displays noble examples of suffering. There is also a tragedy of events and of places connected with great events, and this has a purifying, elevating, and soothing influence. When we contemplate the desolation and ruins of ancient buildings and cities, of palaces, churches, abbeys, and castles, we forget our private griefs in a feeling of sympathy with public sorrows. I have referred to an antiquarian picture drawn by the hand of Cicero; may I refer to an antiquarian sketch, by means of which one of his friends, Sulpitius, consoled him in the bitterness of his private affliction, the death of his only and dearly beloved daughter. "On my return from Asia," he writes, "I was sailing from Ægina to Megara, and I then saw the

ruins of cities formerly famous, but now desolate. Behind me was Ægina, in front Megara, on my right Peiræus, the harbour of Athens, on the left Corinth, all once prosperous, but now dead and buried. Why (he adds) should we grieve so much for our own private losses, when cities themselves are tombs?" To a Christian this question comes with a greater force, for there is a promise of a glorious and eternal future for our children and friends, but there is no such resurrection for cities.

And here, before I conclude, may I be allowed to say a few words on the spiritual uses of archaeology? One of the most instructive revelations which this study presents to us is that of the deep feeling of religion which animated the greatest nations of antiquity in their most heroic days, and which showed itself not only in their cities at home, but wherever they planted colonies abroad. Let anyone stand in the solitary plain of Pæstum, or on the hilly ridge of the Sicilian Girgenti—the ancient Agrigentum—and contemplate the group of magnificent temples on both those sites, or in the sequestered vale of Segesta, and look on that noble religious fabric standing there in its lonely grandeur, or on the huge columns of Selinus thrown prostrate by an earthquake; or let him stand on the Areopagus at Athens and look at the Erechtheum and Parthenon towering above him—and let him remember that all these grand buildings were works of religion, not, indeed, rightly directed, but grounded on a belief in unseen heavenly powers controlling human affairs, and in a future state of rewards and punishments; and let him consider also that those who erected those noble public religious buildings cared little for their own private houses, which were comparatively mean and insignificant, and he will feel himself constrained to ask whether we may not learn some lessons of religious zeal and self-sacrifice, especially in this sceptical age, from heathens themselves. The first thing that some of them did in planting a colony was to build a magnificent temple. Where are our own cathedrals erected by England in her colonies?

One topic more. We may claim also for archaeology the honour of illustrating the inspired text of Holy Scripture and confirming the truth of Reve-

lation. The researches of Rosellini and Sir Gardiner Wilkinson in Egypt have refuted the allegations of certain sceptics, and have corroborated the Mosaic narrative. The cuneiform inscriptions of Nineveh have proved that Samaria was not taken by Shalmanezzer—as some had supposed, but as the Bible nowhere asserts,—but by Sargon, once mentioned by Isaiah, whose history they have revealed. And they have shed a flood of light on Hebrew prophecy. Archæological researches at Babylon have brought to light Nebuchadnezzar's own account of his magnificent works in which he gloried, and have explained to us why Belshazzar is represented by Daniel as chief in power at Babylon when taken by Cyrus. Similar contributions have been recently made by archæology to the elucidation of the New Testament. The inscriptions lately discovered at Cyprus have removed objections to the accuracy of St. Luke's statement in the Acts of the Apostles on the Proconsulate of Sergius Paulus ; and the inscription lately found at Jerusalem illustrates the assertion in that book that to bring Greeks into the Temple there was regarded as a heinous crime.

You will allow me, in conclusion, to pay a tribute of thankfulness to a sister society, our Diocesan Antiquarian and Architectural Association, which owes so much to the fostering care of my right reverend brother, the Bishop Suffragan of Nottingham, and which is a loving fellow-labourer with your own Institute, and which shows the use of archæology to Christianity. Since your last visit to Lincoln about a million of money has been contributed and expended in this diocese in the building and restoration of Churches ; that this sum has been well and wisely applied, you will, we hope, have ample evidence in your visits to the churches in Lincoln and its neighbourhood in the present week. This is due mainly to the intelligent study of Christian antiquity, and to a spirit of reverential regard for the noble, ancient churches with which this diocese abounds. The study therefore of archæology, which has led to such valuable practical results, is well entitled to our respect on this account. For such reasons as these we heartily bid you welcome to Lincoln, and I request you to accept my respectful thanks for the indulgence with which you have now honoured me.



ADDITIONAL NOTES ON FINGER RINGS AND ON SOME  
ENGRAVED GEMS OF THE EARLY CHRISTIAN  
PERIOD.

By C. D. E. FORTNUM, F.S.A.

It has been my privilege on some former occasions to bring before the notice of the Institute, and to publish in our *Journal*, descriptions of Early Christian finger-rings in my own possession, and to refer to others preserved in some of the public museums and private collections in Europe. Reference to vol. xxvi, page 137, to vol. xxviii, p. 266, to vol. xxix, p. 305, and to vol. xxxiii, p. 111,<sup>1</sup> will discover the papers to which I allude.

A recent sojourn of some months at Rome has enabled me to accumulate additional material on this subject, I having been fortunate enough, by various means, to secure important additions to my own collection, some of which, from the subjects represented, are worthy of record.

By the liberality of friends; by a fortunate opportunity of securing the private collection of an amateur of long experience and critical judgment resident at Rome; further by the acquisition of that portion of a friend's collection of engraved gems; and also by good fortune in the chace, I have been enabled to acquire the interesting addition to my *Dactyliotheca Christiana*, which I now propose to describe in detail. Thirteen gems, engraved with Christian subjects, some of which are unique, will be included in the category.

For convenience of reference it will, perhaps, be better to commence the numeration of my list in sequence of that published in vol. xxviii. of the *Journal*, and which ended with No. 33.

Some of the illustrative woodcuts were executed at Rome, others in England by Mr. Utting; they have occasionally been taken from the originals, but several are from impressions of the intaglio, reversing the representations of the subject. These woodcuts are, with one exception, of the size of the originals.

<sup>1</sup> The ring described in this notice has, passed into my own collection.  
through the kindness of Mr. Baxter, since

## CHRISTIAN FINGER RINGS.

34. A bronze ring with simple hoop; on the flat circular bezel is incised the sacred monogram  $\chi\rho$  reversed, within a border line. Fourth or early fifth century. From the Dressel collection. Of similar character to those numbered 10, 18 and 19 of my former list, and others in the Vatican and Castellani collections, &c.

35. Bronze ring with circular bezel, the hoop lobed in leaf shape on the shoulders; rudely made. The bezel bears incised a palm branch between two fish. It also is probably of the later fourth or early fifth century, and from the Dressel collection. The woodcut is taken from the impression upon wax.



36. Bronze ring, the hoop beaded (one half is wanting). On the plain circular bezel is the rudely incised figure of a sheep or lamb, standing upon a ship and with head turned backwards. From the Dressel collection, Rome. Of the fourth or early fifth century.



37. Bronze ring; the hoop, plano-convex, thickening to a slight protuberance at the shoulders, widens to the oval bezel on which is a coarsely executed figure of the *pastor bonus* in intaglio. He is clad in a short tunic, carrying the sheep or lamb on his left shoulder, and stands facing to his left (the engraving is from the impression and reversed) between two other sheep, or perhaps his dogs,<sup>1</sup> which look upwards towards him.



This ring was found in the Tiber and is from the Dressel collection. It is probably of the well-advanced fourth century. I have never previously seen the subject upon a metal ring, although it is one of the most usual upon gems.

38. A bronze ring with plain circular bezel, on which, rudely incised, is a representation of the raising of Lazarus, surrounded by a beaded bordering line. The hoop, of plano-convex section, widens slightly to the shoulders.



Lazarus, swathed, is standing beneath

<sup>1</sup> Vide a gem in the British Museum referred to by King, "Gems and Rings," vol. ii, p. 30.

the doorway of the sepulchre, before which the Saviour stands erect, holding a rod or wand raised by his right hand towards the tomb. He is fully draped, the feet and hands not visible; a nimbus is round the head, and a cruciform star is seen in front and above. It may be of the later fourth or early in the fifth century. This ring is in perfect preservation and covered by a fine green patina. It was probably found in the neighbourhood of Rome, and was presented to me by an esteemed friend.

A similar subject treated very much in the same manner, except that the Saviour is without a wand, is to be seen depicted on the vault of a chapel in the Catacombs of S<sup>a</sup>. Agnese; also in the Basilica of Petronilla (*Bull.*, vol. iv, pl. i, ii.)

Again on a sarcophagus in the Gregorian Museum the Saviour represented beardless, and holding a wand. On glass also, as figured by Buonarroti, &c. Other variations exist of this probable symbol of the Resurrection, but I am not aware of its occurrence upon gems or rings. The subject is also similarly rendered in the Gregorian Gospels in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

39. A hoop ring of bronze, octagonal externally. On



six of these sides, between a beaded border line, are representations, incised, of winged figures, each bearing an object which may be intended for a wreath or coronal; some seem to be habited in longer drapery, others in short tunics, with high domed hats and boots. On the other two sides the sacred

monogram  $\text{X P}$  is repeated. These figures may be intended to represent angels, or more probably victories.

The ring is in perfect condition; the surface indicates that it has been under water, probably in the Tiber. I purchased it at Rome. It may be ascribed to the later fourth or early in the fifth century.

On the subject of the pagan figure of Victory being used on Christian objects, *vide* De Rossi, *Bullettino* for 1867, p. 77 and 84, on a monument from Tunis. A *secchia di piombo*, a leaden pail or *situla*, on which,

among other devices, are the figures, in relief, of an *Orante* and a *Victory*, near a palm tree. The former probably represents the martyr *Perpetua*, the Victory the symbol of triumph. A figure of Victory was also impressed on the coins of the early Christian emperors, associated with the sign of the cross or sacred monogram. Again it occurs on consular diptychs of Christian times, and this, notwithstanding that the *curia* and the altar and cultus of Victory had been abolished. See also Renier (*Inscrip. de l'Algérie*) who records a marble from Cirta, on which Victory is represented with a crown in the right and a palm in the left hand; three crosses and the words A . DEO . DATVR . BICTORIA prove that the Victory is the emblem of spiritual as of moral triumph, symbolising the *manus Dei*, the Divine influence.

AENV NULANAVZYNDEOCAN SERC T T A



40. Bronze ring, a hoop circular within, and seven-sided externally, bearing an inscription, engraved from right to left as though to serve for impression upon wax or other soft material. It reads—

VENANTI VIVAS IN DEO CVM SERCHV (SERGIOLA ?)  
? T


the last letters indistinct. Probably of the later fourth century, and found in or near Rome, where I purchased it.

It is doubtless a marriage ring, or *anulus pronubus*, remarkable also for having only seven instead of the more usual number of eight sides.

The name VINANTH, similar to that of the bridegroom, occurs on a medallion figured by the Comm<sup>re</sup> de Rossi in the *Bulletino*, vol. vii, p. 43-45, 1st series.

+ TECLA . VIVAT . DEO . CVM . MARITO . SEO . is incised on a gold ring found at Arles in 1619. (See the able article by Prof. Babington in Smith's *Dic. of Ch. Antiq.* at page 1808).

41. Bronze ring; an octagonal hoop, on the outside of which is engraved SPES . IN . DEO . SEMPER . ✱, and what appears to be an eight-pointed star, or double cross. For other octagonal rings see my Nos. 3, 4, in former paper.

42. Bronze ring, a flat hoop, on the outside of which is incised the name RODON . , and the sacred monogram. Of the fourth or early fifth century.

It is so far interesting as shewing that this name was still in use among Christians more than two centuries after the time of the celebrated teacher of doctrine, who bore it in the time of S. Severus.

43. Bronze ring, with plain hoop slightly swelling to the shoulders, beneath a high square bezel laterally pieced with a hole at a right angle with the hoop. On the face is engraven the name reversed as for sealing, the outer letter of the last word being indistinct from wear. I procured this at Naples.

CRE  
SCES  
VIVAS

44. Bronze ring, with beaded hoop and oval bezel, on which is engraven the sacred monogram above what would seem to have been intended for a ship, but which is rendered indistinct by the corrosion of the metal ; surrounding are the words : SPES IN DEO.



This ring, which was found on the Esquiline, is probably of the later years of the fourth century.

45. Bronze ring with simple hoop, half of which is wanting, and tabular bezel, upon which is deeply incised the reversed word VIVAS between two branches of palm. From the Dressel collection.

46. Copper ring, a simple hoop, slightly convex externally, widening at right angles into a square bezel, upon which is rudely engraved the name SILVANUS .  
SILVA COMVNALIS ., the letter s being reversed. It was, as I believe, found in Algeria, and is of coarse workmanship, perhaps not older than the end of the fourth or early fifth century. The gift of my esteemed friend the Com<sup>te</sup> J. B. de Rossi.

47. Gold ring of oval form, the hoop swelling to the shoulders and flattened bezel, upon which a palm branch is rudely engraved ; weight, 4 dwts. 19 grs.

The general character and workmanship of this ring would lead to the conclusion that it is probably Christian, and of the fourth or early fifth century.

## RINGS; THE SUBJECTS UPON WHICH MAY OR MAY NOT BE OF CHRISTIAN SYMBOLIC SIGNIFICANCE.



48. Bronze ring: the hoop of plano-convex section widening to the shoulders. On the circular bezel is a rudely incised representation of Orpheus surrounded by animals which he charms by his music. It is probably of the latter half of the fourth century. From the Dressel collection.

Orpheus is seated, fully draped, and holding a lyre in the left which he plays with his right hand; an ill-defined covering, a Phrygian cap, or may be a wreath, is on the head, and a six pointed star is seen in the field above his left shoulder; on his right are a monkey, a lion, and a bull or goat (?), on his left a reptile or fish, and a hare or rabbit. The arrangement of this subject differs but little from what is found on pagan gems, but I do not recollect the star, which may have Christian significance, or may, on the other hand, be merely emblematic of the sun, or the lyre of Orpheus, which, after his death, became a constellation.

Representations occur of the good shepherd standing among his sheep and playing upon the "*siringa*" (De Rossi, *Rom. Sott.* t. ii, p. 353, also in Cat: of the Arvali), having the pipes (*Bull.*, vi, pp. 74 and 86) approaching to the characteristics of Orpheus, but not so distinctly as on our ring.

It is, however, the opinion of some Roman archaeologists, who are among the highest authorities on early Christian antiquities, that there is great probability of this being an emblematic representation of a pagan subject having Christian reference.

De Rossi (*Rom. Sott.*, 3) states his belief that Christians did not always scrupulously observe the precepts of Clemens in regard to the subjects depicted on their rings and domestic objects. In support of which opinion is the evidence of a ring found by M. Armellini in the Catac: of Callistus, on a finger bone in one of the loculi; it was set with a red jasper, on which a Cupid, holding a torch in the right and a butterfly (emblem of Psyche) in the left hand, was engraved in intaglio.

49. Bronze ring with projecting angular shoulders and

small oval bezel, on which a dolphin is very rudely incised. Probably, but not certainly, Christian.

50. Bronze ring, the hoop of plano-convex section flattened at the shoulders, which are engraved with a palm branch, and to the oblong square bezel on which a monogram is rudely cut, with surrounding dotted line. Probably Christian, but of the fifth or sixth century. This is one of a class of rings mostly engraved with monograms and of rude workmanship, many of which are probably Christian.

Of such is the following, as are also those described in my former paper, Nos. 12, 16, and 21: consult De Rossi, *Bull.*, 1863, pp. 33, 34, for Christian Monograms of the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries.

51. Bronze ring, the hoop widening to an oval bezel, on which is rudely incised what may be a monogram formed as a sort of double anchor, with a surrounding plain line, and of somewhat similar character to that described in my former paper (*Archaeological Journal*, vol. xxvi, p. 144, Nos. 13, 21), but less distinctly an anchor, and with greater probability monogrammatic.

There is, perhaps, equal uncertainty in respect to the rings Nos. 5, 7, 9, and 23 of my former list.

I do not attempt to include in these notices rings or ring stones of so late a period as that of the Merovingian dynasty.

52. Gold ring, hollow, the hoop of plano-convex section widening and swelling to the shoulders, which are produced on either side beyond the ends of an oval bezel, in which is set an intaglio on sard, representing a sheep standing before two ears of corn.

The workmanship is good, probably of the second or early third century, and the ring quite intact.

It is possible that this subject may have a Christian symbolic significance, but at the same time there is equal probability that it is merely of pastoral character and pagan. A sheep or ram is the hereditary device of the *Gens Rustia* (King, i, p. 345), but on the denarius of that gens struck anterior to 70 B.C. it is in a defiant attitude as though to repel attack. Corn is not usual food for sheep, and must have some special significance.

In the museum at Naples I recently observed what I had not previously noticed in my former paper, viz., a


Christian ring formed entirely of calcedony, and having the chrisma engraved upon the bezel.

Of key rings, similar in character to mine (No. 32, figured at page 290 of vol. xxviii of our *Journal*), and thought from the cruciform ward openings to be Christian, three are preserved in the Kircherian Museum at Rome.

Of key-like rings, of the same type as that described by me in vol. xxix, at page 305, a very fine one, set with small cameos and bearing an inscription in *opus interrasile*, is in the possession of Signor Alessandro Castellani at Rome, who suggests that their purpose may have been the protection of the long finger nail, like the contrivance with that intent used by the Chinese. The ring, he possesses, is a small one, which might have fitted the last joint, but both that belonging to Mr. Franks, that in the British Museum, and one in the Museum at Basle are too large in circumference to have fitted the last joint of any finger save that of a giant; they may, however, have decorated a stout thumb.

Of the Christian rings in the Vatican collection, some twenty-six in all, not counting those of the later monogrammatic period and mediæval, some one or more appeared to me to have been acquired since my last visit, or may have been overlooked by me at that time. Of these is a gilt bronze tubular ring, fluted externally and inscribed with a letter in each channel VTEREFEX (Utere Felix).

The inscription on a small gold ring, a flat octagon widening to the bezel, reads  
B I C T  
O R I A  
E V I T A  
 (Victory [the fruit] of life.)

In the same collection the only early Christian ring stone to be seen is an oval red jasper worked in intaglio. (I  Θ v c).

#### ENGRAVED GEMS.

1. Intaglio on nicolo of oval form. The *Pastor Bonus*<sup>1</sup> between the two letters R. V., doubtless the initials of the owner of the signet, and of contemporary execution. The woodcut is from the impression, but gives but a poor idea of the quality of the workmanship, which is of a



<sup>1</sup> On this subject consult Martigny, "Étude Arch. sur l'Agneau, &c.," Macon, 1860. De Rossi, "Roma. Sott., &c.;"

and Smith's "Dict. of Christian Antiq.," sub voc. "Gems."



good period of art, probably of the second century, if not earlier. I purchased this intaglio in Rome.

He is clad in a short tunic having the small domed shepherd's cap upon the head. As seen in the intaglio he is advancing towards his left, supporting the lamb upon his shoulder with his left hand, and carrying a situla in his right.

The water vessel, emblematic of baptism, is occasionally to be seen in the hand of the "good shepherd," but not frequently as a situla. In the church of S. Prassede, at Rome, is a sarcophagus, on which this figure occurs at the angles, but it is a vase, not a situla which he carries.

It is, however, seen on wall paintings. Occasionally also with the attributes of Orpheus.

2. Intaglio on green jasper, streaked with red (blood stone), of oval form. The good shepherd



standing among his sheep and holding the lost and found one upon his shoulder. He is clad in the usual short tunic and hat; he stands upon one leg, the other being crossed over it; one sheep is reclining behind him, two others stand in front beneath the shade of a tree, upon which a bird, probably intended for a dove, is perched. It is of a good period of art, perhaps as early as the second century, and was recently found at Rome, where I purchased it.

In the British Museum is a red jasper of nearly similar size and form, perhaps the work of the same artist, on which a like subject is engraved, but with only two sheep upon the ground.

On a broken fragment, in the possession of Dr. Dressel, is a nearly similar representation. The good shepherd stands with sheep about him and on either side a tree, on each of which a dove is perched. It is in intaglio on carnelion. Refer also to No. 6 in my descriptive list (*Archæological Journal*, vol. xxvi, p. 141), which, however, differs considerably, though probably of cognate significance.

Again it is depicted over an arcosolium in the Cat: of S<sup>a</sup> Agnese.

Also on a cippus figured by De Rossi (*Bull.*, 3rd ser., vol. iv, pl. vii.)

In the British Museum are two gems, on which the

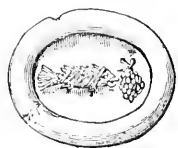
good shepherd among his flock is represented, together with the Jonah and other emblematic subjects.

3. Intaglio on a golden yellow sard of oval form, through which a vein of darker colour passes longitudinally. On the slightly convex surface two figures are represented standing in water, which covers their feet to and above the ankles; this water is represented by waved lines intended to convey the idea of a running stream, doubtless the Jordan. The taller of the two figures, both of which are habited in short tunics, seems to guide or sustain the other by slightly holding the side of his tunic. The shorter has the arms extended in the position of an *Orante*, emblematic of eternal reception, his left hand rising above the other's shoulder. No head-covering is worn by either, but a dove is perched upon the head of the shorter personage, who doubtless is intended to represent the Christ, the taller St. John the precursor. The workmanship is fairly good and may be anterior to the third century. I acquired this interesting gem from the Dressel collection at Rome.



At Ravenna, in S. Giovanni in Fonte, and S<sup>a</sup> Maria in Cosmedin; at Rome in SS. Cosmo and Damiano; in the cemetery of Pontianus, &c. we have representations of this subject in Mosaic and in painting, as also upon Christian glasses, &c., but I am not aware of its occurrence hitherto upon rings or engraved stones.

4. Intaglio on red jasper, of flat surface. A fish, before the head of which is a bunch of grapes, seemingly hanging from a nail. The workmanship of this gem is excellent, the head of the fish highly polished in the intaglio. It may probably be of the earlier years of the second century. From the Greville Chester collection, and found in Italy.



In the Castellani collection is a ring on which a hare is represented eating a bunch of grapes. It is believed to be Christian.

5. Intaglio on red jasper, oval, of slightly convex face, half an inch long. A fish between the Greek letters Α Α as they occur on the impression.

This is also of fairly good work, and perhaps of not

much later date than the preceding. Probably also found in Italy, and from the Greville Chester collection.

6. Intaglio on sard, of slightly convex surface. The seven-branched candlestick, curiously modified in respect to the three central branches, which are formed as Roman Standards. These, as well as the four outer limbs are surmounted by figures of birds, not the Roman eagle with outstretched wings, but which may be intended for doves; on the medallions, in lieu of the Imperial portrait, and



pagan devices, a cross is distinctly to be seen. The outer limbs are represented as imbricated or foliated branches; the base would seem to be fluted. There is no Hebrew inscription on the back, as on that described and figured by Mr. King (*Gems and Rings*, 2nd ed., vol. ii, pp. 37-83), the candlestick on which, by the way, is only five-branched.

From the Greville Chester collection. Found in Italy.

7. Intaglio on carnelian, of oval form and convex surface. The name  $\text{I A } \Omega$  between two stars of six points: beneath is a fish, above it is a bird, probably a dove. The workmanship is fairly good, and may be of the earlier half of the fourth century. From the Dressel collection.



lection.

There is a certain Gnostic *rapprochement* in this signet, although hardly so much as in the curious gem belonging to Col. Stronge, which is figured at p. 37, and described in the foot note at the bottom of page 27 in Mr. King's second volume of the second edition of *Antique Gems and Rings*, and in Smith's Dictionary, *sub voce*, "Gems." Does not " $\text{I A } \Omega$ " here more distinctly apply to Jehovah as the Father; the fish, the Christ; the dove as the Spirit—in fact an emblematic representation of the Trinity; or is it of cabalistic character, invoking the names of  $\text{I A O}$  of the Spirit and of the Fish?

8. Intaglio on red jasper, oval: long  $5\frac{1}{2}$  lines. An anchor between an eight pointed star and a crescent. From the Greville Chester collection.

9. Intaglio on paste, imitative of red jasper, of oval

form : long,  $4\frac{1}{2}$  lines. An anchor. Greville Chester collection. Found in Egypt.

10. Intaglio on nicolo, oval :  $9\frac{1}{2}$  lines long. An anchor, without cross bar, reversed, the arms and flukes of which thus form a cross ; from each arm a fish is suspended. Of coarse but deep cutting. Found in Egypt, where it was probably incised. From the Greville Chester collection.



11. Intaglio on garnet, irregularly circular, with flat face ;  $\frac{1}{2}$  inch in diameter. Within a surrounding wreath is a figure with outstretched arms, in the attitude of an *orante*, between two animals ; doubtless it represents Daniel in the den of lions and in the same typical manner as it is to be seen on Christian glasses and other monuments. On either side, above his arms, is a cross. The execution, by the wheel, is extremely rude, but nevertheless effective. I am not aware of a similar subject being recorded as upon a gem. It was found in Egypt, and is doubtless a work of that country, probably of the fourth or fifth century. From the Greville Chester collection.

12. Intaglio on pyrites, a material very rarely made use of for gem engraving ; it is oval, barely half an inch in its longer diameter. On the flat surface the winged figure of an angel or probably Victory is very coarsely incised, closely draped to the feet ; a sort of long shafted double cross is held in the right hand, seemingly a sort of cruciform *Signa* or standard with double arms.

There can be no doubt of the Christian significance of this standard, and I have already referred to the representation of Victory upon Christian objects in my description of the bronze ring, No. 39 (*vide ante*). The rudeness of the engraving, doubtless difficult upon so intractable a material, would denote a late period, probably not earlier than the fifth or even the sixth century. It was found in Egypt, and is from the Greville Chester collection.

13. Intaglio on nicolo, circular, diam.  $\frac{1}{3}$  of an inch. A cross "potent," round which are three letters of the Pehlevi language. Found in Egypt. From the Greville Chester collection.

<sup>1</sup> De Rossi (*Bull.*, vol. iii, p. 76, plate v), notices a gold ring belonging to Ct : Stroganoff, on which the fish between  $\text{OY}$  and  $\text{OX}$  is incised.

I am indebted to Mr. E. Thomas, the great authority on Pehleri gems, for the translation of this legend, which reads *Avasta*, signifying "praise," a word usually associated with *Āfastān-ul-Yazdān*, equivalent to "*Laus deo*." There is reasonable supposition, rather than distinct evidence, that this gem may have belonged to some Persian Christian, as also that of like character and workmanship on nicolo referred to in my first paper when describing No. 25, and bearing a similar cross with the figure of a lion: but we must not forget the fact that the cross may also be intended to represent the solar emblem of the Persians themselves, to which the laudatory exclamation *Avasta* would equally apply.

I am indebted to my friend, Mr. A. W. Franks, F.R.S., for permission to describe an interesting early Christian gem in its antique gold mounting as a pendant, probably for the use of a child or young person. It is an intaglio on carnelian of oval form and convex surface, seven-twelfths of an inch in its longest diameter. On it is represented, in unusually deep intaglio, a bird seated upon a branch, without leaves, but from which a fruit, in form resembling a pomegranate, is projecting. The gold mounting covers the back of the gem, and forms an overlapping edging round the sides; a small hole on the upper part indicates the former existence of a loop or ring for suspension. In punctured relief upon this gold backing is the name or word *VERIAE*, above which is a chrisma of unusual form, approaching nearer to that upon the lost Barberini ring referred to in vol. xxviii. p. 271. In that the cross bar surmounts the loop of the P, beneath which is the X saltirewise. On Mr. Franks' the cross bar is placed beneath the loop of the P and above the saltire. This very pretty and suggestive ornament is probably of the well-advanced fourth century of our era, but the intaglio may be earlier.

I regret that an opportunity of communicating these additional memoranda on Christian finger rings and seal stones did not occur before the admirable, but to me too flattering, articles on these subjects, by Prof. Churchill Babington, were published in the volumes of Dr. Smith's *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, a work of the greatest value to all students of cognate subjects.

## ON THE GROWTH OF ENGLISH PARISH CHURCHES.

By J. T. MICKLETHWAITE, F.S.A.

Just as the Church of England traces her origin partly to the ancient British Church existing in the land before the coming of the Saxons, and partly to the Roman Church through the mission of St. Augustine at the end of the sixth century ; so the buildings in which she worships shew evidence of having been derived from the same two sources. We cannot indeed often say that a church is purely Celtic or purely Italian, for the two traditions, existing side by side, affected each other, and soon became mixed, but even in those built at the present time we can trace their influence and point out features derived from each.

No church remains in England which can with any probability be supposed to belong to the time before St. Augustine ; but the close connection which we know to have existed between the Churches of Britain and of Ireland justifies us in supposing that their practices were like, if not identical. Now in Ireland early churches of a very peculiar character do exist, and a few such are found in Scotland, which was christianised from Ireland. They are extremely small, and never consist of more parts than a nave with a sanctuary—it can scarcely be called a chancel—east of it, entered by a very narrow arch, and always having a square east end. Such, there can be little doubt, was also the form of the ancient British churches, and from it, as I hope to show, the English parish church of later times was developed.

When Augustine and his monks came here they brought with them the ideas of their native land, and the church which they built at Canterbury was, as far as the means at their command could make it, the reproduction of an Italian basilica. This we know from the description of it which remains, and which has been lucidly commented

on by Professor Willis in his *Architectural History of Canterbury Cathedral*. The earlier bishops of St. Augustine's line were nearly all monks, and if not foreigners, at least educated by foreigners, and they also naturally adopted the basilican form for the churches which they built. And thus the basilica became the model for cathedral and monastic churches. Now the basilica was very different from the Celtic church just described. It was large and had aisles, the transverse arches were wide and lofty, and it had an apsidal east end, and generally a crypt or *confessio* under the altar.

We have contemporary descriptions of several churches, such as that built by Benedict at Wearmouth in 676, which are not very easy to understand, but which leave no doubt that the buildings were basilican. Of actual remains of this class we have but few, as most of the churches afterwards belonged to rich foundations and were replaced by larger buildings. The most important is at Brixworth, where a church was built in 680, as a colony from the great Abbey of Peterborough, then called Medehamstead. It has been a good deal injured by "restoration," but still remains the most instructive example we have of so early a date. When first built it consisted of a wide nave, with aisles, part of which was separated by a cross-arch to form a choir, and at the east end was an apse with, as it appears, a crypt below, and a passage going round the crypt, but outside the main wall of the apse. The internal length was nearly one hundred and twenty feet, and the width between the walls about fifty-five feet, the clear width of the nave being thirty feet. This was not a church of the first class, and it serves to show us that the buildings erected here under the Roman missionaries were by no means contemptible in their dimensions. I will not multiply examples, but I think it will be found that where we have the remains or the description of a monastic church built under what may be called the Canterbury influence, there is always good reason for believing it to have been of the basilican form.

Whilst the monks were building their great churches other smaller ones were rising all over the country for the use of the people. These became the parish churches,

and so numerous were they, that I believe that, except in large towns, there were few parish churches at the beginning of the present century whose sites were not already occupied in Saxon times.<sup>1</sup> We know little of their history, except where we can find it in their fabrics, *carent quia vate sacro*. The abbeys were centres of learning and literature, and seldom wanted their historians. But the parish churches were built by the people for their own use, and served by priests who rarely had, or were expected to have, more learning than would enable them to perform their ministry. They cared well for their church, but for its present, not for its past; and until we come to the days of churchwardens' accounts and such like business matters, we look in vain to them for any written records.<sup>2</sup> It is important to remember this, or we may suppose that the Saxon churches were much fewer than they really were. Many we know were of wood, and of the stone ones later rebuildings have altogether wiped out a vast number. Nevertheless, the cases where some traces can be found are numerous, and there are a few where the buildings are archæologically complete. Such a one is the little church at Bradford in Wiltshire. It consist of a nave thirty feet long by twenty feet wide, and a square-ended chancel fifteen feet by twelve feet, entered from the nave by an arch only five feet wide.<sup>3</sup> There is some difference of opinion about its date, but it is certainly not later than the tenth century, and probably much earlier. The church of Escomb in Durham, to which attention has lately been called, is equally perfect, and very like in plan. It has a

<sup>1</sup> The early date of the division into parishes is shewn very clearly by the state of our old commercial towns. Those which, like London, York, and Norwich, come from Roman times have many parishes each with its own church, often of small size; whilst those which, like Hull, Boston, and Yarmouth, rose to importance in the later mediæval period are not so divided, but have one large parish church supplemented, by a, perhaps, still larger chapel of ease. The great church at Boston, for instance, had originally only the status of Chapel of ease, and St. Margaret's, Lynn, has it yet.

<sup>2</sup> It is still much the same. Important churches have their histories, but any one who has to do with country churches

must have discovered how difficult it is to obtain trustworthy information about the condition of one, say forty years ago, which many people still living must remember. And if one gets any information at all beyond the personal memory of the narrator it generally comes, not from any inhabitant of the place, but from the notes of some wandering antiquary.

<sup>3</sup> There is a porch in the middle of the north side of the nave so large that but for its position it might be called a transept, and I learn from Mr. J. T. Irvine, under whose direction the building has been repaired, that remains of another such porch have been found on the south side.



nave forty-three feet long by fourteen feet six inches wide, chancel about ten feet square, and chancel arch five feet wide. It is later than that at Bradford.

These two churches are perfect examples of a type which remains in other places shew to have once been common. It survived the change of style at the coming of the Normans, and was till the end of the twelfth century the normal type of our smaller parish churches. And it is to be observed that the plan is in every respect Celtic and not Italian. Here is nothing of the basilica; but the simple nave and sanctuary, the square east end, and the narrow chancel arch all have their parallels in the rude early churches of Ireland. Whether we owe this to the influence of the Irish missionaries who had so large a share in the conversion of the North of England, or to the independent survival of a tradition of the ancient British church all over the country, I will not attempt to decide.

As time went on it was natural that the two traditions should influence one another, and in consequence we find some churches with elements derived from both. I believe these are never monastic, and as a rule we know scarcely anything about them except what we can extract from themselves. It is so difficult to assign a date to any pre-Norman English architecture that I give the opinion with some hesitation, but I think that all these mixed buildings are comparatively late, at least not earlier than the revival of the Church under Alfred, and probably not than the later one under Canute. Their plans may be described as being generally of the Celtic or secular type, but much enlarged, and with the wide transverse arches, and sometimes the apse borrowed from the basilican or monastic. They are in fact exactly what we should expect would be produced by men to whom the two types were familiar, and who wished to improve the former by giving it more importance and adapting it to the use of a congregation. Examples are the churches in Dover Castle, at Worth in Sussex, and at Deerhurst in Gloucestershire.<sup>1</sup> All these have transepts which I think

<sup>1</sup> Deerhurst may have had aisles to the nave. Although the arcades are of the thirteenth century and the clerestory windows later, the substance of the walls

seems to be Saxon for a considerable height. Unfortunately there has been some "restoration" of a very mischievous and irritating sort which helps to confuse

are another sign of late date. When once the idea of building churches in the form of the cross was introduced, it was likely to become popular.<sup>1</sup> But it was done very timidly at first. The transepts at Deerhurst and at Dover did not open into the interior of the church, and so told only on the outside. And those at Worth, which are open to the church, are very small and insignificant.

I am not certain whether the aisleless cross plan with nave transepts, sanctuary and central tower, was ever perfected before the conquest. It is not quite done at Dover.<sup>2</sup> But it certainly was very soon after, for with scarcely an exception our more important secular churches, not being cathedrals, can be traced back to this form in the twelfth century, just as the smaller ones can to the simple nave and chancel. I do not know whether the plan of any secular cathedral of Saxon date is known, and so cannot say whether they followed the monastic plan, like those of Norman times. But with this possible exception aisles and abbeys seem to be closely associated. So much so that when Brixworth, once an abbey, was restored from its ruins as a secular church the aisles were pulled down and the arcades built up. And this seems not to have been simply to save cost, for at the same time a tower was built at the west end.

Before leaving the Saxon churches we may notice one feature in them which was not passed on to those of

the matter. The inscription preserved at Oxford gives the date 1056 for the building of Deerhurst, but it was probably not really a new building, but, as in so many other cases, a repairing and restoring to use of one destroyed in the Danish wars. There seem to be at least two dates of Saxon work. Perhaps the church may have lost its aisles when it was restored, as Brixworth did. There is a bit very characteristic of the time in this same inscription. He who made it wished to shew us that he knew the meaning of the word *basilica*, so he calls it *Hanc regiam aulam*. This is worthy of the age that began one of the Westminster Charters *In onomate summi Kyrrion*. A little Greek went a long way in the days of good King Edward.

<sup>1</sup> The transept of an early *basilica* such as Santa Maria Maggiore or old St. Peter's, quite at the end of the building, with only a slightly projecting apse beyond, does not really give the form of

the cross, and I think would not suggest it if we were not accustomed to the idea by later buildings.

<sup>2</sup> At Stow there were fully developed transepts and four arches at the crossing; but there is nothing to show that a tower was built above them. It was, however, probably intended, if not built. This is a late plan. There is nothing in the fabric which can justify the attribution of any part of it to an earlier date than the foundation of Eadnoth about the middle of the eleventh century. As I have mentioned Stow I will add that the remains at the corners of the north transept which have been thought to indicate a setting back of the wall face, so that its plastering might be flush with the visible stone quoins, are really pilaster strips, or rudimentary angle buttresses. The same treatment may be seen at the corners of the late Saxon tower at Sompting in Sussex.

later date. It is the square western porch, sometimes as at Monkswearmouth, Brixworth and at Barton on Humber,<sup>1</sup> with a doorway on each face, the eastern leading to the church. Wherever this remains now it forms the lower story of a tower. But sometimes there is a clear evidence that the porch is older than the tower; as for example at Monkswearmouth, where the porch with its very curious doorways is of the seventh century, and at Trinity Church, Colchester. This porch belongs to the monastic type of church, but I am not prepared to say that it may not be found in the other. It may be regarded as the representative of the narthex of the southern churches, and I look on it as a sign of comparative earliness in the churches which have it. It no doubt suggested the western position for the tower; although, I believe, that a western tower, however early it may be, is nearly always an addition to an already existing church, as we can shew was the case in Gothic times. A few late churches of mixed type have the tower in the middle, as at Dover.

There can be no doubt that by far the greater number of Saxon<sup>2</sup> churches were without towers. It is true that many such towers still remain, and, where any Saxon work at all is found, there is generally a tower. But this is what we ought to expect. A Saxon tower would hold bells as well as one of the fifteenth century. And the men who ruled in parish churches were careful of their funds and not likely to destroy a thing which did its work and was in nobody's way. A central tower might be condemned because its heavy piers blocked up the church. But one at the west end was in no such danger. If it were sound it was too good to waste; and the old men might "improve" it according to the fashion of their time, as they did in the thirteenth century at

<sup>1</sup> This church has a chamber west of the tower and entered from it, also of Saxon date. Can this have been the *baptistry*? It is possible that these porches indicate the former existence of a western court or cloister entered from the two side arches of the tower with a baptistry in the area of the court entered from the western arch. This arrange-

ment still exists in front of the It basilica at Torcello.

<sup>2</sup> Those who object to the use of the term *Saxon* to things English for historical reasons must allow me to use it for architectural. There is no convenient substitute, and it is at least as correct as *Gothic*, which it has been found impossible to get rid of.

Barnack and in the fourteenth at Brixworth, but they were not likely to destroy it.

The history of the Saxon churches is interesting for its own sake, and it is necessary to study it in order to understand what comes after, but we generally cannot trace the architectural existence of our present buildings further back than the twelfth century. The Normans brought with them a new architectural style and a strong passion for building; and in little more than a hundred years they not only built large churches for a vast number of newly-founded abbeys, but rebuilt nearly every church, regular or secular, in the land. They differed from those both before and after them in that their ordinary practice was to pull buildings entirely down and to start fresh and untrammelled. What later men did we shall soon examine; and of earlier men we may learn from the fact that in the few of their churches which escaped rebuilding in the twelfth century, and have come down to our time, we can generally trace the work of several different dates.

The Saxon basilican tradition does not appear to have had any influence after the eleventh century, when the new comers introduced a new and already developed type, itself derived from the Roman basilica, but quite different from the other. I do not propose to examine the course of this now, but to confine myself to the secular tradition and to that chiefly as it affected parish churches. An examination of a large number leads to the conviction that they have, with very few exceptions, grown from twelfth century germs, consisting of either (1) a simple nave and chancel, or (2) a nave, chancel and transepts, with a tower at the crossing and without aisles, or (3) a nave and chancel with a tower in the middle, but without transepts or aisles.

The first is just the old "Celtic" plan as we have it at Bradford and Escomb. The narrow chancel arch remains, and, though the apse appears for a time, it was never common, and the square end soon again became the rule in English parish churches, as it has continued to be, in spite of individual eccentricities, down to the present time. Small country churches, with the Norman plan unaltered, are not very rare. Adel, near Leeds, and Kempley, in Gloucestershire, will do for examples.

The second comes directly from what I have called the "mixed" Saxon plan. The Dover church only wanted arches piercing through the side walls of the tower into the transepts, as was actually done in the twelfth century, to bring it to the normal form of that date. It already had it on the outside.

The third, as at Ifley, may be considered an imperfect form of the second.

Now, although churches exist with plans of each of these classes, by far the greater number, as we now see them, are totally different from them. This comes from a succession of changes which, when examined, are found to have been singularly alike in all. Some began their alterations earlier or carried them farther than others, but the order in which they were made is almost always the same. The key to the history of a mediæval parish church is the fact that it never ceased to be used. The parishioners could not hire a tin tabernacle for use whilst the church was being "restored," and the idea of shutting it up altogether, and giving the parson an indefinite holiday, was one which, even with the mitigation of a Sunday service in a schoolroom, did not commend itself to their notions of propriety. They were not content to go without their church, even though they were to have a very much finer than it after a time. So they arranged that some part of it at least should always be fit for use. Thus the most extensive works were always done piecemeal. We sometimes see churches, and large ones too, which at first sight look the same date throughout, as if they had been built entirely new straight out of the ground. But a careful examination of them will generally reveal the order of the work, and shew evidence of the earlier buildings even in those which have replaced them. The distortion of some plans, for which strange and fantastical reasons have been invented, appears natural enough when we remember the conditions under which the builders worked and the difficulty which they must have experienced, with the imperfect instruments at their command, in setting out a complicated building on a site already occupied. Some churches ran through the whole course, which I shall have to describe, in a few years; others took four centuries to do it; some never started at

all, and others went only part way. In any stage a general rebuilding might take place on account of fire, accident, or simply a desire for better things, with the result of making elements in the plan, which date from different periods, appear as if they were all of one. But the fabric will generally tell its own story, and where a chapter is wanting it is generally easy to supply it from what we have learned in other places.

The first innovation on the regularity of the plan was nearly always the addition of an aisle to the nave, generally on the north side. The aisle was added for more accommodation, and on the north side rather than the south, because the graveyard was on the south, and although our ancestors had no scruples about disturbing the bones of theirs if they thought it necessary, they would not do so by choice if they could get what they wanted without it.<sup>1</sup> Most considerable churches got this aisle soon after they were built; many before the end of the twelfth century. Some had it put on in the course of their first building, although I think they were not originally designed to have it. The old men had no objection to a lopsided arrangement if it came in their way, but I do not think they ever deliberately designed one. Ideas grew quickly in the twelfth century, and although building went on faster then than it sometimes did later, the ideas now and then won in the race. There is a good illustration of this at Arksey, near Doncaster. Here the church was begun to be rebuilt towards the end of the twelfth century on the cross plan with central tower. The chancel and transepts were finished first, as usual. But before the nave was built the builders began to think their church not large enough, so they gave it a north aisle and pierced an arch from it through the west wall of the north transept. This arch cuts into a window in that wall, thus shewing itself to be an insertion, although, so far as one could tell from the character of the work, it is of the same date as the window it mutilates.

The north aisle was soon followed by one on the south, which most important churches had received before the end of the thirteenth century. Aisles vary in width ac-

<sup>1</sup> This is the reason that vestries are also generally on the north side.

ording to the date. The earliest are sometimes not more than five or six feet.<sup>1</sup> In the fourteenth they had reached twelve or fourteen feet and in the fifteenth they were sometimes almost or quite as wide as the nave. The same cause which had led to their first building, namely, the desire for more space, often made them to be rebuilt on a larger scale. So it is common to find evidence of two or even three successive aisles on the same site each wider than the one before it. The latest aisles were often extended in width to the full length of the transepts in cross churches, thus in a manner swallowing them up. Sometimes there is evidence of them in the retention of part of their end walls, or in the arrangement of the windows. But often the widening of aisles and the removal of central towers have quite taken away all appearance of transepts in churches which there is good reason for believing have grown from the cross plan. Ground once taken into the church was seldom given up again; so, where the aisles have not reached their full width the transepts remain in some form, though they have sometimes become only little side chapels of small architectural importance.

Aisles to a chancel are as a rule of later addition than those to the nave. When they are large they generally indicate some special foundation either of a guild or a chantry. In towns such foundations were often of great importance,<sup>2</sup> and the chapels connected with them are as large as the chancel itself.

The space under the tower in a cross church generally pertained to the chancel and so the addition of a large chancel aisle may sometimes supplant a transept although the aisles of the nave remain narrow.

I have said that where a church had a tower at its first building it was nearly always central. It remains to shew how it came about that in nine cases out of ten it is now at the west end. Most parish churches were without towers at first and some waited a long time

<sup>1</sup> From the thirteenth century onwards we sometimes find large gabled aisles, almost equal to the naves in width, but they were never the rule.

<sup>2</sup> Such a guild had often the municipal government of a town in its hands and is

represented by a modern mayor and corporation. For instance, the present corporation of Newark is lineally descended from the old Guild of the Holy Trinity in that church.

before they got them. When speaking of Saxon towers I gave reason for believing that a western tower was not often rebuilt. And if this be so, a church which now has one must have been without a tower until that was built, unless indeed it had an earlier one in another place, which a large number of country churches scarcely can have had. The fashion for adding towers varied a good deal in different neighbourhoods, but taking England altogether there will be found only a small percentage of them older than the fourteenth century and probably not half older than the fifteenth.

Now a steeple was an expensive luxury and it sometimes took a long time to build it, even a lifetime or sometimes more. And men who wanted to use the church in the meanwhile were careful not to interfere with it more than could be helped whilst the work was going on. So they built their tower outside at the west end, on new ground not before built upon, and did not touch the church till it was finished; and then they took down the old west end, and lengthened the nave westwards to meet the new tower. Sometimes this lengthening was only a few feet and was put all into the responds, or sometimes a new bay was added or the last arch on each side considerably widened. Sometime the arcades themselves have been rebuilt since the tower, and so bear no evidence of the lengthening. But often all is distinctly to be seen, and at Bolton Priory we have an example of the process arrested half way. A new tower was begun at the west end there in 1520, as we learn from an inscription upon it. At the suppression, twenty years later, it had only reached the height of the nave walls, and nothing has been done to it from that time to this. There is the usual arch at the east side, but instead of it being open into the church, as it would have been if the work had been completed, we see beyond it the west front of the church of the thirteenth century. It is a most interesting and instructive case, and I hope no one from zeal to improve the church will take it into his head to finish Prior Moon's steeple.

These western towers were added not only to churches which had before been without towers of any kind, but to a great many which had once had them in the middle.



Twelfth century central towers were often hastily and badly built. We know of some that actually fell down, and others must have had to be pulled down on account of their insecurity. Others, too, were taken away because they had become inconvenient obstructions in the middle of the buildings ; for their massive substructures, which were quite in keeping with the rest so long as the church was a simple aisleless building, became terribly in the way when it had grown into the more complicated form of later times. Now and then an attempt was made to get over the difficulty, and at the same time keep the tower. The fine church of Burford in Oxfordshire, for example, has a most wonderful system of squints and other contrivances, to enable the congregation to *see round* the tower, and the result is certainly very picturesque. But, in spite of all, such a church is a great trial to those who have to use it, and so the old men found. They generally preferred to rebuild the tower elsewhere, and choose the west end for it because that was the most symmetrical position next after the central.

Where a central tower has been built to a church possessing aisles, it is so contrived as not to be obstructive, but examples are rare. Where such a one is found, it is generally part of some very extensive rebuilding. At Patrington, for instance, it is evident that money was plentiful, and it was found possible to undertake the entire *and rapid* rebuilding of the whole church. One may see in the building that one part was actually done before another, but the scheme is one, and it has been so quickly executed that the style is uniform all through. In a case like this the inconvenience would be much less than in the more usual one, when work went on slowly as money could be collected. And the people were content to put up with it, using chancel only, when the nave was being built, and *vice versa*, for the sake of having a fine church, to the completion of which they were all looking forward.

Sometimes towers were built in other positions than the two we have discussed. They are exceptions, the reasons for which can sometimes be seen, and we may well believe that they existed even when we cannot find them now. Such towers are additions, like those at the

west ends, and like them have been built outside their respective churches. Sometimes they are quite detached.

When the aisles had taken away the side windows, and a tower the west window from a nave, men began to think it dark, and the next addition was a clerestory. As the clerestory generally followed the tower, it did not become common till the fifteenth century, but examples exist of all dates.

Large churches with aisles to the chancels have often clerestories there also. And the last development, which is found chiefly in town churches, was to do away with transverse arches altogether, and to carry the arcades and clerestory uniformly from the tower to the east end, leaving nothing but a short sanctuary projecting, and making the division of nave and chancel by a screen, to which much importance was given. This may be regarded as the final and perfected form of an English parish church, towards which all its successive changes had been tending. And we may note that such churches as St. Peter, Mancroft, Norwich, St. Michael's, Coventry, and St. Margaret's, Westminster, although they have grown as we have seen from a Celtic germ, have come at last to a plan which very closely resembles that of the Italian basilica.

Whilst these changes were developing the form of the church, others were going on which affected it only in detail. Here a window or a door was inserted, or a wall or an arcade was raised higher, nearly always for a good reason, and to the improvement of the building both in appearance and in historical interest. I shall not say anything of these matters now further than to protest against the stupid destruction of them by ignorant or pedantic "restorers." It requires no great skill to discover that a fifteenth century window in a thirteenth century wall is an "innovation on the original design," or to devise another window having a specious resemblance to what may have been there before. But the man who put that fifteenth century window there knew far better what he was doing than he who would now take it away. And those who can see and understand more in our old architecture than the profile of a moulding or the twist of a tracery bar, know that it helps to give life and human

interest to the building, and cannot find language strong enough to condemn the mischievous folly which would deprive them of it.

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*Postscript on the Churches of Canons.*

Foundations of Canons, whether regular or secular, seem to have generally been made where parish churches already existed, and the parishioners retained some rights in them. The churches, too, when rebuilt at the time of the new foundation, generally followed the type of the largest parish churches having nave choir and transepts and central towers, but not aisles. This simplicity of plan did not prevent large churches being built, and some, as for example, Ripon, which had no aisles to the nave till the fifteenth century, though it had western towers, were as large or larger in scale than most of the cathedral and abbey churches. The canons, however, soon began to feel that the absence of aisles was a defect, and they added them wherever they could. But where there was a cloister it ran along one side of the nave, and an aisle could not be added on that side without encroaching upon it, which might not well be done, so they had to be content with one on the cemetery side only. This explains the apparent anomaly of the one-aisled nave which we find in most canons' churches. When there was no cloister, as at Ripon, two aisles were added. At Boxgrove, where the nave is considerably longer than the cloister we find two aisles for five bays at the west end, and then the northern one stops, and its arcade is carried on blank for seven bays along the cloister wall. The builders could not have shewn more plainly how much they felt the want of an aisle to be a fault to be got over and kept out of sight as much as possible.

## ROMAN DEFENSIVE WORKS.

By G. T. CLARK.

Following the British works, in number as in age, are those of the Romans, also very numerous and very generally diffused. These, as was to be expected, are of a far more scientific character and more worthy of the name of camps than the entrenchments of the Britons. The two visits of Julius Cæsar B.C. 55 and 54 to a certain extent made known the Britons to the Roman world, and when Aulus Plautius arrived in Britain, A.D. 43, he found a coinage in general use, roads, it is believed, between the principal settlements, a considerable commerce with the neighbouring states of Gaul, and various indications of a considerable advance in civilization. The actual work of Rome in Britain was completed between the arrival of Plautius and the departure of the legions, A.D. 411, or in 368 years; but what the effect was of that occupation upon the character of the Britons is not clearly ascertained. The earlier part of the Roman period was a time of immense military activity, both in Britain and Caledonia, and its traces are left in various works, chiefly of a defensive character, scattered broadcast over the country from Dover and Richborough to Inverness, and from Colchester to Caer-Segont and Octopitarum on the Irish Sea, many of them evidently intended to protect a few score soldiers for a few days or weeks, others of a larger area to contain an army. Roman earthworks generally seem to have been thrown up in the times of their earlier and aggressive warfare, and this was particularly the case in the strong country north of the Forth and Clyde, where the resistance was stubborn and incessant. Once fairly in possession of a district, the Romans laid out roads, and constructed works in masonry

of a substantial character. Under their sway London, the existence of which was unknown to Cæsar, became an important port, corn was largely grown and exported, law and order prevailed, and there sprang up those numerous villas and country-houses of which so many traces remain, and which show that when they were occupied the adjacent country at least was at rest. Of the simpler and smaller camps, "*castra æstiva*," Britain contained a vast number, though, being mostly on low land within reach of cultivation, they are fast disappearing; but it is in Scotland, and especially on the verge of the Scottish Highlands, that the finest and most numerous examples are found. There is probably no part of the old Roman empire in which the traces of contest are so clearly marked, and fortunately they have been surveyed and reported upon by a very competent observer, General Roy, and such as remain are being laid down in the large scale surveys of Scotland now in progress. The larger camp at Ardoch in Perthshire, where Agricola is thought to have won his last great battle, is 930 yards long by 650 yards broad; that at Dalginros is 400 yards by 316 yards inner area. Battle Dykes near Forfar measures 350 yards by 616 yards and includes eighty acres. Some of these camps are calculated to have held from 25,000 to 70,000 men.

Independently of its peculiar plan and its well-known and well-marked details, a Roman camp may be usually recognised by its position. The Britons, before the Roman period, lived mainly by hunting, and with the usages of savage tribes, inhabited the tops of hills, whereas the Romans, waging war after a civilized fashion, were accompanied by baggage and other impediments, and camped in low grounds, readily accessible and within reach of water. The Briton was easily taken unawares, and trusted mainly to the difficulties of his position; the Roman relied upon his discipline against surprises, and upon his firmness and superior arms when attacked. The difference between a Roman and a British camp, no less in their form than in their position, cannot be better illustrated than by the contrast between the works at Dorchester on the Thames and those upon the opposite hill of Wittenham. positions specially interest-

ing, because in all probability the works below are those of Aulus Plautius during his earliest advance into the interior of Britain. The district, indeed, is rich in the remains of the past. The British entrenchment of Sinodon still commands the whole valley of the Thames, the river and the hill being almost the only features bearing any trace of their British name; below is Wallingford, probably a work of those same Britons when about to become "Weallas," or strangers, in their own land. At Bensington, hard by, the two chief elements in the English people, the Saxons and the Angles, battled for supremacy. The ford at Wallingford, commanded by the moated mound of the English Wigod, was crossed by the Conqueror in his way from Hastings to Berkhamsted through the, as yet, unconquered England, and at Crownmarsh are the works thrown up during the memorable siege of the castle by King Stephen. Few spots are so rich in points of interest in the history of our island.

A Roman camp may readily be recognised. It is almost always rectangular, usually oblong, with the angles rounded off. It is never circular, nor so laid out as to follow the irregularities of the ground unless these render regularity impracticable. The defence is a bank and an outer ditch, usually single. The bank is generally simple and light, the ditch of no great depth. The defence was completed by short palisades of split timber, "*Paxilli fissi*." The particulars of these palisades are given by Latin military writers, and in the last century part of an actual stockade, with several whole posts, was discovered preserved in peat along the line of a Roman agger near "*Etocetum*" or Wall in Staffordshire. The posts were oak trunks, twelve feet long, of which one third was intended to be in the ground, and each had a notch or chase three feet long from the top, and four inches wide, forming, when two were placed together, something between a loop and an embrasure, for sight and defence. At intervals the line was supported by a sort of a buttress turret, also of timber. Other stockades have more recently been laid open with the city of Carlisle. Roman camps have always more than one entrance and the larger ones have four, one in the centre of each end, and one in each side, but rarely in its centre. This

is said to be especially the case in later works, and is seen at York and Winchester. The prætorium or quarter of the commanding officer was in one of the four divisions formed by the intersecting roads, and had its special bank and palisade. This regularity of outline enabled the soldiers on marching into a camp to take up their post without confusion, as now in marching into a barrack. The prætorian gate was at one end, the decuman opposite to it, the side gates being the "*principalis dextra*" and "*sinistra*." The soldiers were huddled in structures of earth and timber thatched or tiled. It appears that towards the decline of the empire, when auxiliaries were much employed and little to be depended upon, it was the custom to post them in the central part of the camp, placing the regular troops between them and the outer defences. General Roy found in some of the Scottish camps a confirmation of this arrangement.

The earthworks that remain to us of the more temporary camps, works thrown up on a march, or for a summer's campaign, are very slight. Where the station was of permanent importance it was usually walled. The Romans, in Britain at least, do not appear to have had recourse to those gigantic earthworks which were employed by their British predecessors and English successors. No people indeed knew better how to use the spade in their wars, or were more given to employ their soldiers as pioneers, but for great and permanent works, masonry was a more secure and probably not a more expensive defence than an earthwork of equal strength.

Roman camps are seldom on high, that is, on locally high ground. The "*impedimenta*" of the soldiery had to be considered. They are usually upon a road, and often as at Leicester, Brougham, and Brough, upon the low banks of a river which forms their fourth side, and frequently they guard a ford, and generally are so placed as to give full advantage of ground. In England these camps are mostly of moderate size. In Scotland the nature of the service forced the regular employment of large bodies of men in the open field, and the camps are of areas corresponding.

Many of the great and irregular entrenchments that bear the name of *Cæsar*, and are called *Roman*, may have been occupied by the Romans, but are clearly *British*, such are *Cæsar's* camp at *Chobham*, and that of *Vespasian* near *Stonehenge*, and such was the camp at *Wimbledon*, now ruthlessly destroyed. *Hamden Hill*, a very fine *British* camp in *Somerset*, contains *Roman* works, and what is described as an amphitheatre. There is a small but well-marked example of the intrusion of a *Roman* camp into a *British* work near *St. Nicholas* by *Cardiff*, and something like it at *Loughor* in the same county. When a camp was succeeded by a walled station, the general plan was retained, even to the rounding off of the angles, as at *York* and *Lincoln*.

*Roman* masonry is celebrated, and with reason, for its durability. Even where generally destroyed or built over, as in *London*, in parts of *York*, and at *Leicester*, its remains may be detected, sometimes worked up into the walls of a house, or seen in a cellar, or forming the base of a later wall. This is remarkably the case at *Gloucester*, where the industry of *Mr. Bellows* has laid bare a considerable fragment of a *Roman* wall, and at *Hornecastle*, though the walls generally are gone, fragments have been detected whence the plan of the whole station has been deduced. The walls of stations were commonly from six to twelve feet thick and from twenty-five to thirty feet high.

In many *Roman* works on the *Continent* the wall was double, the space between being filled with earth. In *Britain* such walls as remain are of solid masonry. They are usually studded with bastion towers, placed at short arrow flights apart, sometimes square, more usually half round with flattened or stilted sides, and there is always a bastion capping each angle. These flankers have rarely any internal projection; they rose only to the height of the curtain, being, therefore, rather bastions than towers, and were solid or filled with earth and rubbish. Where made use of by the *Normans*, as at *Porechester*, they have been raised and their interior cleaned out and occupied, but the rough masonry shews it was not intended to be seen. *Rutupie*, or *Richborough*; *Anderida*, or *Pevensay*; *Adlemanum*, or *Lymne*; *Calleva*, or *Silchester*; *Portus*



Magnus, or Porchester; Cariannorum, or Burn; Burgh by Yarmouth in Suffolk; "Lindum," or Lincoln; "Venta Silurum," or Caerwent; "Castra Legionum," or Caerleon; are good examples of Roman fortifications, as are the multangular tower and adjacent wall at York, and the fragments of "Bannovallum," or Horncastle; of "Glevum," or Gloucester; and of "Verulamium," by St. Albans. Even where the Romans took possession of posts supposed to be British towns their works were laid out by Roman rule, as at London, Chester, Exeter, Winchester, Colchester, and Lincoln, all usually regarded as important British sites.

Roman works may also be recognised by the details of the masonry. The face work is often composed of cut stone in small cubical blocks, dressed by the hammer, pick, or chisel, sometimes to a pattern, and laid with open joints. Masons' marks are not uncommon. Where rubble is used it is laid in regular courses, with occasional bonding or chain courses of five or six layers of well-burnt red tile or thin flat brick, sometimes relieved by single or double bands of stone placed on edge or in herring-bone fashion. The mortar is well mixed, often with pounded brick, and always freely used. The arches are full centered and with deep rings. Sometimes in mixed Roman and Norman work the latter is executed with Roman materials, and the result is puzzling, as in the gatehouses at Porchester, and in parts of the walls of Colchester. At other places old materials are employed in wholly Norman work as in Guildford and Colchester keeps, and in the base of that of Chepstow. The keep of Penllyne and the curtain at Tamworth shew herring-bone work, but the materials used are not Roman, though the workmanship is imitated. In the outer wall of Rochester castle is a very curious mixture of Roman and Norman work, and part of Brixworth church, and of that of St. Botolph Colchester, contain work long supposed to be Roman, so close is the resemblance. At Colchester, where stone is scarce, Mr. Freeman is of opinion that the Norman and later builders continued to bake bricks after the Roman pattern. It of course frequently happened that Roman stations or towns retained their inhabitants under the English rule, and not unfrequently churches are found within Roman

camp and stations, as at Whalley, Manchester, Lancaster, Ilkley, Castleford and Porchester, and many of our cathedral cities.

Besides the great roads, the Watling Street and the Foss, the Ickneld and the Akeman Street, are many others, evidently laid out by the Romans. They are to be recognised by their direct undeviating course, occasional fillings up, solid foundations, and here and there surface pitching. Where the way has fallen into disuse, its broad and direct line and hard bottom may often be traced even over enclosed lands. This is seen very remarkably at High Cross at the intersection of the Watling Street with the Foss, and for that reason reputed the centre of Roman England. Here the two roads, though in part enclosed and in part disused, may still be recognised, and, looking northwards, the long line of the Foss may be seen stretching away over the hill and dale for Leicester, whence it is continued to Lincoln. It has been thought that the rectangular enclosures common in parts of Somerset, and laid out between cross or field roads, are of Roman origin.

Besides these camps and roads and fortified stations, are other Roman military works of not less importance. Of these are the lines of Agricola, thrown up A.D. 82, connecting the Friths of Forth and Clyde; those of Hadrian, A.D. 120, laid out also, originally by Agricola, between the Tyne and the Solway; and the lines formed a few years later, A.D. 139, by Lollius Urbicus, called after the emperor Antonius Pius, and supposed to have extended from Caeriden on the Forth to Alclud or Whithern on the Clyde, and represented by Graham's Dyke. There remain also the lines generally attributed to Severus, A.D. 211, though perhaps of later date, which consisted of a wall and towers, intending to reinforce the lines of Hadrian, sometimes attributed to Hadrian himself, and known along the Border as "The Roman Wall." This great work included about eighteen "castra" or forts along its course, averaging four miles apart, but unequally placed, and most numerous towards the two ends. Besides these were "castella" or towers sixty-six feet square, in greater number and nearer together, and about 300 "turres" or turrets twelve feet square, the whole

connected together by a wall and ditch, of which the former was eight feet thick and twelve feet high, exclusive of the parapet. The lines of Agricola have been investigated by General Roy, and a pleasant and accurate account of them is given in the recent *Scottish History* of Mr. Burton. Dr. Bruce's great work on the lines of Hadrian may be said to have exhausted that very interesting subject.

Notwithstanding the storms that have swept over the various inhabitants of the British Isles, it is not surprising that there should remain so many traces of Roman military works. They were certainly very numerous, and their masonry was of a most durable character. The Count of the Saxon shore, whose government embraced the coast line of Norfolk and Suffolk, Essex, Kent, and Sussex, had nine fortresses to defend, and the "*Comes militum Britanniarum*" had thirty-seven. Lappenberg, who mentions these facts, estimates the Roman force at one time in Britain as composed of about 19,000 foot and 1700 horse, and at the period of their retirement from the country they counted in it at least twenty-eight fortified towns, besides posts and stations in considerable numbers.

## THE SIEGE AND SURRENDER OF DUNSTER CASTLE, 1645-6.

By EMANUEL GREEN.

The Marquis of Hertford, coming into Somerset in August, 1642, to raise the militia for the king, the county rose against him and drove him from Wells to Sherbourne. This place in turn he soon found to be untenable, and whilst negotiating or pretending to negotiate for a surrender, he suddenly escaped, on the 19th September, having with him about four hundred followers,<sup>1</sup> and made his course to Minehead. The Earl of Bedford, commanding for the Parliament, at once issued warrants for the apprehension of any of his party, and sent off posts to "Master" Luttrell at Dunster to strengthen and make good his castle there.<sup>2</sup> "Master" Luttrell obeyed quickly and readily, increased his garrison by one hundred men, and, supposing the Royalists would endeavour to cross over to Wales, caused the rudders to be removed from all the ships in Minehead harbour.<sup>3</sup> On arriving at Minehead the Marquis fortified himself in a "strong inn," and then, as had been anticipated, attempted to get possession of Dunster Castle. For this purpose sixty of Sir Ralph Hopton's men were sent there to demand an entrance, a demand which was immediately and peremptorily refused. After some parley, as the party declined to leave, "Mistresse" Luttrell commanded the men within to "give fire," a command which the Royalist officer without ordered them not to obey; but "Mistresse" Luttrell again commanded them "upon their lives to do it," "which accordingly they did."<sup>4</sup> To be fired at from

<sup>1</sup> England's Memorable Accidents.

<sup>2</sup> "Special Passages."

<sup>3</sup> England's Memorable Accidents,  
No. 25.

<sup>4</sup> "Special Passages."

behind a rampart was more than these cavaliers expected, and so forthwith they beat a hasty retreat. Eventually the Marquis escaped in some coal ships to Wales, when there arose a great anxiety lest he should return suddenly, and by surprise get possession of the castle, from which it was considered that ten thousand men could not get him out. Proposals for raising horse and foot to guard it were promptly made, but the "very thoughts" that such a thing might occur caused the Minehead people to forget to entertain the Earl of Bedford when he arrived in pursuit.<sup>1</sup> By Lord Hertford this failure so unexpected was greatly regretted, as the place at this time was considered impregnable, and afterwards in his vexation he charged Sir Ralph Hopton's men with cowardice in the business.

I have acquainted His Majesty [he wrote] of our disastrous fortune at Mineard and Dunster occasioned by the multitude of your countrymen's evil dispositions and cowardly behaviour in them, upon which I remembered a reverent speech of that worthy souldier, Swinden, who was General of Ostend in the time of the Infanta, Arch Duchesse of Flanders, who said that our English nation stood too much upon their owne conceipt and valour, and that he would with a considerable army runne through our whole kingdome, knowing the vulgar sort of our nation to be fainthearted and unexperienced in martiall discipline. This relation of the Generall's happened to be true, for in our best actions and in the midst of our hopefull succeesse, Capt. Digby's, Sir John Stowell's and your owne souldiers ran cowardly away from us, insomuch that had it not been for that small number of my owne Horse and Foot we had lost our orbanances, hazarded our persons, and lost the honour of that daye's work.

HERTFORD.

To this Sir Ralph Hopton replied :—

May it please your Lordship, with humble pardon, according to my weake ability I have considered your worthy advertisements, and vindicate myselfe and country from your Lordship's mistake. I shall now make it appeare that my actions and those under my command have bin concurrent to your Lordship's command and I have in briefe devoted myselfe to answere to every particular of your Lordship's letter. First, whereas your Lordship condemned our endeavours and cowardly behaviour at Mineard and Dunster, your Lordship may well remember and saw, three to one of the Earl of Bedford's forces forsake him, then those of our country under your Lordship's command had good succeesse considering the great odds (five to one). Secondly, that whereas your Lordship remembered one of the Generall in his speech at Ostend, that our nation stood too much upon their owne strength and valour and that he would with a few experienced soldiers run through our kingdome,

<sup>1</sup> "Special Passages," Nos. 8-9.

My Lord the question herein is not disputable, for nature at home bindeth filiall affection, and one Brother or one nation to fight another is not warrantable by God's lawes, and in that respect there might be faintheartedness in our nation, but my Lord, let the Generall of Ostend or any other foraine Princes, invade this our land, I know that your Lordship believes that our Nation will not runne or give one foot of ground to such an enemy, for we are all senceible with whom we quarrell, the Father against the Sonne, and the Sonne against the Father, and if Alexander the Great or the Emperor of Persia were now alive, whose armies dranke Rivers of water, yet my Lord it would daunt the hearts of these gallants to destroy their owne bloud.

Your Lordship's obedient Servant,

RALPH HOPTON.<sup>1</sup>

Early in January, 1643, the Welshmen gave trouble on the Somerset coast. Some blockaded Minehead, and preventing the entry of all boats or barques, kept back the supplies of provisions and coal. Others, about five hundred in number, under Captain Paulet landed there, "invaded" the county, and "constrained the inhabitants to yeeld to any taxation, and to submit themselves servants and slaves to every poore base companion, to save their throats from being cut," an operation daily threatened. This party attacked Dunster Castle, but Mr. Luttrell being prepared, was able to defeat them and secure the town from plunder. In the attack, a shot from the castle killed some of Capt. Paulet's men, which "moved him to wrath," and he vowed he would quarter the "murderer" limb from limb and hang his quarters on the castle as food for ravens. Being thus unsuccessful here, he went on to Barnstaple<sup>2</sup> with two hundred of his musketeers and forty horse, and Dunster remained intact and held for the Parliament until after the fall of Bridgwater in this year. The royalist successes then added so much to their prestige that many began to think that victory must be a certainty for the king. Mr. Luttrell, amongst others, seems to have been of this opinion and to have trimmed his conduct thereto, for Mr. Francis Windham, at the time, having opportunities for conference with him "found that he had good inclinations in him" to deliver up the castle; inclinations, however, in which he was much "distracted and disturbed"

<sup>1</sup> The Copy of a Letter, &c.

<sup>2</sup> "Special Passages."

by some persons near him, *i.e.*, "Mistresse" Luttrell, his wife. But, by persistently pressing his advantage, Mr. Windham so "wrought on his fears" that eventually, with a fine of a thousand pounds, the castle was surrendered and garrisoned for the king.

After the reverses of the royalist party at Langport, Taunton, and Bridgwater, in the summer of 1645, Dunster Castle remained the only place held for the king in Somerset, but, isolated as it was, it was harmless except as a means of annoyance to the district immediately around it. As it was desirable to stop even this power, Colonel Blake and Colonel Sydenham, taking a small party from Taunton, laid siege to it early in November, and by the sixth had so completely blocked it that its surrender seemed certain, if it were not taken by surprise. Neither of these expectations were realised as the besieged held out, although by the end of the month they were said to be straitened for provisions and had suffered sadly from want of water. It was reported that Colonel Francis Windham, the Governor, about the 20th November wrote to Lord Goring, then commanding the king's forces in Devon, that he could hold out but a fortnight or three weeks longer, and was only enabled to do that from having secured a good supply of water from some late heavy rains.<sup>1</sup> He at least wrote for aid, as in response, Goring sent some foot to Bideford, intending to forward them to Dunster by sea, and a party of horse was got in readiness to march by land to protect them on arrival.<sup>2</sup> But, possibly not knowing their destination until they arrived at Bideford, and then not getting their promised pay, and finding they were to be out for more than the twenty days agreed for with Lord Hopton, they deserted there and ran. Sir Richard Grenville was quickly after them to bring them back but the plan for this time resulted in failure.<sup>3</sup> The design becoming known, Sir Thomas Fairfax placed a party to command the road and prevent or check the repetition of any similar attempt. Thus early in December when another party endeavoured to pass, the others guarding the roads being on the watch about Tiverton and Crediton, encountered them and compelled them to return.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "Perfect Passages," No. 56.

<sup>2</sup> "Perfect Diurnal," No. 125,

<sup>3</sup> "Moderate Intelligencer," No. 38.

<sup>4</sup> "Weekly Account."

Meanwhile Colonel Blake had repeatedly summoned the Governor to surrender, but always receiving a curt refusal, he had pushed forward his approaches and batteries and worked busily at his mines, as these were "next to determine the business."<sup>1</sup> A summons was again sent in, now with the threat to storm if it were refused. Colonel Windham replied as before, that as he had formerly announced his intention to keep his charge to his utmost, so he was still and would ever be *semper idem*, always the same.

About the 6th January, 1646, Blake received a reinforcement of fifteen hundred horse, and these he quartered some five or six miles from the castle, to keep a sharp look out on the Exeter road.<sup>2</sup> As relief was constantly attempted and as often prevented, these troopers had a very harassing and hard duty to perform, and this, with the continuance of the siege and the dodging and perpetual activity thereabouts, drew the general attention towards Dunster.

At the very end of December, 1645, or about the 1st of January, 1646, a story was circulated by the royalist party at Oxford, on the reported authority of two men supposed to have come from Dunster, that the castle was relieved and the siege raised. The story was, that the besiegers, having taken prisoner the Governor's mother, sent in a summons thus—"If you will yet deliver up the castle, you shall have fair quarter, if not, expect no mercy; your mother shall be in the front, to receive the first fury of your cannon. We expect your answer." The Governor is supposed to reply, "If you do what you threaten you do the most barbarous and villainous act that was ever done. My mother I honour, but the cause I fight for and the masters I serve, God and the King, I honour more. Mother, do you forgive me and give me your blessing, and let the rebels answer for spilling that blood of yours which I would save with the loss of mine own, if I had enough for both my master and yourself." To this the mother is supposed to answer, "Son, I forgive thee for this brave resolution. If I live I shall love thee the better for it. God's will be done." The story then adds that just at this moment there

<sup>1</sup> "Perfect Occurrences."

<sup>2</sup> "Moderate Intelligencer," No. 44.



appeared Lord Wentworth, Sir Richard Grenville, and Colonel Webb, who attacking the besiegers, killed many, took a thousand prisoners, rescued the mother, and relieved the castle.<sup>1</sup>

This report is here quoted from its original source ; it has been often repeated, but was not true. The siege was not raised, the castle was not relieved at this time, and the supposed chief actors in the affair were then in Cornwall or on the borders of Devon.<sup>2</sup> The Parliamentary party soon cried it down as "ale house intelligence and a feeble lie."<sup>3</sup>

As the Governor seemed determined not to surrender, Fairfax wrote to Colonel Blake to proceed with the siege and to spring his mines.<sup>4</sup> This he did on the 3rd January, fully expecting to have blown up the castle. But they within, aware of what had been going on, had discovered one mine, and had spoilt it by countermining, another was not fired or did not spring, whilst the third, although it exploded fairly, destroyed but a part of the wall, causing a considerable breach, but yet making "more noise than execution."<sup>5</sup> The road opened by it was altogether too difficult for approach, and proved so inaccessible that the intended attack could not be made. Thus the hoped for opportunity was lost. For the defenders, however, now very short of necessaries, it proved a great annoyance, as they were put to double duty to keep their guards. In this emergency Sir Richard Grenville wrote to Colonel Windham to hold out yet a little longer and help should certainly come to him.<sup>6</sup> Intending this, two regiments were sent out on the 8th of January, ostensibly to relieve Exeter, but really destined for Dunster. Their plan was either betrayed or assumed by their opponents, as some horse and foot were called from their winter quarters to watch them, and if necessary to go and strengthen Colonel Blake. Seeing their enemy thus prepared, and that relief was impossible, the Royalists once more retired, and the blockade of Dunster was continued without interruption until the end of January.

<sup>1</sup> "Mercurius Academicus," No. 3.

<sup>2</sup> "Mercurius Civicus," No. 136.

<sup>3</sup> "Mercurius Britannicus," No. 114.

<sup>4</sup> "Perfect Passages," No. 63.

<sup>5</sup> "Mod. Intell.," No. 44.

<sup>6</sup> "Weekly Account," No. 2.

Towards the end of 1645 the king's army found itself cooped up in Devon, the Parliamentary forces gathering in Somerset and along the line of its retreat, in high spirits, cheerily concluding that at last the country had a chance of peace and that the royal troops were securely and certainly trapped. A report now came that Goring intended to break through this line and get his whole force away. Orders were at once sent for the reserves in the rear to be ready to meet such a movement, and Major-Gen. Massey immediately busied himself with preparations about Crewkerne.<sup>1</sup> Taking advantage of the attention of the Parliamentary force in Devon being given to this matter, a party of fifteen hundred horse and three hundred foot, sent by Lord Hopton under the command of Col. Finch, managed to reach Dunster, and on the 5th of February relieved the castle with four barrels of powder, thirty cows and fifty sheep.<sup>2</sup> Having done this they spoilt the mines and destroyed the works thrown up by the besiegers and then returned to Devon, plundering several places as they passed. Finding the relieving party too strong for him, Col. Blake on their arrival retired for protection into a strong house and remained there unmolested. As they left, however, he sallied out on their rear and took a few prisoners, but in turn got himself into an awkward trouble, from which he managed only with great difficulty to make an honourable retreat without great loss.<sup>3</sup> Col. Luttrell, the owner of the castle, apparently regretting, under the altered circumstances of the war, his former surrender of it, now offered, by report, to raise a thousand men to help in any other attack, but<sup>4</sup> Blake determined simply to renew and continue the blockade, until he could be strongly reinforced from the main army. From his better information he may have judged that this would early be possible, as not long afterwards Exeter fell. Sir Thomas Fairfax then, with his usual energy, quickly moved off for fresh work, and on the 8th of April his army was camped around Chard, from whence he sent Col. Lambert's regiment to strengthen the force before Dunster.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "Perfect Passages," No. 65.

<sup>2</sup> Carte, T.

<sup>3</sup> "Perfect Passages," No. 68.

<sup>4</sup> "Mod. Intell.," No. 50.

<sup>5</sup> "Mod. Intell.," No. 59.

Col. Blake had gone to meet the general, when, on Thursday night, the 16th of April, those in the castle called to Captain BurrIDGE, who commanded at the time, to know if it were true, as some of his soldiers had stated, that Exeter and Barnstaple had both fallen. Captain BurrIDGE "hearkening" to what was said, they "tendered their desires" to be allowed to send to Barnstaple to get the news confirmed, and if it were true they would capitulate. The captain answered that he "would not by any false way or smooth language go about to beg their castle," and offered himself as hostage if they would send out one of like rank whilst they sent for intelligence, and if what he had said was not true he would forfeit his life, provided they would agree to surrender on a day named if all were confirmed. Weak and reduced, and now barely able to defend more than the fort or keep, this conversation "wrought so much" upon the garrison that on Friday morning it was re-opened and a request again made for leave to go for intelligence. Notice having meantime arrived that Blake was returning and would soon be with him, Captain BurrIDGE desired them to have a little patience and they should get an answer from the colonel himself. About noon Blake arrived, having with him Major-General Skippon's regiment and the remainder of his own. This force he drew up in two bodies on a hill facing the castle, and, in accordance with orders given by Sir Thomas Fairfax, sent in another summons for surrender.<sup>1</sup> Deprived of all hope of relief, Colonel Windham, in reply, demanded a parley, the result being that after having sustained a close siege of about a hundred and sixty days, with a loss of twenty men, he surrendered on the 19th of April on the following conditions:—

1. That the Castle, together with the arms, ammunition, and other furniture of war (except what is hereunder excepted), be delivered up into the hands of Colonel Blake, for his Excellency Sir Thomas Fairfax, to the use of the King and Parliament.

2. That all Commissioners and officers in the Castle should march away with horses and arms and all other necessary accoutrements appertaining.

3. That common officers and common soldiers, both horse and foot, should march away with their arms and three charges of powder and

<sup>1</sup> "The Taking of Michael's Mount," &c.

bullet, and with three yards of match, for those that had matchlocks, together with colours and drums.

4. That Colonel Windham should carry with him all that was properly his own, and that what property belonged to Lady Windham should be sent to her.

5. That all officers and soldiers with all particular persons of the castle should march forth secure, as many as would, to Oxford, without delay, and those that were otherwise minded should lay down their arms and have "let passes" to their homes, or to any other place they should desire, with protection against the violence of the soldiers.

6. That prisoners to either party be released.

7. That the said Colonel Francis Windham and his soldiers march to Oxford in twelve days.<sup>1</sup>

Under this agreement the castle was delivered up on the 22nd April. Six pieces of ordnance and two hundred stand of arms were all the booty found within it. Colonel Blake, writing from Taunton, 21st April, when reporting the event to the Parliament, remarked that, at the price of time and blood, he could no doubt have obtained very different terms, but he was induced to accept these, wishing to follow the exemplary clemency of his general.<sup>2</sup> A public thanksgiving was now ordered for the many and continued successes of the Parliamentary forces, Dunster being named in the list of places whose capture deserved especial emphasis.<sup>3</sup> Minehead, too, rejoiced that her disagreeable neighbour had fallen, and "gave the ringers when Dunster was yielded" four shillings and eight pence.

With this surrender of Dunster the fighting ceased in Somerset. The "trumpet left off his summons, the cannon forbode his chiding," and all the county was hushed into obedience to the Parliament. The war was now virtually over. The royal army, defeated everywhere, was soon disbanded, and the king, a captive, bought and sold, was destined to remain a prisoner till the bitter end.

<sup>1</sup> "Merc. Civicus," No. 152.

<sup>2</sup> "Four Strong Castles Taken," &c.

<sup>3</sup> "Perfect Diurnal," No. 144.

## DUNSTER AND ITS LORDS.

By H. C. MAXWELL LYTE, M.A., F.S.A.

### PART IV.

A garrison was maintained in Dunster Castle for more than five years after its surrender to the Parliamentary forces under Blake. George Luttrell, though apparently allowed to live in his own house, was made to feel that he was not master there. On the 26th of March, 1650, the Council of State resolved:—

“That it be referred to the Committee which confers with the Officers of the Armie to consider whether or noe Dunster Castle and Taunton Castle or either of them are fitt to be demolished and to report to the Councell their opinions therein.”<sup>1</sup>

On the 6th of May twelve barrels of gunpowder were issued “for the supply of Taunton and Dunster Castle,” and on the 25th of the same month, a further demand of the Governor of Dunster Castle for arms and ammunition was referred to the Committee of the Ordinance.<sup>2</sup> The following resolutions relating to Dunster Castle are entered in the order-books of the Council of State for the year 1650:—

6th June. “That a letter bee written to Colonell Desbrow, to let him know that this Councell leaves it to him to put in such number of men into Dunster and Taunton Castles as hee shall thinke fit to secure them.”<sup>3</sup>

5th August. “That it bee referred to the Committee which meets with the Officers of the Armie to take into consideration the present condition of Dunster Castle and to report to the Councell their opinions what they thinke fitt to bee done therein, either as to the making it untenable or repairing of it.”<sup>4</sup>

10th August. “At the Committee for Marshall affaires. Ordered: That the Committee haveing seriously considered the present state of the Guarrison at Dunster Castle and finding that the making of it every way

<sup>1</sup> Domestic State Papers, I, 64, f. 120.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., ff. 312, 389.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., f. 126.

<sup>4</sup> Domestic State Papers, I, 8, f. 49.

teneable against an Enemy will require a great summe of money, which they conceive the Councell at present cannot well spare, conceive it necessary that the said Guarrison be drawne to Taunton, And that the Castle be soe farre slighted as that it may not be made suddainely teneable by an Enemy, and that it be referred to Major Generall Debrow to the Commissioners of the Militia for the County to see this done and to send an Account thereof to the Councell."<sup>1</sup>

The work of destruction was set in hand without delay, and a rate was levied in Somersetshire "for pulling downe Dunster Castle."<sup>2</sup> A communication from Dunster Castle, dated the 27th of August, states:—

"Here hath been above two hundred men working at this Castle these twelve daies about sleighting the same, which is almost finished except the dwelling house of Mr. Luttrell and the Gatehouse, according to Order of Council of State."<sup>3</sup>

The preservation of such parts of the fabric as still remain is due to a resolution passed by the Council of State on the 20th of August:—

"To write to Major Robinson that Dunster Castle be continued in the condition it is till further order of the Councell, and that there bee twenty or thertie chozen men there for the defence thereof, and that letters be written to him for that purpose."<sup>4</sup>

In a very brief notice of his cousin George Luttrell, Narcissus Luttrell writes:—

"At his father's death his Castle of Dunster & estate was in the Enemies hands, he enjoyed little thereof till reduced; the walls of Dunster Castle, the Mount Stephens & a fair new building were totally demolished, & his Gatehouse much defaced by orders from Whitehal under Bradshaw's hand, and from the Militia of the County in August 1650, to about £3000 damages, without any recompence, & to save the charge of a garrison the very mansion house was advised to be pulled down by the militia but afterwards countermanded."<sup>5</sup>

The "Mount Stephens" here mentioned was the lofty keep, which, as far back as the year 1254, contained a chapel dedicated to the proto-martyr. The summit of the tor, now occupied by a bowling-green, was known as "St. Stevens" until 1719, if not later.<sup>6</sup> The foundations of some old buildings were discovered there a few years ago, but they did not afford any indication of the size or shape of the Norman keep of the Mohuns.

<sup>1</sup> Domestic State Papers, I, 8, f. 70.

<sup>2</sup> Savage's "History of Carhampton," p. 436.

<sup>3</sup> "A perfect Diurnall," No. 38 (King's Pamphlets, vol. xlvii.)

<sup>4</sup> Domestic State Papers, I, 9, f. 13.

<sup>5</sup> MS. at Dunster Castle.

<sup>6</sup> "Paid for a roop to draw the stons out of the winke at St Stevens 5s 6d." "Disbursements of William Withycombe," 1719. Dunster Manor Office, Box xxi.

During part of the time that Dunster Castle was in the hands of the Government, it served as the prison of William Prynne, whose political writings were as offensive to Cromwell and the other ruling powers as they had been to Charles I and Laud. The warrant for his arrest and confinement at Dunster "for seditiously writing and practising against the Commonwealth" was issued on the 25th of June 1650, and orders were given that no one should be allowed to confer with him alone.<sup>1</sup> Finding that the muniments of George Luttrell were in "a confused chaos," he employed part of his enforced leisure in making the existing arrangement of them according to their subjects and dates. He also compiled a general calendar of them at the end of which there is a characteristic note, stating that it was made "by William Prynne of Swainswicke, Esq., in the eight months of his illegal, causeless, close imprisonment in Dunster Castle, by Mr. Bradshaw and his companions at Whitehall, Feb. 18, Anno Dom. 1650, 2 Car. II." From Dunster Prynne was, in 1651, removed to Taunton, and thence to Pendennis Castle.<sup>2</sup>

The following letters show the subsequent decisions of the Council of State with respect to Dunster Castle:—

"To the Commissioners of the Militia of the County of Somerset.  
"Gentlemen,

"Although there appeare not much at present of any stirring of the Enemy, yet Wee have sure information that they have designes on foot at present of great danger to the Commonwealth and particularly in those parts, to prevent which Wee thinke it necessary that such places as are not yet made untenable should have some strength put into them to prevent the Enemyes surprize. And Wee being informed that Dunster Castle, the house of Mr. Lutterell, is yet in a Condition that if it be seized by the Enemy might prove dangerous, Wee therefore desire you to appoint some militia forces to prevent the surprize of it till there may be some course taken to make it untenable or that the state of affaires may not be subject to the like danger as now they are.

"Whitehall, 25 March 1651."<sup>3</sup>

"To Major Generall Desborowe,

"Wee are informed from Major Robinson Governour of Taunton and Dunster Castle that the Forces remayning in those Garrisons are not sufficient to enable Him to preserve the same for the Service of the State. Wee therefore desire you to consider those Places and the Forces in them, and in what you find those Forces defective to make supply thereof that

<sup>1</sup> Calendar of Domestic State Papers.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 73.

<sup>3</sup> Domestic State Papers, I, 96, f. 253.

the Governor may bee able to give a good Accompt thereof to the Comon Wealth.

“Whitehall, 20<sup>o</sup> Maij 1651.”<sup>1</sup>

“To George Luttrell Esq<sup>re</sup> of Dunster Castle.

“Wee conceive it hath beene some prejudice to you that your house hath beene still continued a Garrison, which Wee are willing you should be freed from, soe as the Comon Wealth may be assured from danger by it. And Wee doubt not but you will bee carefull to keepe the Place from the Enemies surprise, in respect of your Interest in it; But that Wee may be able to give the Comon Wealth a good Accompt of that Place upon the remove of that Garrison, Wee hold fit that you enter Recognizance before two Justices of the Peace with two Suretyes to the Keepers of the Liberty of the Comon Wealth of England, your selfe in £6000 and £3000 each of your Suretyes. The Condition to bee, that you shall not suffer any use to bee made of your said House of Dunster Castle to the prejudice of the Comon Wealth and present Government, which being done Wee have given Order to Major Generall Desborow to draw off the Men that are in the same Castle and dispose of them as Wee have given Order. Wee have had Informations of Designes upon that your Castle, the prevention of the operation whereof hath occasioned our putting of a Guard there; and having now put it into this Way wherein Wee have had (*sic*) of your Conveniency; Wee expect you to be carefull of what besides your particular herein concerns the Interest of the Publique.”

“Whitehall, 27<sup>o</sup> Maij 1651.”<sup>2</sup>

On the same day Major-General Desborow was ordered to draw off the twenty men who were quartered at Dunster, as soon as George Luttrell had entered into the necessary recognizances.<sup>3</sup>

The Government afterwards became so well satisfied of George Luttrell's loyalty to the commonwealth that he was appointed Sheriff of Somerset in November, 1652. There is in the hall of Dunster Castle a fine half-length portrait of Oliver Cromwell, which has been ascribed to Vandyke. When the times became quieter George Luttrell set himself to repairing the damage done to his property during the recent siege, some of the wooden buildings in the middle of the High street having been riddled with shot. The hole made by a cannon ball fired from the castle through one of the rafters of the octagonal Yarn Market is still visible, though the roof above it was substantially repaired in 1647. Some traces of earth-works still remain in the park behind the Luttrell Arms Hotel, and tradition says that it was there that Blake planted some of his cannons for bombarding the castle.

<sup>1</sup> Domestic State Papers, I, 96, f. 193.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 203.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 202.



George Luttrell's first wife, Elizabeth Prideaux, died on the 22nd of May, 1652, and was buried at Dunster the same evening. A few weeks later, in the early part of July, he was married at Buckland Filleigh to her cousin Honora, daughter of John Fortescue of that place.<sup>1</sup> His two sons by his first wife died in infancy, and his second wife proved childless. On his death, therefore, at the age of thirty in 1655, his estates passed to his brother Francis, who enjoyed them for about eleven years. In the first Parliament of Charles II. Francis Luttrell sat as member for the neighbouring borough of Minehead, which had on five previous occasions returned other members of his family. From the time of the Restoration until the disfranchisement of the borough by the Reform Act of 1832, the owners of Dunster Castle exercised a preponderating influence in all Parliamentary elections at Minehead, being always able to return one of the members and sometimes both.

Francis Luttrell died in 1666, leaving three sons, all of whom eventually inherited the property. Thomas the eldest died a minor in 1670, and was succeeded by his brother Francis, who was then about eleven years of age. There was some question of buying a peerage for this Francis Luttrell while he was still an undergraduate at Oxford. Anthony à Wood records in his autobiography under the date of October 26, 1678 :—

"I was told from Sir Thomas Spencer's house that the King had given Dr. Fell, bishop of Oxford, a patent for an EARL (which comes to about 1000*l.*) towards the finishing of the great gate of Christ Church next to Pembroke College. He intends to bestow it on Mr. Lutterell, a gentleman commoner of Christ Church, of Somersetshire, having 4000*l.* per annum at present."<sup>2</sup>

On attaining his majority in 1680 Francis Luttrell married Mary, daughter and heiress of John Tregonwell of Milton Abbas. To him are due the elaborate plaster ceilings of the great staircase, and of the parlour and of the small adjoining room at Dunster Castle. That of the parlour bears the arms of Luttrell impaled with Tregonwell, the Tregonwell crest, and the date, "ANNO

<sup>1</sup> Dunster Parish Register.

<sup>2</sup> "Life of Anthony à Wood" (1848), p. 205. A few years after this, Alexander Luttrell, a younger brother of Francis, and like him a gentleman commoner of

Christ Church, got into trouble at Oxford for dragging old Lady Lovelace out of her coach at night and breaking windows in the town, after a carouse at the Crown tavern. *Ibid.*, p. 230.

DOMMINI (*sic*) CHRISTI MDCLXXXI." Francis Luttrell was in command of the Somerset militia at Taunton in June, 1685, but was compelled to evacuate the town on the approach of the Duke of Monmouth's army.<sup>1</sup> He was one of the first men of importance to join the standard of the Prince of Orange at Exeter in November, 1688.<sup>2</sup> He died at Plymouth in July, 1690, being at that time in command of one of the king's regiments.<sup>3</sup> Mary his widow had a considerable fortune, and under the terms of his will had the use of his furniture and jewels for life.<sup>4</sup> She accordingly went to live in London, taking with her many valuable things from Dunster Castle. Narcissus Luttrell records the sequel in his Diary under the date of November 19, 1696 :—

"Yesterday morning a sudden fire hapned in Mrs. Luttrells house in St. James's street, being newly and richly furnished, which burnt it to the ground, the lady herself narrowly esaping, and 'tis said she lost in plate, jewells, &c. to the value of 10,000*l*.<sup>5</sup>

A tradition in the family relates that nothing was saved but one diamond ring. A few weeks after this catastrophe Mrs. Luttrell married Jacob Bancks, a Swede by birth, who held a commission as captain in the English navy.<sup>6</sup> He is said to have laid a considerable wager that he would make the rich widow his wife. He was knighted in 1699, and through the Luttrell influence was elected member for Minehead in nine successive Parliaments.<sup>7</sup>

Tregonwell Luttrell of Dunster Castle, the only son of Colonel Francis Luttrell, died in 1703 before attaining his majority, and the estates passed to his uncle, Colonel Alexander Luttrell, who, however, only enjoyed them for about eight years.<sup>8</sup> From 1711 until her own death in 1723 Dorothy, widow of Colonel Alexander Luttrell, had the management of them on behalf of her eldest boy Alexander. During her time two changes were made on the Tor of Dunster. Up to the beginning of the eighteenth century there had been but one approach to the castle.

<sup>1</sup> Narcissus Luttrell's Diary, vol. i, p. 347.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 478. "Report of Historical Manuscripts Commission," vol. vii, pp. 226, 416. "Hatton Correspondence" (Camden Society), vol. ii, pp. 106, 108, 110.

<sup>3</sup> Narcissus Luttrell's Diary, vol. ii,

p. 83.

<sup>4</sup> Wills at Somerset House, "Coker," f. 40.

<sup>5</sup> Vol. iv, p. 142.

<sup>6</sup> Narcissus Luttrell's Diary, vol. iv, p. 150.

<sup>7</sup> Savage's "History of Carhampton."

<sup>8</sup> Dunster Parish Register.

After ascending the slope to Sir Hugh Luttrell's gatehouse and passing under its vaulted archway, carriages had to turn abruptly to the right through the older gateway between the Edwardian towers. Thence they had to describe a long curve to the left to reach the porch on the north-western façade of the Elizabethan mansion. From first to last the road from the town was extremely steep, and the angle between the two gateways was so sharp that in descending the hill some skill was required to drive a carriage safely through them. Mrs. Luttrell, therefore, in 1716, made an alternative road, which branched off to the left of the other some way below the gatehouse, and then wound round the eastern and southern sides of the Tor, ascending gradually until it reached the level of the south-eastern angle of the castle, towards which it then turned rather sharply. It ended on a small gravel platform outside the offices.<sup>1</sup> The trees lining "the new way" are very properly represented as quite young in the engraved view of Dunster Castle, which was published by Buck in 1733. Under the advice of Sir James Thornhill a florid chapel was built on the south-eastern side of the castle in 1722 and 1723, at a cost of about £1300.<sup>2</sup>

Alexander, son and successor of Colonel Alexander Luttrell, lived very extravagantly in London and elsewhere, and died in 1737 deeply in debt.<sup>3</sup> In him the male line of the Luttrells of Dunster came to an end. For the fifth time in less than a century the estates passed to a minor. Margaret, daughter of Sir John Trevelyan and widow of the last Alexander Luttrell, had the charge for many years of the two Luttrell heiresses, her own daughter Margaret, and her husband's niece Ann, who had lost both her parents while still an infant.<sup>4</sup> The former of these ladies was in 1747 married to Henry Fownes of Nethway in the county of Devon, who accordingly assumed the name and arms of Luttrell.

Further structural changes were made at Dunster in the second half of the eighteenth century. The piece of

<sup>1</sup> Dunster Manor Office, Box xxi.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> After his death it was even found desirable to sell the family plate. Sir John Trevelyan appears to have bought

most of it at a sale that took place at Taunton during the assize week. Dunster Manor Office, Box i.

<sup>4</sup> Dunster Manor Office, Box xxii. Epitaph in Dunster Church.

the curtain wall that connected the Elizabethan mansion with the Edwardian gateway was partially rebuilt in 1761. Two years later it was resolved to make a new carriage road, to supersede entirely the dangerous old one, which passed through that gateway. The "new way" of 1719, it must be remembered, did not lead up to the front door, the southern end of the residence being built against the solid rock of the Tor, which at that point was almost precipitous. There was thus no means of external access from the gravelled platform at the upper end of the "new way," except by some steep flights of steps. A surveyor named Hull suggested two different plans for a road, which should ascend from the town to the castle by zigzags, but eventually recommended that the road made in 1719 should be prolonged round the western and northern sides of the Tor until it reached the front door. This last scheme was adopted, and the work was carried out in 1763 and 1764. It involved the destruction of the wall against the hill which formed the southern boundary of the lower ward of the ancient castle, and of the western wall, which extended northwards from it and joined the curtain wall at an angle of 110 degrees at a point about forty-five feet to the west of an old bastion, which still remains. All the buildings in the northern part of the lower ward, near the gatehouse, were demolished, and the whole surface of the lower ward, which had hitherto sloped down towards the north, was made absolutely level, by lowering it a little on the south side and raising it considerably on the north. The massive wooden doors of the Edwardian gateway were closed and a wall was built close to them, to protect them from the pressure of the earth that was being piled up behind. The course of the old road that used to lead up to the front door of the residence was at the same time entirely obliterated under a lawn of smooth turf.<sup>1</sup> The artificial platform thus created in 1764, and retained ever since, came up to the level of the floor of the upper storey of Sir Hugh Luttrell's gatehouse, which had hitherto been approached only from below, by means of winding steps. It was therefore

<sup>1</sup> Plans, etc. by Thomas Hull. Dunster Manor Office.

resolved soon afterwards to make an entrance from it into the highest landing of the southern staircase of the gatehouse. A late Perpendicular doorway, removed from one of the demolished buildings of the old castle, was set up parallel with the line of the curtain wall, and a polygonal turret was built on either side of it, battlemented above and pierced below with narrow apertures, that were intended to represent loopholes. So boldly was this southern front of the gatehouse designed, and so venerable does it now look under its thick mantle of ivy, that it has generally been considered a genuine work of the sixteenth century. It was most probably in the time of Henry Fownes Luttrell that doorways were made between the northern and southern chambers of the two upper storeys of the gatehouse, so as to give easy access to the former from the inhabited portion of the castle. The gatehouse, as built in the reign of Henry V, appears to have been divided into two parts by a solid stone wall, which ran right across it and supported two distinct roofs. Each part had its own staircase and its own series of garderobes, the floors and windows of the northern part being, moreover, on a higher level than those in the southern part. A hollow tower and other artificial ruins were built on Conygar Hill in and about the year 1775.<sup>1</sup>

Henry Fownes Luttrell survived his wife, the heiress of Dunster, by several years, and died in 1780. His son and successor, John Fownes Luttrell, died in 1816, and was succeeded by his son of the same name.

All the timber houses and shambles in the middle of the main street, except the octagonal Yarn-market, were pulled down in 1825, a new market house having been built on the east side of the street. The advowson of the church and the great tithes of Dunster were about the same time purchased of Lord Sherborne by the owner of the castle. John Fownes Luttrell, the second of that name, died in 1857, and was succeeded by his brother Henry, on whose death, ten years later, the property passed to his nephew George Fownes Luttrell, the present possessor.

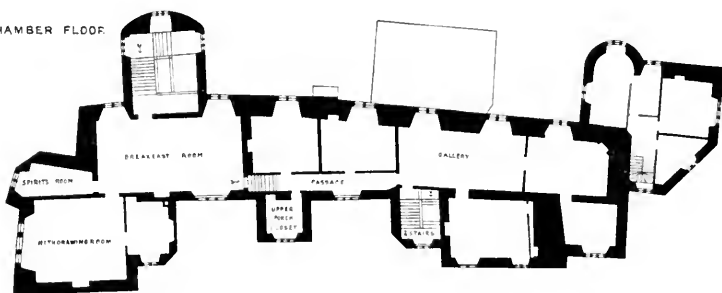
Great changes and improvements have been effected at

<sup>1</sup> Dunster Manor Office, Box iv.

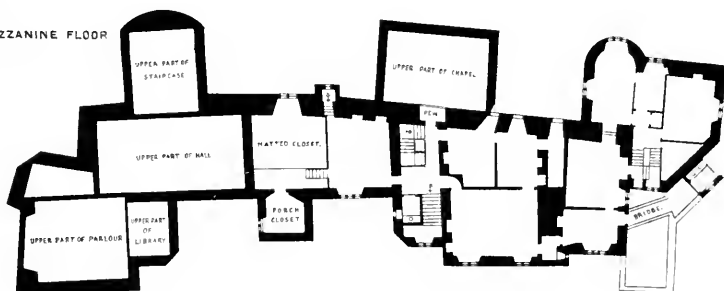
Dunster since 1867. A suitable residence for the vicar of the parish, who had hitherto had no house of his own, was built from the designs of Mr. St. Aubyn near the dovecot of the former Benedictine priory. This was soon followed by the erection of some commodious parochial schools, a little to the west of the churchyard. The castle was next taken in hand, the Elizabethan mansion proving utterly inadequate to modern requirements. By the advice of Mr. Salvin, the northern tower of the principal façade was pulled down and replaced by a much larger one, with a projecting turret staircase attached to it. The porch was at the same time rebuilt on a larger scale, and an additional storey added to a great part of the residence. The hall was greatly enlarged by the addition to it of the space formerly occupied by two small rooms and a passage. Solid stone mullioned windows were in several places substituted for spurious Gothic windows of the eighteenth century, and the incongruous chapel of 1722 was utterly demolished. On its site was built a lofty tower, containing a drawing-room on the ground floor and bedrooms above. The kitchen and other offices that formerly occupied the southern part of the building were converted into sitting rooms, and a new range of offices was constructed along the line of the curtain wall between the basement under the parlour and the old Edwardian gateway. The massive doors of this gateway were once more thrown open, and a staircase was made behind it to give access to the lawn in front of the house. A covered passage was at the same time made between the offices and the gatehouse, and the upper stories of the gatehouse have since been converted into one room more than forty-six feet long. A new carriage road has also been carried round the Tor on an easy gradient, that made a hundred years previously being turned into a footpath.

The alterations at Dunster Castle were scarcely completed before the difficult task of restoring the parish church was entrusted to Mr. Street. A Norman doorway discovered in the west wall was re-opened, and the whole of the nave was substantially repaired and fitted with carved oak benches. A raised platform separated from the transepts by open screens was constructed under the

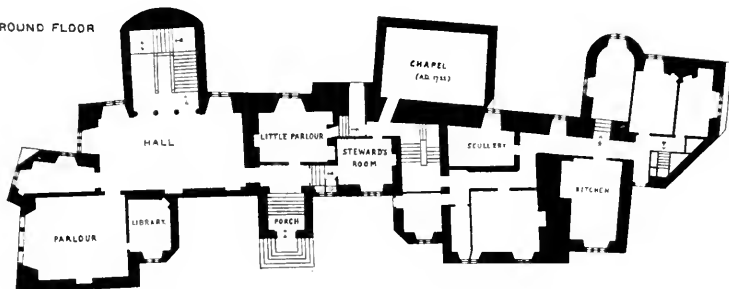
CHAMBER FLOOR



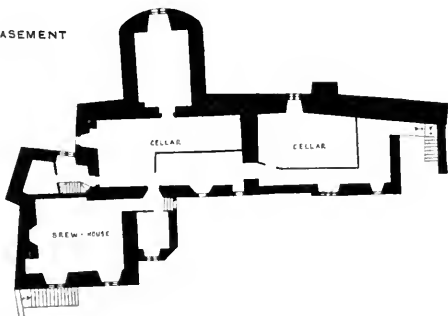
MEZZANINE FLOOR



GROUND FLOOR



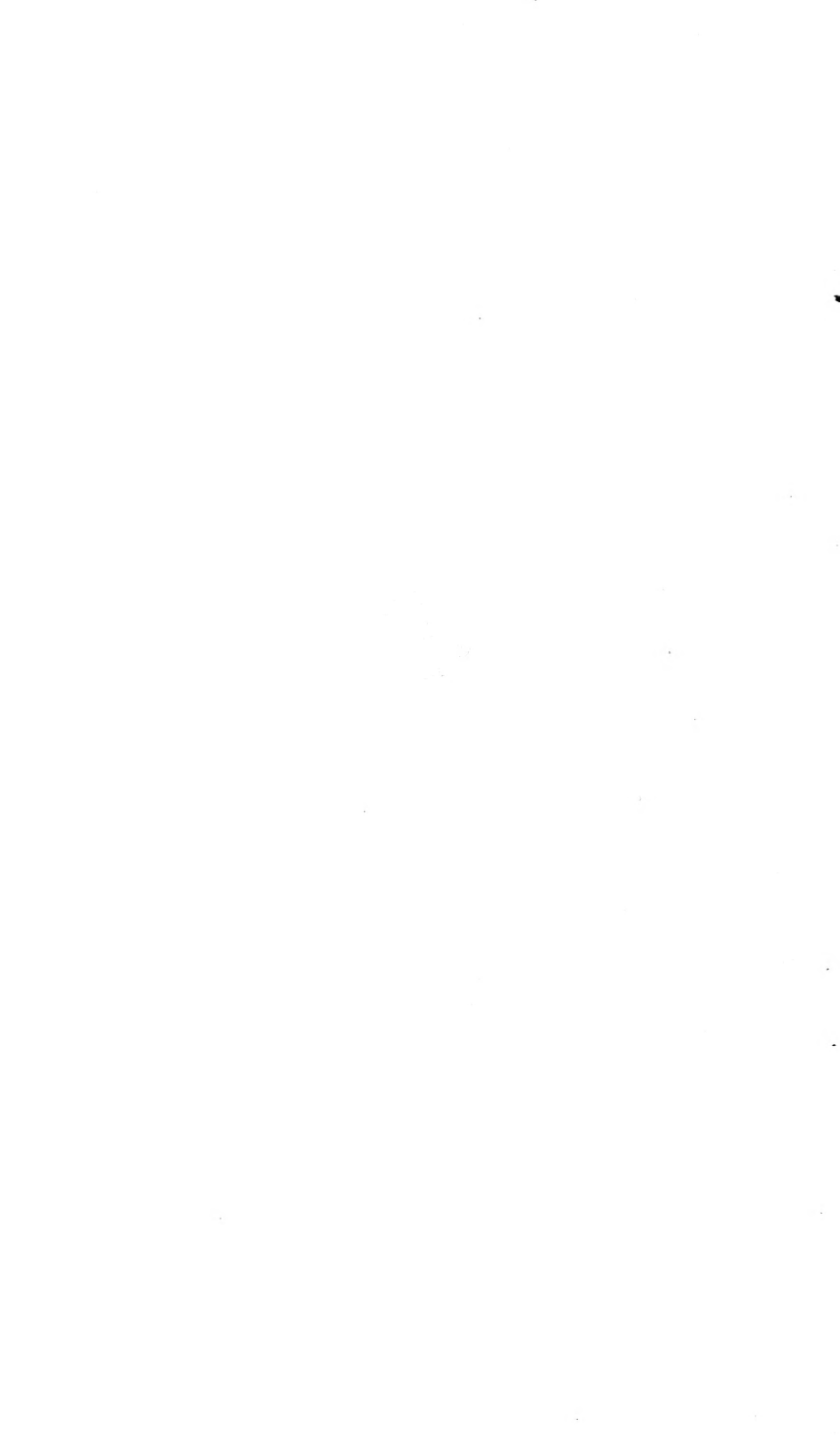
BASEMENT



PLAN  
OF THE MANSION HOUSE  
**DUNSTER CASTLE**  
BEFORE THE ALTERATIONS  
A.D. 1867.

10 20 30  
SCALE OF FEET







tower, and the altar, which had stood under the western arch of the tower, was placed on it about sixteen feet to the east of its former position, the division of the building into two distinct parts being still maintained. The eastern or monastic part of the old church, claimed by Mr. Luttrell as his private property, was at the same time restored at his sole expense without any faculty. The fragments of Early English mouldings found in the walls afforded a certain clue for the reconstruction of the original lancet windows in the east wall and of the piscina and sedilia on the south side. Other Early English windows were also re-opened. All the old encaustic tiles found in the building were collected together, and relaid in the small outlying chapel on the north, and the rest of the choir and its aisles was paved with heraldic tiles copied from these old ones, the only new shield added to the series being that of the Luttrell family. An old altar-slab found in the pavement was set up tablewise against the eastern wall on five alabaster pillars, the monastic church being thus once more made available for divine worship.

The present owner of Dunster Castle has lately added to his property another place of high archaeological and artistic interest by his purchase of the site of the Cistercian Abbey of Cleeve, where he has arrested the decay of the conventual buildings and has laid bare the fine encaustic pavements of the church and of the original refectory.

Dunster Castle has in the course of the last three centuries been shorn of much of its military character, and its lords have lost many of their ancient rights, by the dissolution of the monasteries, and the abolition of feudal tenures. The estate around it however still corresponds very closely with that which the Luttrells bought of the Mohuns in the reign of Edward III, augmented by the lands which they inherited through the Paganel of Quantockshead, and the Hadleys of Withycombe.

## THE PARISH REGISTERS OF STOCK HARVARD CUM RAMSDEN BELLHOUSE, ESSEX.

By the Rev. E. P. GIBSON, B.A.

The old Register Book of Stock embraces a period of 241 years (viz., from 1563 to 1804), and would have lasted up to the present day, had the same style of entries been continued as they were at the beginning, but the later Rectors seemed in a hurry to fill up the old book and start fresh ones for baptisms and burials, as they were compelled to do in the case of marriages.

For the sake of clearness and simplicity, I intend to make my remarks in three distinct divisions—(1) from 1563 to the Great Rebellion; (2) from the Great Rebellion to the Restoration; and (3) from the Restoration to the end of the Book.

The first thing to be noticed is the list of rectors, 12 in number, covering a period of 311 years, and giving an average of about 26½ years to each.

The only ones known to fame are Charles Hood, the famous school-master and grammarian, instituted rector 1660 (Dec. 10) and buried 1666 (March 5)—for whose life see *Athenæ Oxoniensis*, vol. iv.; and William Cawthorne Unwin, the friend of the poet Cowper, who wrote the well-known piece, entitled, "Tithing time at Stock," most probably during one of his visits at Stock Rectory between 1769 and 1786.

Mr. Newton, who is styled "Curate," seems to have had sole charge of the Parish from 1563 to 1622, when he resigned his curacy. The rectors of the parish during that time were Oliver Clayton 1556, Will. Pindar 1580, Will. Symonds 1587, who were probably also rectors of Springfield, as was the case with Dr. Pindar, who was instituted in 1619 (or according to some authorities 1639).

I regret to have to state that the first few pages, containing, doubtless, the title of the book, &c., have been cut out, so that it begins abruptly as follows:—

1563, 5 Eliz.

(1st Entry.) Chrystened Charles Hedgeman, sonne to John Hedgeman, ye xviii<sup>th</sup> of April.

Each right hand page being signed at the bottom, "Pr me Johannem Newton, Curat."

There are 34 entries on this page (from Ap., 1563, to July, 1584) viz., 15 christenings, 6 marriages, and 13 burials. The christenings, marriages, and burials being entered promiscuously till the end of 1580 (p. 10), when they are arranged under their several headings.

There appears to be nothing very striking or remarkable in these

entries till we come to Dr. Pindar's time, when the custom of making notes seems to have come into fashion, but we learn that the number of births, marriages, and deaths is very much the same as at the present day, shewing conclusively that the population of the place has been about the same for at least 300 years.

I would here remark that there is no notice whatever of the burial of Mr. Twedye in the Register Book, although there is a brass tablet erected to his memory. This brass consists of the coat of Arms at the top, then a full length effigy, and at the bottom the following inscription :—

The corpse of Richard Twedye Esquire lieth buried here in tombe  
Bewrapte in claye and so reserved untill the joyefull dome  
Whoe in his lyffe hath serv'd well against the Ingleshe foes  
In forren lands and eke at home, his cuntrye well yt knowes  
The prince he served in courte full long a pensioner fitt in p̄sonage  
In his county, a Justice eke, a man full grave and sage  
Foure almshousses here hath he built for four poore knightes to dwell  
And endewed with stipends large, enough to kepe them well  
In ffifty eyghte yeares his course he ran and ended ye 28 of Jannuarye  
1574.

In the year 1634 there were 24 entries of baptisms signed per me, Richardum Cole Mr Pindar Rectoris coadjutorem sine curatum, among which occurs the following rather curious one :—

“John ye sonne of John Fisher (as was sayed) & of Margaret a stranger brought to bed at ye Cocke some four days before was baptized ye same time being ye 15<sup>th</sup> of March p̄det : on which day in ye night ye said Margaret as they called her, & her sayed sonne were together with one whom they called her sister secretly conveyed away—ye host & hostesse not knowing hereof—Meretricium certe hoc fuit facinus” —

Also we notice the following, which shows how careful the Clergy were in those days not to trench in any way on the rights or duties of their neighbours :—

“Clemens ye daughter of John Harris of Westhanningfield & of Clemens his wife (uppon expresse leave given by their owne minister or curate in regard of his absence and other occasions) was baptized May ye 3<sup>rd</sup> 1635.”

And one which seems to denote great care in noting bastardy cases—

“William ye sonne of Jane Sharp singlewoman and of William Collin singleman (as she confessed and hee likewise) bapt<sup>d</sup> May 27.”

On p. 35, A.D. 1641, we notice the use of the expression “Sabaoth day,” *e.g.*

“Thomas the sonne of Richard Witlaun & Anne his wife was baptized on the Sabaoth day being November 7, 1641.”

This being about the time of the Great Rebellion, I shall now, according to the plan I have laid down, direct attention to the marriages and burials up to the same date.

As I said just now, the baptisms, marriages, and burials were entered together till 1581, when they were placed under their separate headings. On page 43 we have the following entry, which will serve for a sample :—

“Zachary Graunte & Dorothe Ditle was married ye xxiii of October.”

And the same style of entries continues until the Great Rebellion, no entry calling for any particular comment; the average was, during that period, the same as it is at the present day, viz., about 3 or 4 per annum.

On page 51 we have the following:—

“The Buryials performed in Harvard Stock Parish, year of our Lord 1581 and so forward.”

“Robert Brocke was buried the xvi of June.”

The entries continue in regular order, and without any notes or comments of interest till the time immediately preceding the common wealth. The average from 1581 to 1585 being about 9 per annum and from 1600 to 1619 (inclusive) about  $7\frac{1}{2}$  per annum, which is less than at present, but in the three years 1622-4 it rises to no less than 23, and in 1625 and 1626 comes to 27, about double what it is now; while in 1638 it rose to 31. The number of births and marriages keeping at about the normal rate.

There is an interesting notice on p. 75, which was afterwards filled up with notices of briefs, viz.,

“1632. Mr Coo & his wife in regard to their sickness & illbeing were licensed according to statute to eat flesh this lent by me William Pindar parson—received for ye entering (?) of both 8<sup>d</sup>”

Underneath which is added—

“Valeat ut valere potest”

On p. 69 (1st col.) is the following:—

“Hic incipit Anno Dom. 1643. Elizabeth the daughter of Thomas Wood (an anabaptisticall & factious separatist) & Eleanor his wife (the grave being ready made) was (by the companie that came with the child) interred & layed into the ground before the minister came, and without praies: or the righte of Christian burial according to the order of the church of England on Satterday May 7, 1642.”

This is a plain indication of the troublesome times in store.

On the 2nd col. we read the following curious entry: “That vertuous: religious: humble: & trulie charitable Gentlewoman, M<sup>rs</sup> Juliet Coo, the wife of William Coo Esquire, departed this mortall life in the cittie of London on Wednesday May 18. 1642. And was from thence conveyed in a coach to this Towne of Harvard Stocke, where she dwelt. And was there solemnly interred (as besecmed her ranke) In the chancell belonging to this Parrish Church on Friday may 20. 1642. Where her worth & eminent vertues (to her eternall Memory, were both elegantlie & trulie related in a learned-funerall-sermon. By that Reverend Man of God Mr William Pindar Rector there.”

The man who made this entry was evidently very proud of it, for he adds—

“This breefe commemoration was entered By Thomas Chitham church Clarke of Harvard Stock.”

The last entry of Mr. Pindar's is the burial of a “Smith” (the 1st time the trade of the deceased is mentioned) June 24, 1643 (p. 70), and on this page, in more modern handwriting, is the following:—“Mr William Pindar was now sequestered & put out of this living, lived to ye Restoration & dyed Rector of Springfield Boswell about 1694 or 5 very old and D.D.” He is said to have been rector also of Laindon

Hills from 1661. He must have been about 100 years old, as he had been "Rector" for 76 years.<sup>1</sup>

There are no entries of burials from 1643 to 1653, nor of marriages for the same time. Some pages being cut out seem to indicate that they were wilfully destroyed.

On p. 76 is the following interesting entry :—

"Memorand 9<sup>th</sup> of April 1631. Mr William Coo Esquire did give unto ye parishioners of Harvard Stock a faire standing gilded cup with a cover weighing [obliterated].

"The same gentleman gave unto ye church a pulpitt with a cover.

"Ye old communion cup did weigh 11½ oz & was sold for 5s & 1/7 the ounce, with which money & seaven shillings laid unto it by the parishioners, there was bought a gilt plate for the bread weighing 5oz 7d 12g at 7s ye ounce which came to 01/ 18s, and 2 yards ¾ broad cloth at 10s the yard which came unto 1/ 07s 06d, and so was the money taken for the said cup disposed of by the appointment of the minister & churchwardens."

This entry is in old handwriting (perhaps Mr. Pinder's) in the centre of the page, written crossways; afterwards the page was filled up with notices of briefs from Jan. 1664, to June 1665 (21 in all). The gilt service is not now in existence, probably it was stolen by the Parliamentarians or sacrificed to the exigencies of the civil war. On the next page are entries of collections on Briefs from April 1666, to Aug. 1673. On p. 78, there are four similar entries ending Sep. 1677, when the custom seems to have been given up. I shall enter more fully into the matter of these Briefs in the third part of this paper, when I come to their proper dates.

We come now to a consideration of the period of the commonwealth, and the first entry is as follows :—

*"Baptismata, 1643.*

"Thomas the sonne of Edward Hurrell of Margaretting & [ ] his wife was (upon entreaty) baptized in the parish church of Harvard Stock on the Saboth day June 18. 1643 By Mr Nehemiah Holmes."

This Holmes was appointed by the Nonconformists on Mr. Pinder's sequestration. We notice great carelessness and confusion in the dates of the entries, viz., one baptism for 1649, one for 1650, one for 1651, then one for 1647, followed by one for 1652.

During the period 1654 to 1682 the entries of births and baptisms were made in a small book; the same was the case with Ramsden Bellhouse. This small book was inserted in the middle of the old one, and on the cover is the following :—

"The Register Book of Harvard Stock & Buttsbury April ye 11<sup>th</sup> 1654."

By which we see that Buttsbury was united to Stock for registration, and I suppose for all other purposes also. On the first page is written April 5th, 1654 :—

"According to the election of the inhabitants of Stocke & Buttsbury, I doe nominate & appoint Jonathan Spier of the said parish of Stock

<sup>1</sup> According to some authorities he had been Rector only 56 years.

to be the parish Registrar of Stock & Buttsbury aforesayed. And he was this day sworne before me well & truly to execute the said office (of register of the) said Parish to the best of his skill & power according to the Act of Parliamt in that case made untill he be thence duly discharged by order of Law."

(signed) Peter Whitecomb "

In 1656 a new Act of Parliament respecting marriages came into force, as we find by the following entries on p. 2 :—

"April 1654—

Marriages

"John Grub the sonne of John Grub of Stock in the county of Essex Yeoman was married unto Rode Sherife of South Hanningfield according to the Act of Parliamt the eighteenth day of April 1656."

Also,

"John Gearson the sonne of Robert Gearson was married unto Elizabeth Read the daughter of Thomas Reed by Mr Negus the 30<sup>th</sup> day of July 1654."

Who Mr. Negus was I cannot make out, nor can I understand why the entry bearing date 1654 was made by him after the one for 1656. This is another instance of the careless and confused manner in which the Registers were kept.

On p. 7 (A.D. 1655) there are 14 entries of *births*, baptisms not being permitted in the church, or at all events not allowed to be entered in the Register Books. The only entry of any interest among the marriages during the time of the Commonwealth is the following :—

"Mr Philologus Sachererell minister of the Gospel of Eastwood was married unto Mrs Anna Barnaby of All Hallows Barking in London Spinster the 15<sup>th</sup> day of April according to the Act of Parliament by Mr Martin Simson Person of Stock in the yeare 1658."

The burials were regularly entered at the end of the small book (turned upsidedown), and show an average of 32 per annum, from 1654 to 1660. The following may be of some little interest :—

- (1.) "George Stathum a recusant of Buttsbury drowning himself in one of the Park ponds was buried the 24<sup>th</sup> of May (1655)"
- (2.) "That vertuous religious woman, Mrs Anne Babington widow was buried in Stocke Chancell the 28<sup>th</sup> day of Aug. (1658)"

We now come to the third part of the subject, viz., from the Restoration to the end of the book, and the first thing to be noticed is the custom of collecting sums of money on "briefs," which appears to have been very common.

I have selected a few, as found on p. 74, as specimens, though by whose authority they were ordered I have not been able to find out.<sup>1</sup>

"February the 10<sup>th</sup> 1660."

*Memorandum.* "there was collected in Stocke church by John Grubb senr & Thomas Allen churchwardens for a briefe which came from Milton Abbas in the county of Dorset the somme of eight shillings & too pence entered by mee Andrewe Reade church Clarke of Stocke."

"November ye 10<sup>th</sup> day 1661."

*Memorand.* "There was collected in Stocke church by John Grubbe

<sup>1</sup> I believe either by Royal or Episcopal Authority.

Jun<sup>r</sup> & Thomas Allen churchwardens for a briefe which came concerning his Majesties Royall fishing ye somme of eight shillings & foure pence."

"December ye eighth day 1661."

*Memorand*: "there was collected in Stock church by John Grubb Jun<sup>r</sup> & Thomas Allen churchwardens for a briefe concerning ye Dukedome of Lithuania, John de Kraino Krainsby (or Krainsly) ye somme of 3 shillings & 3 pence."

There are altogether 39 similar entries up to March, 1663, most of them from towns in different parts of the kingdom, but two were for the benefit of private individuals—the average amount collected being about 4s 6d to 5s. The same was the case with Buttsbury, where many collections were made for the same objects as in Stock. Also in 1707 there are 12 entries for briefs, entitled, "lost by fire," four of which bear the same date May 11, and three more appear in 1708. The following is a sample:—

"Anno Domini 1707."

"collected as follows to Briefs in ye prsh. & church of Harward Stock John Laver churchwarden."

- (1) "May ye 4<sup>th</sup> Towcester Brief lost by fire 1057l. collected nine pence halfpenny."
- (2) "1708. April 25<sup>th</sup> Lisborne in Ireland, lost by fire 31770l. collected seven pence."

A sad falling off in the amount—the custom appears to have been given up about this time.

On p. 53 of the little book is a list of "Christenings since Charles Hoole was Rector," who acted as minister for the united Parishes of Stock and Buttsbury till 1664. The Register is pretty regularly kept, and calls for no comment, the average of baptisms being about 12 per annum; and of marriages three per annum.

About this time the custom of excommunicating offenders appears to have been pretty common, for in 1660, Oct. 7th, "Thomas Allen churchwarden was excommunicated," and "Robert Bundoek was excommunicated the same day."

Thomas Allen, we find, "was absolved" Oct. 17th day, but nothing is recorded further about Robert Bundoek. There is also an entry in the Register of burials that a woman named Elizabeth Perrin, dying excommunicate, was buried on the "Comon."

In 1664, "Edward Philips was excommunicated May 3rd," and in 1665 the above Elizabeth Perrin was similarly treated on April 9th.<sup>1</sup>

The entries of baptisms in the little book end with the year 1682, and are then continued in the old book as before.

In the year 1678 "A Register book for burying in woollen was bought at the Parish charge. Zeph. Pierse Rect de Harward Stock." This was in compliance with an Act of Parliament, which required that affidavits should be produced in all cases that the corpse was wrapt in woollen cloth. It remained in force till 1782, and was probably enacted in order to encourage the woollen trade; and consequently affidavits to this effect were duly entered in all cases. These entries continue in the affidavit

<sup>1</sup> Among the burials during the first few years of the Restoration we find the following rather curious one:—

"Ralf Boyce was buried 15th day of February (1661), and it thundered at the same time (p. 14 little book)."

book, which is bound up with the old book to A.D. 1769. The only ones of any interest being the following :—

- (1) “*Mr.* Zephoniah Pierse late Rector of this Parish was buried July ye 23<sup>rd</sup> 1703,”

from which we see that the custom of styling all clergymen “*Reverend*” was not then introduced.

- (2) “*Susannah Alleyn* was buried Jan ye 17<sup>th</sup> 1703,”

which shows that the custom of considering the year to commence in January seems to have gained ground 50 years before Lord Chesterfield’s Act for authorizing the same.

- (3) “*Four sons of John Maskell* in June 1745.” (Perhaps all at one birth)

- (4) “*The Rev. Philip Chetwode* Rector of Stock was buried 28 Jan 1769 by Sam Howe M.A. Rector of West Hammingfield.”

in which we notice the titles of “*Reverend*” and M.A., and

- (5) “*Richard Billing* from Crondon Park a Romish Priest ye 3<sup>rd</sup> of March 1769.”

The affidavit book is now turned upsidedown, and contains a regular list of baptisms, marriages, and burials till 1705.

Returning to the old book, p. 79, we find the following :—

- “A Register for the parish of Harward Stock 1683,” and a table of the fees of the parish “as formed by immemorial custom.”

In 1695, we find that an Act of Parliament was passed taxing all Registers of Births and Marriages, for on p. 95 is the following notice :—

- “A Register Book 1695 ffor the Parish of Harward Stock, pursuant to an Act of Parliament taxing of Marriages & Births beginning from the 1<sup>st</sup> of May in this present year 1695 & to continue five years.”

In 1785, when it was no longer compulsory to wrap dead bodies in woollen, a tax was collected on all registers of burials, as we find by the following entry :—“Accounted for the above (burials) to the collector 1785.”

Mr. Pierse, who died in 1703, seems to have been very careless in filling up the Registers during the latter years of his life, as we find on p. 104—

- “The following Marriages were celebrated in M<sup>r</sup> Pierse’s time left only on a paper.”

These consisted of 4 entries in 1702, and 1 in 1703, and again,

- “M<sup>r</sup> Zephaniah Pierse late Rector of this parish left the following acct. of the baptisms of 1702 & part of 1703 to his death in a fowle book which whether exact or no I cannot tell, but as I find it, have set it down to supply the defect. (signed) Thomas Cox, Rector.”

These entries comprise 12 baptisms for 1702 and 12 for 1703.

Then follow on the succeeding pages a regular list of baptisms and marriages, the former from May 19<sup>th</sup> 1706, to December 16<sup>th</sup> 1807. The latter from Nov. 28<sup>th</sup> 1714 to Feb. 21<sup>st</sup> 1754.

At the bottom of page 136 is the following note :—

- “Here end the marriages by Rubric & Canon. For marriages by a thing called an act of Parliament see the other book. [entered by Thos. Cox, senr.]”

From this page to the end of the book is a continuous list of baptisms till the end of 1806. The only one of any special interest being

- “Mary D<sup>r</sup> of William Butt born Sep. 14 1700. William son of William Butt born aug 24 1702. Ann the d<sup>r</sup> of William Butt &



Ellen his wife was born Nov 21. 1707. mem<sup>d</sup>. These children were born in Stock Parish, but not baptized by ye minister, their parents being Papists."

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### RAMSDEN BELLHOUSE.

The old Register Book of this parish is smaller than that of Stock, and contains no "affidavit" book, and at present no "little" book—which appears to be lost—but the entries were copied into the large book by Joshua Nun, Rector, 1696.

All the entries are very clearly written, and continue in unbroken order (with the exception of some very serious omissions in the latter half of the seventeenth century) from 1562 to 1779.

It seems as if the remoteness of the place protected it to a great extent from the troubles and confusions which happened to the adjacent Parish of Stock. We see no references to sequestrations, and but few upsettings of existing customs—but the Rectors followed one another in unbroken order, each succeeding to the living on the *death* of his predecessor. And even the Roman Catholic Rector (as it was supposed he was) Father Spayne, died peaceably in possession, and was buried Feb. 15th, 1562 (this being, curiously enough, the first entry in the Register Book). I may add, also, that there are no notices of "Briefs" or "Excommunications," as in the case of Stock; and the baptisms, marriages, and burials are kept quite distinct and separate from the very beginning.

On the cover of the book is a list of the rectors of the parish, the average duration of each being just over 23 years.

On the top of the first page is the following title of the book:—

"This is the Booke of Register of Ramsden Bellhowse made in the fourthe yeare of the rayne of our Soveraigne Ladye Elizabeth by the Grace of God Queene of Englande Fraunce & Ierlande Defender of the faythe &c Christennings weddinges & buringes made by me Richard Spenser Priest & Curate there in the yeare of our Lorde God one thousande five hundred & sixti Two."

The 1st entry is "John Hobson was baptized the viii day of February A<sup>o</sup> prdet," and the same handwriting continues in all the succeeding entries up to the 7th of June, 1598, certainly, and perhaps till April 1st, 1605. This leads me to suppose that Mr. Spencer was Curate-in-charge during the latter half of the sixteenth century, and that the rectors were, partially at all events, non-resident; as we know was the case with Mr. Nun, who held Misty and Manningtree with Ramsden Bellhouse.

The average number of baptisms during his time was about ten per annum, an indication that the population was very much the same as it is at present.

On page 26 we notice an indication of the Nonconformist supremacy in the following entry:—"Elizabeth daughter of John Brampome & Judi his wife was born ye 12 of August 1652." The date of baptism not being entered. This same page begins with *four* entries of baptisms for the latter part 1653, and *three* for 1654. Then follows *one* for 1653, and *two* for 1652. These irregularities and the above-written entry of Elizabeth Bransome as born and not baptized, in different handwriting and out of chronological order, were no doubt caused by the disturbance which took place during the Commonwealth.

Mr. Thomas Clopton, who was instituted in 1616, was the first Rector who signed his name to the Registers.

At the end of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth centuries, we notice the custom of baptizing infants at a very early age. For instance, in 1699 we have :

- (1) "Mary ye daughter of Joshua Nun & Mary his wife was born April 3<sup>rd</sup> about 3 of ye clock in (the) afternoon, being Monday, & baptized the same day anno pdcto."

This entry is an exception to Mr. Nun's rule, which was to make his entries in Latin.

- (2) "Edward son of David Jones & Anne bap. 11 day of April, 8 days old."

- (3) "Elizabeth daughter of Robert & Jane Mead was baptized on ye 27 day of June 1708. 4 days old."

There are three more entries in the same year of infants who were baptized at *three, four, and one* day old respectively. None of the succeeding entries seem to call for much notice, except perhaps these two :—

"1717. | Diana dau. of John Billy & Diana Waker Bap Jan ye 13.  
| Proles spuria."

"1712. | John son of Thomas Drason & Martha Shuttleworth bap 8<sup>ber</sup>  
| 12. Proles spuria."

—which are the first two entries so designated.

Page 52 contains "The Weddings in Ramsdon Belhowse," from 1565 and onwards.

The first thirteen years average two and a-half eire. (about what it is now) and are entered in this form, "Philip Williams & Alice Hammond were married ye vii of Aug A° 1565."

No entries of weddings appear from 1610 till 1676 ; and those of the latter date and following years were copied out of another book by Joshua Nun, Rector, 1696. Whether the Registers were wilfully destroyed or only "lost" cannot now be determined, but are at any rate a sign of the confusion consequent on the events of the Great Rebellion.

I notice that Joshua Nun was the first Rector who attested marriages by his signature.

The "Buryinges in Ramsdon Belhowse" begin on p. 62. The first entry being, "Father Spayne was buried the xv day of February A° 1562."

He was probably a Roman Catholic Rector put in during the Romish supremacy in Mary's reign, and not disturbed by her successor. This page contains 39 entries in about eight years, among which is that of the death of "John Spayne minister buried the xxvii day of November A° (1570)," where we notice the difference of title between "Father" and "Minister."

On p. 84 is the following :—"The under-written were posted out of another book by Joshua Nun, Rect. 1696."

It contains a list of forty-nine entries from June 1654 to June 1658, more than *twelve* per annum, there being no less than twenty funerals in 1657. Also in the three years—1678-80—there are fifty-six entries, a very high average, and consequent doubtless on some epidemic, the average of baptisms and marriages being about the same as usual.

From the entries of 1654 to 1707, I have extracted the following rather curious ones :—

- (1) "1662. Mr Thoms Clopton Rector of Ramsden Belhouse was buried Feb 13<sup>th</sup> 1662.  
Testante uxore Roberti Clark Rectoris quondam ancilla."  
—where we notice the title "*Mr.*" and the witness to the death or burial.
- (2) "1660. Amy Faux, servant to the family of the Gerrards 59 years, was Buried in the chancel in honour to her faithful service & for encouragement to others."
- (3) "Aff: Susan the daughter of Edward & Susan Osborne. Buryed aug 16<sup>th</sup> (1667)."
- This is the first notice we find of the affidavit that the corpse was wrapt in woollen a year later than at Stock.
- (4) "Aff: Sarah Hills Widow; inhumaniter a liberis tractata tandem tempestiva morte Redempta est, buried November An<sup>o</sup> p<sup>re</sup>dicta. (1680)"
- (5) "Aff: Mis Sarah Rice, pia et amora vidua denata 74 an: æt. et novem mensis ultra sepulta prope limen ædis superioris (vulgo det the chancel) occedentem versus Jan 4<sup>th</sup> (1681)"
- (6) "Aff: Grace ye wife of George Gratye pia mater et obediens uxor, et pro facultate tenui bonorum operum ferax, was buried Jan 16 (1681)."
- (7) "Aff: John Buck Grandis professor tandem regis metu et multa conversus. Buryed Jan. 28 (1683)."

At the bottom of page 90 is the following note:—"P<sup>d</sup> for buryals to Oct 8. 1698 to the King," which has reference to the law then enacted taxing all Registers, and which was to be in force for five years.

On page 92 (A.D. 1707) is an elaborate entry concerning the burial of Mr. Nun, written by his successor, Mr. Jephson:—

"Joshua Nun, olim Ecclesiae hujus Rector (In Rectoriam vero de Misley et Maningtree admissus et inductus per octenium ultimo elapsum Parochie hujus coram duntaxat gessit) Sepultus est Decimo die Decembris anno predicto.

Ast anima in cœlis fulget præclarior astris

Et quem dilexit, nunc videt ipse Deum."

And on the next page is one containing rather a good Latin pun—

Anno Domini 1708

"Aff: Maria Feast sepulta est } Epulam (si deus voluerit) vermibus  
4<sup>th</sup> calendarum Aprilis. } nimis delicatam. Erat Enim satis  
venusta."

The terms "goody," "cousin," "goodman," &c., now appear in the Register, and one Ann Wood is spoken of as a "virgin daughter," who was born A.D. 1720. In 1730 we notice the first use of the title of "Reverend." "The Reverend Mr Alexander Jephson late Rector of this parish was buried May 14<sup>th</sup> 1733."

There were no entries of burials for the years 1767 to 1769 and only one 1770. In the next few years I notice some not very flattering epithets.

- (1). "1771. Payne Voyce buried April 14<sup>th</sup> (prave vivens miserrime moriens)."
- (2). "1772. Aug. 24. Samuel Douset (Ebrius, iracundus, inops, miserandus abivit)."

The last entries in the book (except those for 1778 entered on the reverse of the baptismal registers) are the following:—

“1777. 4 october. Abram Bannister, aff. }  
11 october. Isaac & Jacob Bannister, aff. } All three at one birth.”

This concludes my remarks on the old Register Book of Ramsden Bellhouse, and although the entries are not perhaps very interesting to strangers, yet they are to a certain extent indicative of the times in which they were made, and are remarkable for the very clear and legible manner in which they are written.

I cannot help remarking, in conclusion, that a great deal of valuable information might be culled out of the old registers of the parishes in this country, and which are at present, with few exceptions, “hidden treasures.”

## THE CHURCH BELLS OF LINCOLNSHIRE.

By THOMAS NORTH, F.S.A.

It was in the month of August, 1845, that the Rev. J. T. Fowler, F.S.A., Vice Principal of Bishop Hatfield's Hall, Durham, then a lad, took rubbings of the inscriptions on the church bells of Whilton in this county.

That was the commencement of a collection which Mr. Fowler subsequently determined to make, with the intention of providing material for an account of the Church Bells of Lincolnshire, illustrated by drawings of founders' marks and mediæval letters, from casts taken for that purpose. The collection was increased as time went on, until very many of the belfries of the numerous churches in North Lincolnshire were visited.

In the intervals between the excursions which Mr. Fowler was able to make, he made notes from the rubbings which he had recently taken. That was a fortunate circumstance; for travelling with his collection, the bag which contained the rubbings was stolen, and has never been recovered.

Two persons, doubtless, felt extreme annoyance on that occasion — the thief, whose chagrin and disappointment must have been great as he comed over his (to him) useless, mysterious and unintelligible haul; and Mr. Fowler, whose enthusiasm in bell hunting was, not unnaturally, so effectually damped by his loss that the further prosecution of the work lay for several years in abeyance.

At length, in 1878, Mr. Fowler, in a very obliging manner, offered to place his collection of notes and casts in my hands if I would attempt to complete the work on the plan of my volumes on the Church Bells of the three counties comprised in the diocese of Peterborough. Having been promised help from Mr. Jerram, and from several friends in the county, and in dependence upon the courtesy of the clergy generally (which has not failed me), I have been, since that time, as hard at work as enfeebled health will allow upon the very pleasant task, the interest of which has so grown with its progress that one almost regrets to see its completion so near. Whilst almost every bell in the county has now been examined and measured, parochial and public records have been searched for information, and careful notes made of local traditions, customs and uses.

It was doubtless the knowledge of these facts which induced Canon Venables to propose to me a few weeks ago that I should contribute a Paper to this Meeting on the Church Bells of Lincolnshire, which he was good enough to say would be an attractive subject.

My knowledge of the help which he himself is always ready to give to

<sup>1</sup> Read in the Section of Antiquities at the Lincoln Meeting, July 31st, 1880.

archæologists was an incentive to me not to refuse the carrying out of his suggestion, though I felt the difficulty of dealing with so large a subject in the necessarily narrow compass of a short Paper.

What I can give will be little more than a collection of bare facts relating to a subject which, when more fully treated, cannot fail to be full of interest, not only to the ecclesiologist, but to the student of past English manners and customs.

We know by a "Certificate of Plate, Jewels, Bells, &c. in Lincolnshire," dated the 10th of April, 1549, that there were then in the churches and chapels of the county, exclusive of the Wapentake of Kirton-in-Holland, 1753 great bells and 475 Sanctus bells; if we add to those the moderate number of forty-seven of the former and ten of the latter for that of Wapentake, we find in the churches and chapels of Lincolnshire, at the time of the Reformation, 1800 great bells and 485 Sanctus bells.

Notwithstanding the increase made since in many rings for the purpose of change ringing, there are now only about 100 more large bells than there were 330 years ago, and, as might be expected, the Priests' bells, which are the present successors of the Sanctus bells, have very much decreased in number, there being now about sixty-five only, instead of 485 at the date to which we have referred.

A reference to the existing Inventories of Church Goods in Lincolnshire in the time of Edward VI. shews that no church, however small, had then less than two "great bells," whereas there are now nearly 200 old parish churches in the county with only one bell, and that, in many cases, a miserable "ting-tang." At what time, and for what purpose, these ancient bells were sacrificed is a question which naturally suggests itself.

By the Indented Inventories of the seventh year of Edward VI. the church bells therein named were given into the charge of the parsons and churchwardens for use in the churches respectively named. We must, therefore, look to those church officers, and to the action of the parishioners generally, for a solution of our question.

Doubtless during the changes and uncertainties in church teaching and ritual in the reigns of Edward VI. and Queen Mary some church bells were sacrificed by foolish people like the parishioners of Skidbrooke-cum-Saltfleet-haven in this county, who being, as they confessed, "moved by universal talk, and by persons openly preaching against bells and other laudable ceremonies of the church, affirming the use of them to be superstitious and abominable," sold two of their bells for £20, which sum they expended upon repairing the church and scouring out their haven, then choked up with sand<sup>2</sup>; and possibly a few were seized by private persons and sold for their own benefit. But it was, I think, the parsimony or poverty of churchmen in after years—in the seventeenth, eighteenth and even in the present century—that induced the sale of so many bells principally from the smaller village churches.

Many examples might be quoted. It will suffice to say that Beelsby, where was a fine ring of bells early in the century, has now only one, and that a small one; two bells at Cadney were sold in the last century to

<sup>1</sup> *Exch. Q. R.* 28. P. R. Off.

<sup>2</sup> *Land Revenue Records*, Bundle 1392, File 81. P. R. Off.

pay for repairs at the church; the same thing happened at Fosdyke, where one bell now represents an older ring of five; Fullethby, Howell, South Reston, Skegness, Strubby, Sturton Magna, Low Teynton, and other churches, all lost bells under similar circumstances. Thimbleby lost a ring of six bells to pay for exchanging an ancient Gothic church for a so-called "classic" and unsightly structure. Conisholme, Fulstow, Lusby, and possibly other parishes, lost their rings of bells by the falling of the church towers; and lastly we must mention the sad and needless sacrifice of the ring of the six Lady-bells formerly in the grand central tower of the cathedral church of this city.

At a moderate computation a number of bells approaching 400 (irrespective of the sanctus or priests' bell) must have been lost to the Lincolnshire churches since the death of Edward VI.

There is now a brighter page to this history in noticing the successful attempts made in many parishes to remedy the loss just indicated. The single bell at Aisthorpe has been succeeded by a ring of five; Broughton and Carlton Magna now have five bells each in place of two; S. Peter at Gowts, Lincoln, has substituted a tuneful ring of six in the place of only three; Brigg recently welcomed a ring of eight with procession, prayer and praise, as a substitute for the single small bell which previously hung in its steeple; and at Spalding Miss Charinton has crowned her munificent gifts to the church in that town by giving eight bells to S. Paul's, adorned by dedicatory and commemorative inscriptions and devices appropriate in character, and in artistic treatment, to the House of God in which they are placed.

But it is to the bells of Lincolnshire as they at present exist, and to the more ancient of them especially, that we must now refer. Notwithstanding the heavy losses sustained in the ways just indicated, the great sacrifice of old and heavy bells (in the large towns specially) upon the introduction of change-ringing in the seventeenth century, and the gradual, but certain, loss occurring almost yearly by neglect and accidents of various kinds—for church bells are easily cracked and so spoiled—there is a fair percentage of ancient ones still remaining in the county.

For instance, there are complete rings of three pre-Reformation bells at Burnetby-le-Wold, Boothby Graffoe, Bratoft, South Elkington, Holton-le-Clay, Horkstow, Immingham, Manby, Sowerby, South Somercotes, Tallington, Theddlethorpe S. Helen, and Waith.

Pairs of such bells hung by themselves at Barholm, Canwick, Dunsby, Harpswell, Saltfleetby S. Peter, Somersby, and Teynton S. Peter; and, in company with other and later bells, at Saltfleetby S. Clement, Scampton, Alkborough, Althorpe, Edlington, Fricsthorpe, Grainthorpe, Alvingham, Bitchfield, Grayingham, Brattleby, and many other places: whilst single ones are still at (amongst other places) Burton-by-Lincoln, Carlby, South Carlton, Doddington Dry, Enderby Bag, Gouleeby, Hackthorne, Hatcliffe, Keddington, Lincoln S. Mary Magdalene, Manton and Swaby.

Now whilst all these bells are of interest to the student, furnishing, as they do, to guide him in their classification, about 180 founders' initial crosses and stamps, many of them not hitherto found elsewhere, we must not to-day do more than call attention to a few as representatives of the remainder.

First, for beauty of execution, and as being early dated bells, must be mentioned the two at South Somercotes, which are allowed to be the

handsomest ancient bells in the kingdom. The second of the two (the third of the ring) is inscribed :—

+ DVLCS CITO MELIS CAMPANA VOCOR GABRIELIS A° D'O M° <sup>o</sup>CC<sup>o</sup> XX <sup>o</sup>III,  
each letter of the inscription being a work of art most beautifully executed ; one has S. George and the Dragon, another a mitred head, a third natural representations of leaves, and so on.

The same letters appear upon bells in a sadly neglected condition at Somerby near to Brigg, given by Thomas Cumberworth in 1431, and some of the same fine letters are used as capitals with smaller letters on other bells in the county.

Then we have a goodly cluster of bells all bearing the same founder's stamps, with the letter S, probably for *Sanctus*, repeated at intervals round the bell.

There are many dedicated to, or bearing inscriptions referring to, the Blessed Virgin Mary in various forms, as (to quote one or two, without mentioning the very usual one of the *Angelic Salutation*) the second at Norton Disney :—

☐ MARIA VIRGO ASSUMPTA EST IN CELVM.

The first and second at Saltfleetby S. Peter :—

+ IN AMORE SCA MARIA

☐ PURA PUDICA PIA MISERIS MISERERE MARIA.

And the third at Theddlethorpe S. Helen :—

+ VIRGO CORONATA DVC NOS AD REGNA BEATA.

Two are interesting as bearing inscriptions in English. The second bell at Alkborough has :—

+ IESV : FOR : YI : MODIR : SAKE :

SAVE : AL : YE : SAVLS : THAT : ME : GART : MAKE : AMEN.

And the first at Laceby :—

+ MARY : OF HAWARDBY : OF VS : HAVE : MERCY :

Probably referring to an image of the Blessed Virgin, of the existence and reputation of which we are now alike ignorant.

Then we have, as is usual in other counties, a goodly number of bells dedicated to the Archangels Michael and Gabriel, many of the latter being most probably used in pre-Reformation times for the *Angelus*.

In addition to the bells at Somerby there is a bell at Saltfleetby S. Clement which bears the name of the donor in this manner :—

+ DOMINVS IOHANNES DE HORSYGTON ME FECIT FIERI.

I shall be glad to know who he was, and his connection with the parish ?

There is another cluster of bells all from the same foundry, bearing the same stamps slightly altered in some instances, and with inscriptions similar in form, of which the single bell at Burton-by-Lincoln inscribed :

☐ IN NOIE JHS MARIA

and the second at Burwell inscribed :—

IN THE NAYME OF JHV SPED ME,

may be taken as samples. Another bell of that class (the third at Wellingore) has a stamp of the Virgin and Child.



There are very many other inscriptions on bells dedicated in the Holy Name of Jesus, and in those of Saints and Martyrs, all worthy of note, but I must be content with mentioning the third at Fordingham :—

ET NOMEN DICTI GERO SCI BENEDICTI,

and the third at Hainton :—

NOMEN SANCTORUM GERIT HEC CAMPANA PUERORUM.

There is, by the way, a curious variation of this inscription at Maltby-le-Marsh, where the second bell has :—

NOMEN SANCTORUM GERIT HEC CAMPANA PULLORUM.

*Puerorum*, the word used on other bells dedicated to the Holy Innocents, not suiting the verse, the versifier hit upon the happy thought of *pulorum*, so we have “The Holy Chicks.”

Some of these ancient bells have no inscriptions, but instead thereof a series of Tudor badges : others have letters of the alphabet.

Of the many bells of rather more recent date well worthy of notice, the fine one, dated 1585, formerly hanging at S. Benedict's, now at S. Mark's, in this city, may be mentioned as a good specimen. It is a local favourite, and is known by the common people as “Old Kate.” The fifth bell at Burgh, given by William Paulin in 1589, is also richly ornamented.

Respecting the founders of these ancient bells we know a little, but much has yet to be learned. Johannes de Stafford, whose name I found on a bell in Leicester (and who was, most probably, the same man as the Mayor of Leicester of that name in 1366) was the founder of the third bell at Scawby. Robert de Merston was the founder of bells hanging at North Cockerington, Skendleby, and other places. Simon de Hazfelde, whose name I found in Northants, cast and placed his name on a Sanctus bell still remaining at Sutterton ; whilst at Bicker is a curious little Sanctus bell, inscribed :—

IOH : ME YEYT,

or, John cast me, sufficiently ancient to give the name of a founder who had not assumed a surname. We find also the stamp of W<sup>m</sup> Blounder and others, to which can be assigned a *locale* and an approximate date, but at present no first owner with certainty. Very many of the ancient bells, as we can judge from their stamps and their lettering, undoubtedly came from the early Nottingham foundries. Mr. Phillimore is at work upon the bells of that county, and will, I hope, be able to prove, what I am convinced is the fact, that Nottingham was a great centre of the bellfounder's art for the Midland district and for Lincolnshire in mediæval times.

Some few of the ancient Lincolnshire bells, like many of the modern ones, came, no doubt, out of Yorkshire, but the great majority of them come from Nottingham, where the Mellors, Queruby with the Oldfields (founders of the Lady bells of Lincoln, and of the present tenor of the cathedral ring), and the Hedderlys plied their craft in later times. Although there were small foundries in this county from 1192 (*circa*)—the time when Fergus the brazier of Boston gave two small bells to Croyland Abbey—to the present century, when the foundries at Barrow and at Barton were energetically worked by the Harrisons, there is

nothing to shew that in mediæval times there was any foundry in the county equal, or approaching in reputation, to the very extensively patronised one at Nottingham.

The step from the bells to their uses is a short one, which will, I hope, always be taken by bell students. The additional interest is so great, and the trouble involved so little, that such an opportunity of recording old local customs and survivals should not be lost. Many of those, having no utilitarian value, are gradually, but surely, departing. It may seem strange that the course of politics should have anything to do with old bell customs in obscure Lincolnshire villages, but it is quite true that since Reform and the abolition of Church Rates have become established facts, the ancient *Angelus*, the more ancient Curfew, and the Shrive or Pancake-bell, have ceased to be rung in many places—no funds being now available for the payment of the sexton or clerk for his trouble.

Still, however, the Curfew is heard in about a score of parishes; the Pancake-bell rings in upwards of seventy parishes, and is remembered as being rung in about as many more; the morning bell, successor of the *Angelus*, still rings in many places, the mid-day bell in a few. Bells ring in many churches at the publication of banns, the “spurrings,” as the process is locally called, on the day of the wedding, and occasionally on the morning after the wedding to awake the bride and bridegroom. Bell ringing is not uncommon on certain evenings in the week in winter to guide people home from the markets, reminding us of the days of open heaths and fens. We are enjoined on one bell to remember the 5th of November; on another we are as earnestly requested to do nothing of the kind. Notwithstanding this conflict of advice, the “shooting of old Guy,” as the clashing of the bells is called, is not yet quite neglected. Chiming or ringing at funerals lingers, with many a touching tale of the love of the aged of a past generation for that ancient custom.

At S. Mary's, Stamford, hangs the Common bell of the Corporation; at Sleaford the Butter-bell, reminding one of the days when forestalling was a punishable offence; there, too, hangs the Fire-bell; over the Guildhall in this city is the ancient mote-bell, inscribed:—

CVM QVIS CAMPANAM RESERET SECCVVM BONVS AVDIT  
ET CVRIAM PLANAM FORE CVM SCITOTE REPLAVDIT  
TEMPORE VVILLI BEELE MAIORIS  
LINCOLNIE CIVITATIS ∩

Which has been freely translated:—

When first a good man hears the bell  
Let him his bag with speed untie;  
When next it rings, he'll know full well  
The hall is cleared, and homeward hie.

The remembrance of many curious customs is kept alive by the ringing, in various ways, of the bells in different parishes, but I must not lengthen my remarks beyond saying how grateful I shall be to receive from any of the clergy or laymen of the county notes on any special ringing of the bells now or in any past times, and of any traditions connected with them. What may be learned in that way from a search in the parish chest is well illustrated by a manuscript copy of the Duties and Fees of the Parish Clerk of Barrow-on-Humber in the year 1713, preserved among the church papers there.

In this single document we have notices of several customs now obsolete: the ringing of a bell twice daily during Lent at nine and four,—the accustomed hours of matins and evensong,—on such days as prayers were not said in the church, meaning, I suppose, the Litany and holy-days when the service was later—at ten or eleven a.m.; the ringing of the Harvest-bell at break of day to call the reapers to their work, and again at sunset; the ringing of the real Passing-bell according to ancient practice, and the ringing of the Soul-bell, which in this case was, I suppose, the peal after death in obedience to the canon. Apart from the bells we learn as to the old custom of placing hay in the seats to keep the feet of the worshippers warm, and from another document we learn that the sexton received 4s. 4d. annually from the churchwardens for dog-whipping.

The bells of the cathedral church of this city require a separate Paper for their elucidation. The bells of St. Hugh's tower, "Great Tom," that Stentor, as Fuller calls him, of all the bells in the country, and the beautiful ring of Lady bells, formerly hanging in the central tower, all have their history.

Although a second ring of bells was by no means an uncommon thing in our large cathedral and monastic churches in pre Reformation times, Lincoln was in 1834—the year in which the Lady bells were removed—unique in that respect in England, its cathedral being the only one in which the second ring had escaped destruction. Whilst every one must now regret the loss then effected, it should be remembered that the bells were at that time much out of order, St. Hugh's had not been rung for forty years, and the state of public opinion on such matters being very different from that of to-day, the two rings were possibly looked upon rather as a nuisance causing needless expense, than as rich ornaments adding to the dignity of the church, and so as a source of proper pride, and as worthy of the greatest care. We may safely say that were the Dean and Chapter of that day now sitting in chapter, a proposal to remove the Lady bells would hardly find a mover, certainly not a seconder.

By the liberality of a lady and gentleman, to whom the cathedral must be endeared by many associations, an addition is just made to the Quarter bells. It will not, I hope, be deemed impertinent for a comparative stranger to ask whether it would not be possible to remove "Great Tom" from the central tower, which was not built for so heavy a weight, where he cannot be rung, and dare not even be chimed, to his original position in the north-west tower?

If that were done, are we too sanguine in thinking that some wealthy citizen or citizens of Lincoln would give a new ring of bells for the central tower, and so restore its music to a magnificent structure, which is not unjustly pronounced to be not only the highest, but the finest, central tower in England?

## Proceedings at Meetings of the Royal Archaeological Institute.

June, 1880.

In consequence of the Special Exhibition of Ancient Helmets and Mail, which was arranged in the rooms of the Institute from June 3rd to June 17th, (see pp. 244 and 344), the usual monthly Meeting was not held, by order of the Council.

July 1, 1880.

The LORD TALBOT DE MALAHIDE, President, in the Chair.

MR. F. C. J. SPURRELL read a paper "On Implements and Chips from the Floor of a Palæolithic Workshop," showing in the clearest manner, from the flint objects which he exhibited, that he had found a spot where a "palæolithic man" sat down on the then sandy foreshore and fashioned his weapons. Having done his work the man appears to have been disturbed, either by an enemy, a storm, or beasts, and never returned to claim his property. The evidences of his handiwork had, however, been most skilfully again brought together by Mr. Spurrell, who showed not only the method of the man's proceedings, but also the flint tools he worked with, which were found on the same site.

In the discussion which followed the noble Chairman spoke of the great interest and value of Mr. Spurrell's paper, and Mr. W. M. Flinders Petrie mentioned that he had had the pleasure of examining the site with Mr. Spurrell, a few days after its discovery: he had himself removed some flakes from quite undisturbed sand; and others that Mr. Spurrell had found fitted to one of those flakes, in the same unparelled way in which the rest of the flints had been restored. Mr. Spurrell's paper is printed at page 294.

PROFESSOR BUNNELL LEWIS then read a paper, "Notes on Antiquities in the Museum of Palermo." After some introductory remarks on the history of Sicily and the monuments of the various races that have occupied it, Mr. Lewis called attention to the following objects:—

1. A bronze caduceus from Imachara, bearing the inscription—IMAXAPAION ΔΑΜΟΣΙΟΝ; it may be compared with a herald's staff from Longanus in the British Museum. 2. Three lions' heads used as gurgoyles, from a temple at Himera; they belong to the best period of Greek art, and while there is a general resemblance, differ in detail. 3. Græco-Roman mosaics from the Piazza Vittoria, Palermo, discovered in 1868. The grand mosaic appears to be nearly contemporary with those at

Pompeii. It contains many mythological subjects; amongst them the heads of Apollo and Neptune are the finest. The representations of the seasons are like Ceres, Flora, and Pomona at Corinium. In the same building was discovered a mosaic in which Orpheus is portrayed surrounded by birds and beasts. The workmanship in this case is inferior, and suggests the age of the Antonines as a probable date. 4. A Byzantine gold ring, found at Syracuse, with a sacred personage (Christ or the Virgin *†*) standing between an emperor and empress; this device occupies the bezel, and round it are the words + ΟΟΗΛΑΟΝΕΥΔΟΚΙΑΣΕΤ-ΕΦΑΝΟCΑΗΜΑC. Outside the hoop of the ring are seven facets, each containing a scene from the Gospel history, viz., the Annunciation, Visitation of Elizabeth, Nativity, Adoration of the Magi, Baptism of Christ, Ecce Homo, and Women at the Sepulchre. Salinas says that Eudocia mentioned in the motto is wife of Heraclius I, but it seems more likely that Eudocia Macrembolitissa is intended, and that the ring commemorates her marriage with Romans Diogenes. According to this supposition the ring should be assigned to the latter part of the eleventh century.

Mr. Lewis's paper will appear in a future Journal.

Votes of thanks were passed to the authors of the above papers.

Mr. Petrie made the following remarks upon a collection of plans of Earthworks and Stone Remains of Kent, Wiltshire, and the Land's End.

"The plans now exhibited included the fine, perhaps unique, building of Chywoon Castle, the circles of which are found to be very correct; having an average error of only  $\frac{1}{15}$ th of the diameter of the inner, and  $\frac{1}{15}$ th of the outer circle; the granite walled village a quarter mile E.N.E. it; the granite lined tunnels and chambers of Trewoofe Fagon, Pendeen Yau, Chaple Uny, Boscaswell, and the bee-hive hut of Bosperennis, all in the Land's End. Eleven camps in Kent (small plans of the best are given in Arch. Cant., xiii), and the curiously irregular camp of Knook, Wilts. Two remarkable dams, each having two overflow channels, on Tichfield Common, Hants, formed to enclose two large ponds, perhaps mediæval. The stone groups of a rectangular enclosure around a very large cist at Coldreham, Kent, and the lines beside a long barrow at Addington (commonly called a circle); the circles of Karn Kenidjack, Bescawenoon, Dawns Maen, and a small circle a furlong N.W. of the Nine Maidens at Boshednan, this last being just half the diameter of the previous two, which are exactly equal; also Gidleigh circle (Dartmoor), and the Men-an-tol; three flat slight earth circles on Traunock Down (Land's End), not apparently defensive; another, very regular slight circle evidently not defensive, at Chilham, Kent; a slight rectilinear work enclosing a small square, in the bottom of a valley at Calbourne (I. of W.); a neat square at Upavon; an irregular square, enclosing a barrow, at Netheravon; barrows in an ancient enclosure, and another group in a modern enclosure, at Rolleston (Wilts); Greenwich Park barrows, Julaber's grave, and the "Giant's Grave" (Kent).

"The very remarkable and delicate earthworks at Steeple Langford (roughly planned by Hoare in Anc. Wilts), some of which shew great care and regularity in measurement; two enclosures (pastoral?) of the collection near Bishop's Cannings; five settlements of ancient field enclosures and terraces in Wilts, including those beside the strange semi-circular earthwork, with the ditch inside the bank, at Hill Deverill; the sides of some of these fields shew the same length, or a multiple of it,

continually repeated in a manner which can hardly be accidental; field or village enclosures at Barham Down, and enclosures with large pit villages at Hayes (Kent); and the fine village streets, &c., at Rolleston (Wilts). All these plans will be deposited in the British Museum map department (No.  $\frac{111}{112}$ ), permanently accessible to any reader.

"It is much to be desired that the systematic and accurate planning of earthworks should be taken up by several hands, as such works are continuously decreasing; and thus prehistoric records, which shew some of the highest skill of those times, are being swept away, without even having a few hours given to save them from oblivion."

Mr. Morgan spoke of the importance of recording by means of such accurate plans as Mr. Petrie exhibited, the numerous earthworks which were scattered all over the country. They all were apparently the works of a race of men with the same views and requirements, and the subject was an abstruse one. The Ordnance Survey by no means went critically or carefully into the matter which was of fully worthy of the intelligent care that Mr. Petrie was bestowing upon it.

A cordial vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Petrie.

### Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By Mr. SPURRELL.—Diagrams, and flint implements, preparations, and chips, in illustration of his paper.

By PROFESSOR BUNNELL LEWIS.—Illustrations and photographs of the antiquities alluded to in his paper.

By the Rev. S. S. LEWIS.—A collection of coins in further illustration of Mr. Lewis's paper.

By Mr. FLINDERS PETRIE.—A collection of fifty plans of British earthworks and stone remains, surveyed by him in the south of England, in continuation of a series exhibited in 1877. The details of the accuracy of the plans, and the method of survey, were stated at the previous exhibition (see Proceedings, 1st June, 1877), and need not be repeated. Over 130 plans have been now made, though many have not yet been copied and exhibited.

By Mr. W. THOMPSON WATKIN. — Photographs and drawings of remarkable Roman remains recently found at Maryport, Beekfoot, and Cirencester. (Mr. Watkin's notes on these objects are printed at p. 320.)

By Mr. J. NIGHTINGALE.—A pair of iron stirrups of open bar-work, such as might fit the round-toed sollerets of the early part of the XVI century, and a pair of close wooden stirrups covered over the foot with pierced iron work; probably from the Spanish Main.

By Mr. W. J. BERNHARD SMITH.—Part of a repoussé steel knee-cap representing a grotesque mark with engraved and etched details, XVI century.

## ANNUAL MEETING AT LINCOLN,

July 27 to August 2nd, 1880.

Tuesday, July 27.

The Mayor of Lincoln (F. J. Clarke, Esq.) and the Members of the Corporation assembled in the Masonic Hall at 12.30 p.m., and received the noble President of the Institute, the Bishop of Lincoln, the Bishop Suffragan of Nottingham, Sir C. Anderson, the Dean of Lincoln, the Archdeacons of Lincoln and Nottingham, the Rev. Sir Talbot Baker, Mr. J. H. Parker, Dr. Collingwood Bruce, Mr. E. Peacock, the Rev. H. Searth, Mr. G. T. Clark, the Rev. Precentor Venables, the Rev. Canon Clements, Mr. J. L. Ffytche, besides many other members of the Institute, and a large body of the clergy and residents of the neighbourhood. The Mayor called upon the Town Clerk to read the following address :—

*“To the Right Hon. the President, and to the Council and Members of the Royal Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland.*

“We, the Mayor, Aldermen, and Citizens of the City of Lincoln, beg most heartily to welcome you on your visit to our city and county.

“This is the second occasion on which you have by your presence here conferred an honourable distinction upon our ancient city, and we have pleasure in expressing the hope that this visit may prove highly profitable to your valued Institute. Rest assured that we shall do our utmost to aid in the great purpose which you have in view.

“The city of Lincoln and the district adjacent contain numerous objects of interest to the student of archaeology, amongst which, in the city, we may mention our magnificent cathedral, occupying a grand site on the hill, the remains of the old city as a Roman station (the noble arch in Newport forming part of the northern boundary thereof), the Castle with its ancient eastern gateway and keep, the ruins of the Bishop's Palace, containing many beautiful specimens of early English work, the Jew's House, the old Grey Friars, now used as the Grammar School, and the Stone Bow, in the centre of the city; while in the immediate neighbourhood we point to the ruins of Monk's Abbey, Barlings' Abbey, and Torksey and Tattershall castles.

“We trust that, as a result of this meeting, fresh light may be thrown upon those places, which are of chief interest to our city and county. You have, by your researches, much enriched the teaching of the age in which we live, religiously, socially and scientifically.

“We regard your work as a noble one, and we again tender you a warm and cordial welcome to this city.

“Given under our common seal this twenty-seventh day of July, one thousand eight hundred and eighty.

*(Signed)*

F. J. CLARKE, Mayor.

J. T. TWEED, Town Clerk.

In giving the address to Lord Talbot de Malahide the Mayor said that he could only say again, on behalf of himself and the Corporation, that the welcome tendered to the Institute was a very cordial and hearty one, and they would really be too glad if they could do anything to enhance the pleasure of the members of the Institute, during their visit to Lincoln.

LORD TALBOT DE MALAHIDE said that on the part of the Institute he felt most gratified at receiving this address from the Corporation and citizens of Lincoln. They offered the Institute a cordial welcome, and he was sure their words would be verified, for this was not the first time they had met in Lincoln. He had the pleasure of attending the former meeting, now thirty-two years ago, and he saw around him some few, but very few, members who were present on that occasion. He should never forget either Lincoln or the reception they had on that occasion. They had had many prosperous meetings in different parts of England, for they had perambulated the whole of England, but he could say none of them were more prosperous than their former meeting at Lincoln. It was very grateful to find persons who took an interest in their pursuits among the members of that Corporation and the citizens of Lincoln, and to find also how fully they appreciated those great monuments which distinguished the city; and not only did they appreciate them, but they would do all in their power to preserve them intact, and to prevent any of those acts of vandalism which took place occasionally in other parts of the country. He would not enter into the antiquities of Lincoln or Lincolnshire, for he felt he should be encroaching upon their time and upon the domains of those gentlemen who were so much more competent than himself. He had visited most of the antiquities of the county, and should be very much gratified to have visited them again, but he feared he should not be able to extend his inquiries much beyond the city, in consequence of indisposition. He was delighted to have a duty to perform in vacating the chair, and calling upon the Lord Bishop of that diocese to assume the presidency. He knew how highly the noble lord was respected in that district, and they knew how distinguished he was in almost every branch of ancient lore. His inquiries into classical literature were most valuable and interesting. He had travelled a little on the Bishop's steps in visiting the antiquities of Athens, and had been delighted to have such a valuable handbook as his writings upon that country. That was not a common handbook, but every page showed the deep knowledge he had of the country and its literature; and no greater proof of scholarship had come within his observation than the admirable and masterly manner in which he explained and restored the inscriptions which described the ancient economies of Athens.

THE BISHOP SUFFRAGAN OF NOTTINGHAM then read the following address:—

*“To the President and Members of the Royal Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland.*

“As president of the Associated Architectural and Archaeological Societies of the diocese of Lincoln, county of York, archdeaconry of Northampton, county of Bedford, diocese of Worcester, county of Leicester, and town of Sheffield, I beg to bid you welcome to this ancient city, and to the diocese of Lincoln, in accordance with the invitation I



had the honour of presenting to you, with others, and which you have accepted, to our gratification.

"Although it is thirty-two years since the Institute has visited Lincoln, some at least are still living who remember that event with much pleasure, and many have since profited by the valuable information that was then elicited and put on record with respect to our local history and archaeology through the learning and researches of your body on that occasion.

"The lapse of years since that time has robbed us of most of the eminent men who then took a prominent part in the proceedings of the Institute; but we now gladly hail the presence of their successors and representatives at Lincoln. We have never ceased to hold intercommunication with you through the exchange of our annual publications, but our relations will be strengthened through the honour you have done us in visiting us again, which we trust will be attended with the same valuable results as before. We beg to assure you of our hearty desire to assist you in your researches, to accompany you in your excursions, and to make your stay in the diocese of Lincoln as profitable and agreeable to you as possible.

"Lincoln, July 27th, 1880."

The noble PRESIDENT, on behalf of the Institute, returned thanks to the Bishop Suffragan and the societies which he represented for their kind address of welcome. In the great strides which had been made in the study of archaeology of late years no agency had been more powerful to attract public attention than these local societies, and among those societies those of Lincolnshire and the neighbourhood were amongst the most prominent. He trusted the Institute would long be connected with Lincoln, and that they would continue to work together, towards the elucidation and illustration of our early antiquities.

The LORD BISHOP OF LINCOLN was then placed in the chair, and delivered his inaugural address.

LORD TALBOT DE MALAHIDE in tendering the cordial thanks of the meeting to the Bishop of Lincoln for his eloquent address, alluded to the beauty of the language and the sound good sense which pervaded every portion of it, and expressed a hope that the noble chairman would allow it to be published in the Transactions of the Institute. (The address is printed at p. 345.)

At two p.m. the Mayor and Corporation entertained the members of the Institute and a large company at luncheon, in the New Corn Exchange. After the usual loyal toasts had been given the Mayor proposed the health of the Bishop and clergy of the diocese and the ministers of all denominations, which was responded to by the Bishop of Lincoln; the toast of the Army, Navy and Reserved Forces was then proposed by Mr. J. T. Tweed, and responded to by Colonel Ellison; the Mayor then proposed the toast of the President and Members of the Royal Archaeological Institute, which was responded to by Lord Talbot de Malahide, who alluded to the hospitality which had been extended to them, and proposed the health of the Mayor and Corporation of Lincoln, with all the honours: this was responded to by the Mayor, and after the toast of the Ladies, the proceedings came to an end.

Complete programmes of the proceedings during the week were given to each ticket-holder, and an illustrated handbook or General Notes on the

places to be visited, from the accomplished pen of the Rev. Precentor Venables, was prepared for the meeting.

A large party then visited the churches St. Mary le Wigford, St. Peter at Gowts, and "John of Gaunt's stables", and several old houses were also inspected, under the guidance of the Rev. Precentor Venables. The party then ascended the hill to the castle, now no longer a prison, though containing all the prison buildings unchanged, and inhabited by the Governor. Here Mr. Clark took the command, and from the mound of the keep explained the general features of the fortress.

Lincoln castle, he said, stood on the brow of the hill above the later city, and a little below and to the west of the still later cathedral, and within the Roman station, of which it occupied the south-west angle. Here, as at York and elsewhere, the earthenbanks of the northern settlers covered up and included the fragments of the Roman wall, shewing that some time must have elapsed, and much violence have been perpetrated between the departure of the Romans and the construction of the earthenbanks and mound: an evidence, if further evidence were needed, of the authorship of these works.

The mound, one of the finest in England, formed a part of the enceinte of the English work, and its outer half coincided with the main ditch of the place, and was perfect. The inner half was filled up and covered with the buildings of the prison.

From the mound, either way, beyond its ditch, the banks of earth were thrown up so as to include an irregularly square area of which the south and west sides were those of the Roman station, and the north and east sides altogether later. The rectangular figure, unusual in such works, was here evidently dictated by the Roman remains.

The Normans in taking possession of these works placed their curtain walls along the ridge of the earthenbank, or a little nearer to the outer face, which in parts they scaped away so as to make the wall a revetment and to give it a greater height, or rather, a greater depth outside, the bank within forming a ramp or terrace. Here were two gateways of the usual Norman type, one in the east wall, now in use, though much altered, and one in the west wall, now walled up, but otherwise very little altered. Probably there were towers at the four angles of the area, of which that at the north-east is replaced by a later tower of Edwardian date, still very perfect and curious; that to the south-east has been much added to, but still retains a Norman nucleus. This angle is much elevated, and, as at Cardiff and Hereford, is in fact a mound almost rivalling the keep. At the south-west angle the city wall ran up to and abutted upon the castle wall.

The curtain was continued along the south face of the work, near the centre of which was the great mound, covered by the polygonal shell keep, of which the walls remain.

The curtain, as at Arundel, is continued across the keep ditch and up the slopes of the mound, and where it abuts upon the keep it contains, at its summit, two small chambers, which are inaccessible, but appear to have been garbages.

The keep is a mere shell of wall, but has two gateways, one, a large Norman opening with Norman mouldings, approached by a steep flight of steps, and which was the entrance from the inner court: the other gateway, smaller, a sort of postern, opens in the opposite wall, and was an entrance from the city. There seems also to have been a small postern in the south

curtain, east of the keep, which has evidently been walled up from a very early period.

The rain having begun to fall Mr. Clark was unable to say much upon the history of the castle, to the siege of which in the reign of Stephen, Robert earl of Gloucester brought, for the first time, a band of his Welsh tenants.

The Antiquarian Section opened at 8.30 in the County Assembly Rooms, under the presidency of Sir Charles Anderson, who in the course of his introductory remarks referred to the recent discovery of Roman remains in Bail gate, and observed that there could be no question that modern Lincoln was built over the old Roman city, but some seven or eight feet above it.

Mr. CLARK then read an exhaustive paper on "Post-Roman and English Earthworks," which will appear in a future number of the *Journal*.

The Historical Section opened at 9.30, the Very Rev. the Dean of Ely in the chair, in the unavoidable absence of the president of the section, Mr. Beresford-Hope. The BISHOP SUFFRAGAN OF NOTTINGHAM read a paper on "Little St. Hugh," which will be printed in the *Journal*.

A paper by Mr. D. DAVIS on "The Jews of Lincoln," which will also appear in the *Journal*, was then read by the Rev. PRECENTOR VENABLES, and the meeting separated.

Wednesday, July 28th.

The Architectural Section opened at ten a.m., under the presidency of the Bishop Suffragan of Nottingham. Mr. J. T. MICKLETHWAITE read a paper on "The Growth of a Parish Church." The Right Rev. Chairman spoke of the lucid manner in which Mr. Micklethwaite had shown the progressive state of the building of parish churches. It was a subject in which all must feel an interest, and the meeting was much indebted to the author for the pains he had bestowed upon it. Mr. Micklethwaite's paper is printed at p. 364.

The Historical Section then sat for the second time, the Dean of Ely in the chair. The Rev. CANON WICKENDEN read a paper on "The Muniments of Lincoln Cathedral," which will appear in the *Journal*. The Rev. Precentor Venables spoke of the labours of Canon Wickenden in bringing together so much valuable information from these hitherto unexplored sources.

The Rev. CANON PERRY then read a curious and interesting paper on "Episcopal Visitations of Lincoln," which will be printed in a future *Journal*.

At 12.37 a large party went by rail to Gainsborough old hall, now undergoing reparation at the competent hands of Mr. Somers Clarke. This interesting brick house, successively the abode of the Burghs, Hickmans and Bacons, was fully and carefully described in a paper which Mr. SOMERS CLARKE read in the great hall, after luncheon.

The party took carriages at Gainsborough for Stowe church, where it was met by Mr. Parker, who described this highly interesting and, in some respects, puzzling fabric. The Bishop of Nottingham added some remarks, and a long drive brought the party back again to Lincoln.

A very largely attended *conversazione*, by the noble President and the Members of the Institute, took place at nine p.m., in the County Assembly

Rooms. The museum was thrown open, and in the course of the evening Mr. PEACOCK read a paper on "Lincoln in 1644," which will be printed in a future number of the *Journal*.

Thursday, July 29th.

At ten a.m. the General Annual Meeting of the Members of the Institute was held at the County Assembly Rooms, the Lord TALBOT DE MALAHIDE in the chair. Mr. HARTSHORNE read the balance sheet for the past year (printed at p. 338). He then read the following

"REPORT OF THE COUNCIL FOR THE YEAR 1879-80.

"In presenting the Report for the past year, the Council desire to refer with much satisfaction to the high archaeological interest and success of the Meeting at Taunton.

"Held under the best auspices and attended by acknowledged masters in every branch of archaeology the members visited, with the exception of one day's excursion, an entirely new district, and the vast number and interest of the places visited and the value of the field lectures and the papers read in the sectional meetings—not to mention the extraordinary hospitality that was extended to the members—combined to mark the meeting as one of the most successful that the Institute has ever held.

"The Council wish further to record their satisfaction with respect to the interest which the aims and objects of the society excited in the county of Somerset, and they feel that the course and results of the last meeting mark an epoch in the history of the Institute, and that at the present day, it may be fairly said that the dilettanti and uncertain antiquary of the past times has been finally and surely supplanted by the comparative and scientific archaeologist. And that this result has been in a measure attained by the method and labours of the Institute, the Council venture to think is clearly evidenced by the character of the papers published in the *Journal*.

"On the other hand the Council feel that the excursions and work of the Annual Meetings should be kept within somewhat smaller limits, so that at each meeting everything attempted should be certainly well done, rather than that the smallest risk should be run of anything being undertaken and imperfectly or hurriedly carried out.

"With further regard to the conduct and work of the Annual Meetings the Council have carefully considered the question of the acceptance of private hospitality, and they have made certain regulations in this respect which they fully believe will be agreed to by the members at large.

"The remarkable interest and success of the Exhibition of Helmets and Mail, lately held in the rooms of the Institute, calls for no further remark.

"With regard to the financial position of the Institute the Council desire to say that in consequence of the action taken last year by the Society the position of the Institute appears to be now entirely satisfactory. The amount of overdue subscriptions has been reduced to almost a nominal sum, and the yearly expenditure of the society is now being provided for by its annual funds; but the Council would desire again to impress upon the members the desirableness of their subscriptions being punctually paid.

"The Council notice with satisfaction the gradual increase in the number of members during the last two years, twenty-two members having been elected since the last meeting, as against thirteen in the preceding year. The Council notice also that the average punctual issue of the *Journal* may in some degree have contributed to this result.

"The losses to the Institute by death are in some cases, as last year, such as may have been expected in the ordinary course of nature.

"Mr. Blore has passed away at the great age of ninety, a friend of Sir Walter Scott, a most delicate and accurate draughtsman, and most of all as one of the leaders of the modern gothic revival; Mr. Blore has left a strong mark on a remarkable architectural period. All who know him will deplore his death as the severance of a long link with the past and with the early history of the Institute, of which he was long a cordial supporter. Mr. R. Clutterbuck, the bearer, in one sense, of a historic name, and a member of the Council, has departed at the age of eighty years; Mr. A. Trollope, Mr. W. W. E. Wynne, and Mr. D. Gurney were early members of the Institute; Mr. C. Hart, Mr. F. Manning, Mr. J. F. Marsh, Mr. T. Sopwith, Mr. T. T. Taylor, and Mr. G. J. A. Walker,—all are gone since the last meeting.

"The members of the Council to retire by rotation are as follows:—Vice-President, Mr. E. Oldfield, and the following members of the Council,—Mr. Winter Jones, the Rev. J. Fuller Russell, the Rev. R. P. Coates, Sir J. Sibbald D. Scott, Mr. C. Octavius S. Morgan, and the Very Rev. Lord A. Compton.

"The Council would recommend the appointment of the Rev. J. Fuller Russell as Vice-President, in the room of Mr. Oldfield, and the re-election of Sir Sibbald Scott, Mr. Morgan and Lord A. Compton on the Council.

"It would further recommend the election of Mr. J. N. Foster (the retiring Auditor), Mr. J. T. Micklethwaite, and Mr. J. Nightingale to the vacant seats on the Council. Sir H. Lefroy having signified his desire to retire from the Council, in consequence of a prolonged absence from England, the Council recommend the appointment, in his stead, of Mr. R. S. Ferguson.

"It would further recommend the election of the Rev. W. Henley Jervis as Auditor, in the room of Mr. Foster."

The adoption of the report was moved by Sir CHARLES ANDERSON, seconded by the Rev. F. SPURRELL, and carried unanimously; the balance sheet was then passed, and the place of meeting in 1881 considered. Mr. PARKER spoke of the desirableness of the Institute holding a meeting in Durham, and further mentioned that he had quite lately brought before him during a visit in Bedfordshire, a suggestion that the Institute should visit that county. This was entirely new ground, and he thought favourably of the proposal.

Lord TALBOT DE MALAHIDE thought a second meeting in Norwich would be fruitful of good results, since the antiquities of that city had by no means been exhausted on the former occasion.

Mr. R. S. FERGUSON made some observations to the effect that the question of a second meeting in Carlisle would be entertained with pleasure: but owing to a large meeting, of quite a different character, that had lately been held there, a meeting of the Institute would hardly be convenient in 1881. He had reason to believe that in 1882 the Institute would be extremely welcome in the great Border City. After some remarks by

MR. FFYTCHÉ, SIR TALBOT BAKER, SIR C. ANDERSON, MR. MICKLETHWAITE and others, it was proposed by MR. PARKER, seconded by MR. FFYTCHÉ, and carried, that the question be referred to the Council in London.

With reference to the sudden death of MRS. BLAKESLEY, the following resolution was proposed by SIR CHARLES ANDERSON, and seconded by MR. R. W. MILNE, "that the members of the Institute present desire to take the earliest opportunity of expressing their deep sympathy with the Very Rev. the Dean of Lincoln on the sudden and lamentable domestic calamity which has befallen him." This resolution was carried unanimously, and a copy of it ordered to be transmitted to the Dean of Lincoln.

A vote of thanks to the noble Chairman brought the proceedings to a close.

At 11 a.m. the Architectural Section sat for the second time, the Bishop Suffragan of Nottingham in the chair. The Rev. Precentor Venables read an admirable and exhaustive paper on "The Architectural History of Lincoln Cathedral," which will appear in a future number of the *Journal*. The Cathedral was then inspected, and described by Mr. Venables and Mr. Parker.

At 2 p.m. the Architectural Section met for the third time, the Bishop Suffragan of Nottingham in the chair. The Rev. Canon Owen Davys read a paper on "The West Front of St. Alban's Cathedral."

The Antiquarian Section then met for the second time, the Lord Talbot de Malahide in the chair. The Rev. Prebendary Searth read a paper on "The Roman Occupation of Lincoln and the Eastern Portion of Britain," which will be printed in the *Journal*. A party then proceeded to the Old Palace, which was described by the Bishop Suffragan of Nottingham, while a number of antiquaries made an inspection of the Roman remains and several mediæval houses on the northern side of the city, under the guidance of the Rev. Precentor Venables.

In the evening a large number of members of the Institute and visitors were most kindly received by the Right Rev. the President of the meeting at Riselholme.

### Friday, July 29.

At 9.50 a large party went by special train to Grantham, where the fine church of St. Wolfran was described by Mr. J. Fowler. Sleaford was next reached, and here the party were taken in hand by the Bishop Suffragan of Nottingham, who gave a careful description of this exceedingly beautiful building. After a hurried luncheon at the Bristol Arms the party went on to Heckington, where the magnificent church, justly described by Sharpe as the most beautiful example of a church in the "Curvilinear Decorated" style in the kingdom, was inspected. Proceeding to Boston, Sir Charles Anderson met the party at the church, and gave a short and clear description of this the third largest parish church in England. The Rev. Canon Blenkin was kind enough to offer tea to the antiquaries, who then went on to Tattershall Castle, which was described by the Bishop Suffragan of Nottingham. The church was subsequently seen, and the party again reached Lincoln at 8 p.m.

Saturday, July 31.

The Antiquarian Section met for the third time at 10 a.m., Sir Charles Anderson in the chair. The Rev. Precentor Venables read a paper by Mr. T. North, on "The Church Bells of Lincolnshire," which is printed at p. 417. The Historical Section met for the third time, the Bishop Suffragan of Nottingham in the chair. The Rev. F. Spurrell read a paper on "An Incident in the Death of King John." The Right Rev. CHAIRMAN considered that the conclusion Mr. Spurrell had arrived at, namely, that the king's death was caused by new cider, and not by poison expressed from the body of a toad, was a perfectly just one. With regard to the question of cider-making in Lincolnshire, there was a place in South Lincolnshire in his grandfather's time where that beverage was made, and it was in fact not uncommon in Lincolnshire in those days. Mr. Spurrell's paper will be printed hereafter in the *Journal*.

At noon a special train took a considerable party from Lincoln to Southwell. The Minster was ably described by Mr. E. Christian, who was kind enough to come purposely from London. The Bishop Suffragan of Nottingham and several others took part in a long examination and discussion that ensued, and, after luncheon at the Saracen's Head, the antiquaries proceeded to Newark, where, within the Castle precincts, Mr. J. Fowler gave a general architectural definition of the building, in which the ablest, if the worst, of the Angevins breathed his last. From hence the party went to the church, where Mr. J. T. Micklethwaite awaited them, and made the following remarks:—

"The slight sketch which I am now going to give of the history of this church is drawn from such evidence as the fabric itself affords, for I have not had the opportunity to use any description of it except what is to be found in the convenient little manual which has been prepared for our use at this meeting. I speak with confidence as to the order in which the various parts of the building have been executed, but to do so for their exact dates one would need to consult written history as well as to give a closer examination to the work than time has allowed me to make. There was probably a church here long before the twelfth century but there is nothing left earlier than about 1180. To that time belong the responds of the arches of the crossing which tell us that the church then had nave, chancel and transepts corresponding in position to the existing ones. The chancel extended eastwards as far as the present high altar as is shown by a transitional crypt under that part, now used as a burial vault. The nave and transepts would be rather shorter than they are now, but nothing is left to show us their exact extent. The appearance of the existing work and experience of other like cases combine to tell us that the twelfth century church here was without aisles. It was a very large parish church for that time, and it is likely that aisles were added before the western tower was undertaken.

"A central tower was probably intended and may have been built; but, whether it were or not, a western one was begun in the usual way outside the church about the year 1220. This tower was designed to stand clear of the west front, but the first stage can scarcely have been finished before it was determined to continue the aisles along its sides, and arches were opened in its north and south walls.<sup>1</sup> This alteration is

<sup>1</sup> There are a number of cuts in the stonework of the arch on the south side, evidently caused by pulling the bells in the tower from the aisle. These cuts

very visible on the aisle side of the arches. The tower went on steadily though perhaps slowly till it reached the string below the belfry windows and then stopped; probably for want of funds; for we may see that in the last story a change was made in the design which looks like an attempt to reduce the cost. Although it cannot be absolutely proved, it is likely that the nave and aisles were lengthened and joined on to the unfinished tower.

"The church seems to have stood in this condition for the greater part of a century, and then the men of Newark thought to rebuild it on the very large and magnificent scale which we now see. They failed for the time; but we need not accuse the people of an important town of a too great ambition, when we see what splendid work was then being done in the village churches round them. The new work was begun about 1330. The tower was finished and the spire added to it, and the plinths and lower part of the outer wall all round shew that the intention was then to make the church its present size. But only the south aisle of the nave was completed, and I doubt whether that was roofed,<sup>1</sup> and then the work ceased. The cause of this sudden stopping of a work so hopefully begun was, I have little doubt, the advent of the plague known as the black death. That tremendous visitation, which some writers tell us took off two-thirds of the population and which shook the social fabric of Europe to its foundations, reached the neighbourhood of Newark in 1349, and must have caused the suspension of all ordinary business.

"Nearly forty years passed away before things had settled into their ordinary course sufficiently to allow the work at the church to be begun again. It was then taken up where it had been left off, and the south aisle and the nave were completed by building the existing arcades. The work then went on slowly, and probably never quite stopped. The aisle walls were completed on the fourteenth-century foundation. Then the chancel arcades were built in imitation of those of the nave but with inferior detail. This is probably the work referred to when we are told that the chancel was built in 1489. Clerestories were next added to both nave and chancel, and at the same time the arches of the crossing, which up to then had probably kept their twelfth century forms, were altered. The eastern arch was considerably heightened and the western was taken away altogether, but its responds were kept to butt the transverse arches between the aisles and the transepts. The transepts were then completed, and at last, more than a hundred and fifty years after they had first set about it, the scheme of the men of the fourteenth century was completed. The only part of the building, which does not form part of that scheme, is the large sacristy added about 1500.

"Turning from the church to its contents we note first the very fine

may be of any date, but perhaps they tell of the former existence of a living room at the end of the aisle, the inhabitant of which was charged with the ringing of certain bells, and did it without leaving his room. There is a curious case of this sort at Trumpington, near Cambridge, where the *inclusus*, if such he were, pulled the bells through a loop in the wall of the tower.

<sup>1</sup> Our *Handbook* tells us that an altar

was consecrated in the south aisle in 1315. But the present work cannot be so early as that, and the altar must have been in a former aisle. The enlarging of the church does, however, appear to have been under consideration as early as 1312, when the Archbishop of York gave license to pull down a chapel in the churchyard because the ground was required.—*York Fabric Rolls* (Surtees Society) p. 236.



screens and the stalls in the chancel, of which we know that the northern half were done from a bequest left in 1521. This was probably the second half. The rood-screen once extended across the aisles, or, at least, was intended to do so. The pews in the chancel aisles have been "restored" and refixed, but keep their old arrangement, suited to worshippers either at the high altar or at the altars at the ends of the respective aisles. At each side of the high altar remains an enclosed "closet" within which was once a chantry altar; and on the outside of that on the south, towards the aisle, are two panels painted with a scene from the "Dance of Death."

"In 1508 Thomas Drawsword, carver, of York, provided a reredos. The family of Drawsword or Drawswerd, of York, had considerable reputation as artists at that time. The names of Thomas and William appear in the York fabric rolls between 1499 and 1518, and about 1510 we find that one "Drawswere, Sherife of York," gave a tender for the execution of the images of a tomb for King Henry VII., to be placed in his chapel, according to a design which was afterwards laid aside for that of the Italian Torrigiano.<sup>1</sup>

"The font here is interesting if not very beautiful. The Puritans destroyed the font in the seventeenth century, and at the Restoration the old stem was brought back, but a new bowl had to be made. The stem is about 1500 and has this line divided amongst its eight sides—

*"Curve rei nati sunt hoc deo fonte renati."*

"In the east window of the south aisle of the chancel is a good deal of old painted glass of various dates. In the upper part are some figures representing the deadly sins which are worth notice.

"Below this window is a sculptured fragment, once part of a representation of the Nativity. It probably belonged to a reredos. And there are other scraps about, which shew us that although the church is still rich in furniture it has lost a great deal. The tombs and monuments also have suffered much and some have quite disappeared. Amongst those saved is the well known brass of Alan Fleming now placed against the wall of the south transept, rather too high up to be easily examined. This transept was the chapel of the Guild of the Holy Trinity, which included the chief men of the town, and many of them were buried and had monuments there."

By the invitation of the Mayor of Newark the Town Hall was then visited and the fine Corporation plate inspected. Some light refreshments were most kindly offered to the visitors, and a small party subsequently visited Hawton Church, famous for its elaborate and beautiful Easter Sepulchre, Founder's Tomb, and other architectural accessories, the whole presenting, as Mr. Bloxam truly says, the most chaste and elegant composition of the fourteenth century. Lincoln was again reached at 6 p.m.

Monday, August 2.

At 9 a.m. carriages left the White Hart Hotel for the restored church of Navenby, of which the chancel, with a remarkably fine six-light east window, contains a striking series of carved stone work, comprised in the piscina, sedilia, Easter sepulchre, founder's tomb, and aumbry. A

<sup>1</sup> Neale and Bayley's *Westminster Abbey*, vol. i, p. 55.

Purbeck slab of the early part of the fourteenth century records the memory of an ecclesiastic ; “pur : l’alme : Richard : de : We : persone : de : Navenby :” the words being divided by stops in “latten.” The un-restored church of Welbourne was next reached. Here, as at Navenby, the great entasis of the spire was not to be admired. At Leadenham the church was again the principal object. Mr. Sharpe has well described it as an admirable study of the typical work of the best part of the Decorated period. Continuing the journey to Brant Broughton, where luncheon was provided, the party was received by the Rev. F. H. Sutton. This beautiful church, generally of the latest Decorated style, has recently received the addition of a chancel and chancel aisle, and these, including the decorative colouring and painted glass, have certainly been admirably carried out both as regards taste and workmanship. Mr. Sutton has established an *atelier* for glass painting and burning on the spot, which was afterwards inspected, and carried the mind back to the “ages of faith,” when local talent was engendered and fostered, when art was not a “business,” or church building a sordid question of money and “quantities.” Somerton Castle was the next point reached. Here Mr. J. Fowler read a paper, which had been kindly contributed by the Bishop Suffragan of Nottingham, giving an account of the fortress, which will always have a great historic interest as the prison of John King of France in 1359. This paper will appear in the *Journal*. A long drive brought the party back to Lincoln.

The General Concluding Meeting was held at 8 p.m., in the County Assembly Rooms, Mr. J. L. Ffytche in the chair. The Rev. Sir Talbot H. B. BAKER, in proposing a vote of thanks to the Bishop of Lincoln for his kindness, not only in acting as President of the meeting, but also for his reception of the members at Riseholme, spoke in the highest terms of his capabilities for such a position. The mind of the Bishop of Lincoln was, so to speak, infiltrated with archaeological lore, and it was a real honour to the Institute to have had its deliberations presided over by so eminent a scholar. This was carried with acclamation.

The Rev. Precentor VENABLES proposed a vote of thanks to the Mayor and Corporation of Lincoln for their extremely hospitable reception of the Institute in that ancient city. This was cordially endorsed by the meeting. Mr. T. H. BAYLISS, in an apt and able speech, proposed a vote of thanks to the Dean and Chapter and the Local Secretaries, and specially to the Rev. Precentor Venables, for his exertions on account of this meeting, and particularly for his valuable Handbook. The Rev. PRECENTOR replied, and proposed a vote of thanks to the readers of the valuable series of papers that the meeting had brought forth, and particularly to the Bishop Suffragan of Nottingham, both for his papers and his *circa roce* description he had given of many of the places visited during the meeting. This was carried with great unanimity, and the Lincoln Meeting was then declared ended.

\* \* The readers of the *Journal* may be glad to know that copies of the Rev. Precentor Venables’s illustrated Handbook of the places visited during the Lincoln meeting, may be obtained at the Office of the Institute, price one shilling.

## THE MUSEUM.

This was formed in the County Assembly Rooms, under the direction of the Honorary Curators, Mr. S. F. Hood and the Rev. H. F. Sutton, and comprised a large collection of antiquities of various kinds, and a specially fine collection of silver plate. Conspicuous in the museum was a set of rubbings from brasses in Antwerp, Ghent, and Bruges, exhibited by the Rev. F. R. Creeny. Mr. G. Jarvis sent several gold and silver antiquities, and some early portraits; Mr. J. L. Ffytche contributed an illuminated book of Hours, a book of swan marks, &c.; Sir Charles Anderson sent a collection of flint flakes, early bronzes, rings, portraits of Henry IV, Lord Chief Justice Anderson (1593) and other objects; the Rev. R. E. Warner sent letters and personal possessions of the Cromwell family; from the Rev. F. H. Sutton came several volumes, including a late thirteenth century English Psalter, and a French one of the fourteenth century; Mr. T. Louth, Miss Glaister, the Rev. H. Barrett, Mrs. Chester Wood, Major Kennedy, and the Rev. G. T. Harvey contributed examples of embroidery on velvet and silk, and Mrs. Roundell lent a very choice collection of seventeenth century pictures in needlework. Among the numerous objects of silver plate the following are specially worthy of notice: a fine Monteith, a curious and massive candlestick formerly belonging to John Locke, two tea caddies, a set of silver tumblers, spoons, tankards, and double-handled cups, lent by Mr. C. S. Roundell; the complete and magnificent regalia of the town of Stamford, consisting of a grand mace, two smaller ones, a gigantic punch bowl, cups, badges, and chains, lent by the Mayor and Corporation of Stamford; the regalia of the City of Lincoln, comprising three swords, two chapeaux, the great, and smaller mace, the distaff, the mayor's "holiday ring," and the city and mayor's seals; the great Monteith of Boston, a silver salver and tankard, lent by Mr. C. C. Sibthorpe; salvers lent by Mr. H. K. Hebb; teapots, and cream jugs, lent by Mr. L. T. Thornton; a covered caudle cup, *temp.* William "the Deliverer," exhibited by the Rev. J. Vavasour; ladle of Prince Charles Edward, lent by the Rev. R. B. Mackenzie; and many smaller things from other collections, the whole forming as fine a display of plate as has ever been brought together under the auspices of the Institute.

Among other early antiquities, the valuable and inedited collection of Egyptian remains, exhibited by Mr. S. F. Hood, was very conspicuous; the Bishop of Nottingham contributed a number of Roman, Anglo-Saxon and mediæval antiquities; Mrs. Hayward sent Roman and English silver coins; the Rev. H. Maclean exhibited a Roman cinerary urn from Caistor; Mr. J. Swan sent a collection of Greek and Roman remains; Mr. H. Webb, fifteen silver pennies, struck at Lincoln, from the time of Knut to that of Edward I.

Among the MSS. exhibited those from the Chapter Library deservedly took the first place. In addition to other MSS. that have been already specially mentioned, reference may be made to Mr. C. C. Sibthorpe's Bible (1325), *Fiore à Virtù* (XIV. century), French Psalter, and a Book of Hours (XV. century); the Rev. A. A. Wood's volume of Statutes; Mr. T. Symson's Book of Heraldry, *temp.* Eliz.; the Rev. J. Vavasour's two MS. volumes of Dr. Stukeley, of the highest interest as regards the

sketches of buildings, of which so many have passed away since that busy antiquary's time; the Rev. C. Terrot's XIVth century fine illuminated and clasped MS; and the Rev. H. Maclean's XIVth century volume of Statutes in Latin and Norman-French.

Of early printed books the Dean and Chapter sent a large series; the Sub-Dean exhibited, among other volumes, "*Heures à la Vierge*," 1504; Mr J. Young "*Musica Sacra*," the first book printed in musical score; and Mr C. C. Silthorp exhibited an early Virgil, and Cranmer's Bible (1540.) Colonel Ellison exhibited a pommel of an early sword, perhaps XIVth century, a fluted helmet, and an engraved one, *temp.* James I. Mr W. Scorer sent an embossed leather plate case, *circa* 1380. The Rev. T. Stephens exhibited a mahogany marriage coffer inlaid in satin wood with representations of classical subjects. Mr J. Hilton sent a collection of objects carved in Jade.

The council desire to acknowledge the following donations in aid of the expenses of the Lincoln Meeting, and of the general purposes of the Institute:—The Bishop of Lincoln, 5*l.*; the Dean of Lincoln, 5*l.* 5*s.*; F. W. Bregden, 5*l.*; the Dean of Ely, 3*l.* 3*s.*; A. S. L. Melville, 2*l.* 2*s.*; H. Webb, 2*l.*; Hon. A. L. Melville, 1*l.* 1*s.*; J. D. Fisher, 1*l.* 1*s.*; Rev. J. Fowler, 1*l.* 1*s.*; Rev. H. W. Hutton, 1*l.* 1*s.*; F. H. Goddard, 1*l.* 1*s.*; J. F. Burton, 1*l.* 1*s.*; Rev. E. F. Hodgson, 1*l.*; Rev. A. N. Stuart, 10*s.* 6*d.*

### Notices of Archaeological Publications.

HISTORICAL TRADITIONS AND FACTS RELATING TO NEWPORT AND CAERLEON. Newport : Printed and published by W. N. JOHNS, Stamp Office. 1880.

This is an unpretending little book, full of interesting detail. It begins by examining the legendary history of the district, which is worthy of record, though not to be relied upon. Yet truth may linger in the Welsh Triads, and inferences may be drawn not wholly devoid of reality. Habits and manners still linger, and modes of life continue, which are recorded to have been common 2,000 years ago. The coracle of the Severn and the Wye, and also of the Usk, is the identical craft used by the fisherman in Roman and pre-Roman times.

The writer of this volume puts forth an ingenious idea that the name "Siluria," by which the Romans distinguished South Wales, is derived from the Welsh "Syllwyr," or "Esyllwyr," which is thought to be derived from "Syllt," signifying a view or prospect, *i.e.*, a country abounding in *fair prospects*. Without venturing to adopt this etymology, it is certainly an ingenious attempt to solve a perplexing question.

The country of the ancient Silures is contained between the Severn and the Towy, and comprehends the counties of Monmouth, Glamorgan, Carmarthen, Brecon, Radnor, and Hereford, and part of Gloucester and Worcester ; a fine tract of country, and inhabited by a race that gave no small trouble to the Roman power before being brought into subjection. The incidents of this war form a never ending theme of pleasant study in the pages of Tacitus. The hills are everywhere crowned with earthworks, and give indications of a prolonged contest. The site of the last battle, in which the power of Caractacus was broken, is still undetermined, and to those who have examined the ground and compared it with the details of that historian, the task is not easy of solution. We only venture to suggest the Bridden hill in Shropshire as coming nearest to the description of the historian.

Caerleon on Usk, if tradition may be trusted, appears to have been the chief town of Siluria, but this name was acquired after the Roman conquest, the Second Legion having been stationed there. The Roman town succeeded a still more ancient one, the burial place of the ancient Kings of Gwent. This is not at all improbable. The high mound outside the Roman castrum may mark a more ancient occupation, just as the Tourmagne at Nismes marks the burial place of a mythical hero, transformed into a divinity.

The author of this little treatise has done full justice to the historic importance of Caerleon, and his remarks upon the Roman Roads, of which it was the centre, are well worth attention, being concise and clear, also his enumeration of the many camps in the neighbourhood ; but at

p. 34 he has fallen into a mistake in stating that nothing now remains at *Cueran* but the name. He has evidently not seen the spot, as the earth-works are distinct, and also a small camp amphitheatre, at the eastern extremity.

The notice of the Roman period of occupation sums up a great deal in small compass, but the writer, or perhaps the printer, has fallen into a curious mistake at p. 26, where in describing the hostility of the Roman power to the influence of the Druids, he contrasts it with the "intolerant indifference" shown by them to other creeds. There are several typographical errors which should be corrected if the book comes to a second edition. At p. 30, instead of the "*Archæologia Cambrensis*" is printed the "*Archæological Cambrensis*"; and also "*Rutupie*" printed "*Rutupio*," p. 40; and "*testio*" for "*testis*" at p. 43.

Some reliance seems to be placed in Richard of Cirencester as an authority, whereas the work is now well known to be a forgery.

The description of the Roman buildings that once adorned Caerleon are ably inferred from the many inscriptions which have been found, and are recorded by Mr. Lee in his *Isea Silurum*, and also the vicissitudes through which the city passed; but the writer has fallen into a grave mistake when he speaks of "*Mithras*" as the *Goddess of Fortune*, p. 47. *Mithras* is the *Sun God*, the source of fertility. His worship was introduced from Persia, and the signs of the zodiac were found sculptured round the image, in a cave dedicated to his worship, at Bureovicus, on the line of the great Northumbrian wall. There is in the Island of Capri a spacious cave, where his effigy and an inscription was found, and where the seat running round, still remains, and the floor rises in successive stages. The cave is close upon the sea.

The early introduction of Christianity into Roman Britain is undoubted, but the manner, or the persons by whom it was brought, will we fear, be for ever a subject of discussion. No certainty can be arrived at; but that a Christian church flourished in Roman times in the West of Britain is an undoubted fact, if history is to be believed. The story of Lucius and Elutherius rests on no certain evidence, but it serves to show that at a very early date Christianity was planted in Britain. The legendary history of Glastonbury points in the same direction, though the stories of mediæval times have distorted facts. The subject, however, in this little treatise is well stated, without any desire to enlist authorities that are dubious. The ancient Druidical rites having been superseded by a new code of belief, and a new manner of worship, to which the native mind was not habituated or attached, it is not to be wondered that a purer and a nobler faith found easy admission, and took a firmer and more lasting root. We are glad to see that this important subject has not been passed over in the sceptical spirit which has sometimes shown itself in recent times.

One of the most instructive portions of this little work is the account given of successive visits made to Caerleon in ancient times, which have been recorded, and the remains then existing. Beginning with Giraldus, 1185, the writer mentions in succession whatever notices have been preserved, and shows the melancholy destruction of remains which has for centuries been carried on. We cannot but feel thankful that the sad work is now arrested by the formation of the museum in 1847. Since then the interest has been increasing, and every year adds to the value of

the collection. Mr. Lee's exertions have not been without fruit, and his work, *Iscia Silurum*, will remain a valuable monument for future ages, now that the importance of Roman inscriptions and architectural remains is duly acknowledged. A work like the *Historical Traditions and Facts*, which gives in a popular form the history of a locality which teems with associations, and which has been ennobled by poetic legends, cannot but further archaeological tastes and studies, and render essential service.

We hail the first part of this little work as a real gain to archaeology. The style is pleasing, and the writer is evidently well qualified for the task he undertakes; and we doubt not that the slight errors we have alluded to—certainly in no captious spirit—will be corrected in a second edition, and that this first portion, as well as the second, will receive the support that it so well deserves.

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS, DOMESTIC SERIES, OF THE REIGN OF CHARLES I, 1640, preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office. Edited by WILLIAM DOUGLAS HAMILTON, Esq., F.S.A., of Her Majesty's Public Record Office and the University of London, under the direction of the Master of the Rolls, and with the sanction of Her Majesty's Secretary of State for the Home Department. London—Longmans and Co., Trübner and Co.; Oxford—Parker and Co.; Cambridge—Macmillan and Co.; Edinburgh—A. and C. Black, Douglas and Foulis; Dublin—A. Thorn and Co. 1880.

Of all the volumes of Calendars of State Papers which have been published, no one exceeds in interest that recently issued under the editorship of Mr. W. D. Hamilton. As one evidence of its importance, though it only covers a period of five months from 1st April to the end of August 1640, it forms a bulky volume of 660 pages. This arises from the stirring events which occurred during this brief period; events of the most supreme importance to the subsequent history and constitution of the kingdom. It opens with Scotland in a state of revolt. Notwithstanding the so-called "pacification" which took place at York a few months before, the Scottish malecontents were again in arms, had seized some of the king's castles, and threatened an invasion of England. The king was without an army, and without the funds to raise one, to suppress their insolencies and bring them into subjection. Therefore, relying upon the general patriotism of his people, and believing that, considering the emergency of the occasion, the Parliament would not withhold the necessary supplies, he resolved upon summoning one. The Parliament accordingly assembled on the 13th April, and, it is needless to say, Charles was grievously disappointed in his expectations. The Lower House was found to be utterly impracticable. It refused to enter upon any discussion relative to the affairs of Scotland, and instead of granting the necessary supplies, though the king offered to relinquish ship-money, absolutely, if the House would only grant him twelve subsidies, it raised the old question of its supposed grievances. On the 5th May the king suddenly and unexpectedly pronounced a dissolution. Various conjectures have been offered as to the causes which led the king to take this decided step, but it seems now to be made clear from a letter dated 5th May, and abstracted in this volume. The writer says, "The English Parliament has as yet settled nothing, but are this day about to petition his Majesty to hearken to a reconciliation with you his

subjects of Scotland." Had such a measure been adopted by the Parliament, it would have been impossible that the king could have taken any further step in the prosecution of the war. It appears that during the session of Parliament the Scottish rebels had sent Commissioners to London, who were in constant communication with the Puritan leaders of the Lower House, and this, together with the contemplated act, had come to the king's knowledge. So ended what is called the Short Parliament.

Though the Parliament was dissolved on 5th May, as stated above, the Houses of Convocation continued to sit under the king's special license, which course the judges pronounced to be quite legal. In this Convocation the famous Canons of 1640 were passed, which called forth a host of protests and remonstrances, and became a subject of great contention, forming, subsequently, one of the principal charges leading to the impeachment and death of the Archbishop. The Parliament afterwards declared the Canons invalid, and they have never been acted upon, but having been duly adopted by the two Houses of Convocation and approved by the king, we see no reason to doubt that they are still, in law, binding upon the clergy.

Upon all these matters the papers in the volume before us afford most valuable information. The news letters of Edward Rossingham, News Correspondent to Viscount Conway, are most interesting upon all public affairs, upon which he appears to have been exceedingly well informed. His letters contain a vast amount of gossip of both a public and private nature of singular interest.

Having failed to receive from Parliament the supplies necessary for carrying on the war, the king, with the advice of his Privy Council, had no alternative to the adoption of other means. The Scots, however, had many sympathisers in England, and the difficulties in raising money were very great, even to the collection of the ordinary taxes and dues. The opposition to the ship-money, though the impost was pronounced by the judges to be perfectly legal, and to the other military imposts, was very great. Representations were received from many sheriffs of their inability to collect the sums assessed upon their respective counties.

The Sheriff of Derby, reciting that he is directed by letters of the Lords of the Council, dated 11th May, to levy £3,500 ship-money on the county, one moiety to be paid on 31st May and the other 24th June, by certificate dated 4th of the latter month, says:—"I find such opposition and evil affectedness in the greater part of the county that since the dissolution of the last Parliament they do not forbear to dare me, and bid me distrain at my peril, giving forth threatening words against me and many of them refusing so much as to appear upon my warrants to give any answer to me, or to assist me to make their assessments"—(p. 269). The Sheriff of Herts states:—"The county is generally averse to the payment of it, and the officers, constables and others refuse to do their service as on former like occasions. The assessments upon the inhabitants of the several parishes I can by no means procure, without which I cannot distrain"—(p. 246). And again:—"The people are averse and either pretend to disability or offer excuses instead of payment, and the officers who formerly complied in the service now refuse to execute warrants, to assess, or assist in anything that may advance that service"—(p. 283). The Sheriff of Worcester alleges:—"I have "employed my



servants and others at a great charge in collecting the ship-money charged upon my county; who find the whole country so averse and backward in the payment of it, that the petty constables and other officers as well as others are wholly opposing the service"—(p. 300). In London, Rossingham writes:—"The city officers go from house to house to call for ship-money, but not above one man paid it, wherefore the Lord Mayor willed the Sheriffs to take distresses upon the refusers, but they refused, desiring him to do the office himself, it not being required by the writ"—(p. 307). It is useless to multiply instances, for representations of the same backwardness come from all parts of the kingdom, and in some cases the Sheriffs themselves are supposed to have been wanting in zeal and diligence in the cause.

The same difficulties arose with respect to other means of raising money to which the king was obliged to have recourse in the emergency. The king applied to the city of London for a loan of £200,000 upon the security of the "Customs Collections, and choicest branches of Revenue," at 8 per cent. per annum, but the citizens could not be prevailed upon to advance the money, so that eventually the Government determined to raise the money by a forced loan after the manner of the ancient benevolences, and for that purpose required each alderman to furnish a separate book to the Council of the names of the richest citizens in his ward, grouped according to their abilities. These Returns are preserved amongst the State Papers, and form, Mr. Hamilton justly observes, a kind of City Directory, giving the names of all the principal citizens. Baffled in every attempt to procure money for the purpose of carrying on military operations, the Government at last resorted to the unjust and indefensible expedient of seizing the bullion of the London merchants deposited in the Tower for greater security until it could be coined.

The king at length succeeded in bringing together an army, if the ineffectively armed and undisciplined and tumultuous mob which assembled in the north may be so designated. There was, however, so much vacillation and delay that the war which was intended to be offensive became defensive in the invasion of England by the Scottish Covenanters. Whilst all was confusion in the English camp, and the soldiers less than half inclined to the work in hand, the Scots were well armed and drilled, and well provisioned; and, what was better than all this, they were all animated by the same spirit, everyone, to a man, being ardent in the cause they had embraced. The final result, therefore, was not difficult to foresee. The Scots crossed the Tyne at Newburn, on the 20th August, after a short engagement with a detachment of the king's troops under Lord Conway, which they routed, and hastily marched to Newcastle. Sir John Conyers, writing to Conway from Berwick on the 24th August, says:—"The Scots march night and day to be at Newcastle before the king's army, and some say they will seek to cross the Tyne at Hexham, and they lodge to-night at Felton or a mile or two short of it. They have 11 pieces of cannon, 54 field pieces, little drakes, and 80 frams, *alias*, Sandy Hamilton's guns." Conyers seems not to have been aware that they had already crossed the river. They pressed on to Newcastle, which they took on the 27th or 28th, not without treachery, and the king's army withdrew to Durham and thence to York. The most minute particulars of all the proceedings will be found in the papers calendared in this volume.

Besides the papers on affairs of state, there are numbers which illustrate the state of society and the general condition of the country, and not a few which afford much information upon topography and family history. As a specimen we quote the certificate of William Ryley, Blumantle, dated 21st April, that Lady Margaret Baroness Stanhope of Harrington, daughter of Henry MacWilliams of Stanborne, Essex, pensioner to Queen Elizabeth, and late wife to John Lord Stanhope, departed this life at her house at Charing Cross, called Stanhope House, on Tuesday, 7th April, 1640. Her funeral was solemnly celebrated on Tuesday, the 21st of the same month, at the parish church of St. Martin-in-the-Fields, where she lies in the chancel near her husband. She had issue three children, Charles Lord Stanhope, now Baron of Harrington, unmarried, Elizabeth and Katherine. Elizabeth married to Sir Lionel Tollemache, Kt. and Bart., by whom she had issue Lionel, John and Francis, who died young. Lionel Tollemache, junr., had nine daughters, Elizabeth, Katherine, Anne, Susan, Margaret, Mary, Jane, Dorothy, and Bridget; the eldest, Elizabeth, married William, only son of Sir Giles Alington of Horseheath in Cambridgeshire, by whom she has issue Giles, William and Elizabeth, now living; and Lionel and Dorothy, who died very young; the second daughter, Katherine, married Sir Charles Mordant of Massingham, co. Norfolk, Kt. and Bart., he being eldest son of Sir Robert Mordant, who have issue Charles Mordant and Katherine; the fourth daughter, Susan, married Sir Henry Felton of Playford, co. Suffolk, Bart., who have issue Henry and Anthony. Katherine, the other daughter of the before-mentioned John Lord Stanhope, married Sir Robert Cholmondeley of Kells in Ireland, by whom she has no issue as yet. The truth of this certificate is attested by Sir Lionel Tollemache, Kt. and Bart.

We must not conclude without saying a word in commendation of Mr. Hamilton's ably written Preface.

LANCASHIRE INQUISITIONS, returned into the Chancery of the Duchy of Lancaster, and now existing in the Public Record Office, London. Stuart Period, Part I, 1 to 11th James I. Edited by J. PAUL RYLANDS, F.S.A. Printed for the [Lancashire and Cheshire] Record Society, 1880.

There are no records of greater importance as evidence of genealogical descent, and the devolution of manors and lands, than the Inquisitions post mortem, and we are glad to see that the Lancashire and Cheshire Record Society has so far recognised the great value of these documents as to select a series of them as the subject of one of their earliest volumes. The intention of the Council is to divide these records into three sections or periods—the Plantagenet, the Tudor, and the Stuart. We regret, and believe all true genealogists will agree with us, that the Council should have chosen the last for earliest publication. Several reasons may be alleged against this course. Among these may be mentioned the fact that, so far as genealogy is concerned, these later inquisitions are less valuable than the earlier ones, for there are four Heralds' Visitations of the County of Lancaster (to which the volume before us is limited) between 1533 and 1664, and the pedigrees of the principal gentry for this late date therein recorded may be accepted as

being generally accurate. Moreover, if we mistake not, some, if not all, of these Visitations have been printed by the Cheetham Society.

The Inquisitions post mortem for the Duchy of Lancaster, including returns from all the various counties within the jurisdiction of the Duchy, were returned into the Duchy Chancery. A Calendar was made of them and published by the Record Commission in 1823, and the inquisitions themselves were bound up in thirty volumes, but, unfortunately, no care was taken to place them in chronological, or any other, order; and mixed with them in the earlier volumes are other instruments of a different character.

The regular series of Inquisitions post mortem begins in the third volume with the reign of Henry VII, and continues through the remainder. The whole of the Records of the Duchy were transferred to the Public Record Office a few years ago, and in addition to the volumes above mentioned there were transferred two bundles, containing about fifty Inquisitions post mortem from the time of Richard II to Elizabeth. These were not included in the Calendar of 1823, but they are entered alphabetically in an appendix to the thirty-ninth Report of the Deputy Keeper. The editor of the volume under notice says in his preface: "Although some copies of Lancashire Inquisitions were known to exist among the Christopher Towneley MSS., it is to be regretted that the originals of the greater part of them are not now to be found. Two volumes of Latin abstracts of Lancashire Inquisitions were edited in 1875 for the Cheetham Society by Mr. William Langton, and are not only made singularly valuable by the absence of the originals, but also by the interesting notes which Mr. Langton has added." These facts are worth noting, for it is possible that in this somewhat miscellaneous collection may be found Inquisitions post mortem of gentlemen who died seized of lands held under the Duchy, for whom no such Inquisitions can now be found among our Chancery or Exchequer records.

From this collection the abstracts in the volume before us have been made from the Latin originals by Mr. J. A. C. Vincent. They are brief but comprehensive. Nothing of importance would seem to have been omitted, and the volume altogether reflects great credit upon the editor and all concerned in its production. We heartily wish success to this useful Society, and should rejoice to see similar ones formed for every county, for original documents are the very soul of history.

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THE CHURCH BELLS OF RUTLAND; their Inscriptions, Traditions, and Peculiar Uses; with chapters on Bells and Bell-founders. By THOMAS NORTH, F.S.A., Honorary Secretary of the Leicestershire Architectural and Archaeological Society, Honorary Member of the Derbyshire Archaeological and Natural History Society. With Illustrations. Leicester: Samuel Clarke. 1880.

WE have here the third in Mr. North's valuable series of Midland County Bell books. "Church Bells of Leicestershire" came out in 1876, and "Church Bells of Northamptonshire" in 1878. The latter was reviewed at some length in our *Journal*, vol. xxxv., p. 451, and therefore we have less to say on the present occasion than we otherwise might. It has no doubt been from motives of economy that the general introduction has been brought out identical with that in the Northampton-

shire volume. But though the expense of printing is thus diminished, it is a pity that purchasers of the Rutland book have not the benefit of some improvements which might have been made in this portion of the work, good as it is. In it we find an admirable summary of the archaeology of bells, which will prove most interesting to any who now have their attention directed to the subject for the first time. And if any country parson be at a loss for materials for a popular lecture, he cannot do better than have recourse to Mr. North's general introduction.

Coming to the local matter, we may bear in mind that Rutland is the smallest as well as one of the youngest of English shires. In Domesday part of it appears as an appendage to Nottinghamshire, and part was reckoned to Northamptonshire. How the present Rutland gained the rank of a shire, though not the style or title of *Rutlandshire*, we do not know. It has formed part of the diocese of Peterborough ever since the creation of that see in 1541, previous to which it was included in the then enormous diocese of Lincoln. Mr. North informs us that there are in the county of Rutland at present 191 church bells, of which only 36 were certainly cast before 1600. Among the less usual dedications we find St. Thaddæus, St. Faith, and St. Ambrose, one each, and there is a very interesting bell inscribed "*Arco Rex Gentis Anglorum*," (Ayston 2nd bell). Does this refer to Edward the Confessor, to St. Edmund king of the East Angles, or to the popularly canonized Henry IV. ? We think most likely to the last. Or possibly we have a mistake for *Angelorum*, and if so it is of course addressed to the King of Kings and of Angels. The 4th bell at Ketton bears the very singular legend, "Me Me I merely will sing, 1598." Mr. North does not offer any explanation. May we suggest that "Me Me" may be "Mi, Mi," the third note in the musical scale ? It would be interesting to know what note is sounded by the bell at the present time. Certainly it is remarkable that two such curious inscriptions as this and the last should be found in the little shire of Rutland.

The founders' names and marks appear to be the same in Rutland as in the adjoining counties ; there is no evidence that it ever had a foundry of its own. We have some of the familiar mediæval stamps, and the well-known names of Newcombe, Watts, Norris, Eayre, &c. The chapter on founders, as well as that on "Peculiar Uses," is necessarily in great part repeated from the corresponding chapters in former volumes. So again the note on Alphabet Bells, hence almost all that is really new in this volume is what relates to the actual inscriptions. There is, however, one very good feature, namely, the account of local customs, given, so far as these could be ascertained, under each separate place. The particulars were obtained by circular from the clergy, and Mr. North has followed the same plan in making collections for his forthcoming volume on Lincolnshire Bells. It appears that in Rutland a "Gleaning-bell" is commonly rung during harvest, and that the sexton sometimes claims a small fee from the gleaners. The object is that all may "start fair."

Of course no one of the now numerous lovers of bell archaeology will be satisfied without adding Mr. North's "Rutland Bell" to his collection of books about bells, but as it possesses considerable general interest we trust it will be favourably received by many others also. And we may take this opportunity of expressing an earnest hope that the author will be helped and encouraged in his much greater work on the Church Bells

of Lincolnshire, by a goodly number of subscribers, without whose help no books of this kind can be brought out. Lincolnshire will, we believe, afford a greater amount of interesting matter than any of the counties Mr. North has hitherto undertaken, and it ought also to afford him a greater number of supporters, whether in the way of subscription or otherwise. When we think of these books as the result of the energetic leisure of an invalid, no longer young, and obliged to live away from his home, they have a special interest on that account, and we trust that Mr. North may long find comfort in the feeling expressed in the motto which he has adopted, "God's appointment is my contentment."

THE ENEMIES OF BOOKS, by WILLIAM BLADES, *Typograph*, Author of "The Life and Typography of William Caxton," &c. London: Trübner and Co. 1880.

All lovers of books, and what intelligent man is not? will be charmed with Mr. Blades' little volume noted above. It is needless to say that he is, and for many years has been, a well-known *bibliophile*, whose sole object has been the preservation from all harm, intact, the objects of his affections. He is not one of those *bibliomaniacs* who, hitherto, have despoiled priceless volumes of their title pages, illustrations, and colophons to form useless collections for the gratification of a morbid taste. Those who, like the present writer, have to mourn over the destruction of some of their favourites, in reading Mr. Blades' pages will feel themselves in the presence of a sympathetic friend offering consolation, though in some instances, his words arouse a just indignation.

Mr. Blades treats of the destruction of vast libraries, from the time of the burning of that at Alexandria, B.C. 48, by fire and water, in some cases by design, in others by accident, and in not a few by negligence and carelessness. In some instances damages to libraries may possibly have arisen from unavoidable causes, but in most cases they have been occasioned by ignorance, neglect, and damp.

The sulphurous fumes of gas is a most devastating agent in the destruction of books, whilst the great heat which gas produces intensifies its pernicious effects. No man who has any regard for his books would allow a single gas jet in his library. Mr. Blades says that, having gas in his library, in a year or two the leather valance which hung from the window, and the fringe which hung from the shelves to keep off the dust, became like tinder, and dropped off from its own weight, while the backs of the books were perished, and crumbled away when touched, being reduced to the consistency of Scotch snuff. "The sulphur in the gas fumes," he says, "attacks morocco quickest, while calf and russia suffer not quite so much." Our unfortunate experience differs from that of Mr. Blades in this last respect. We should place the degree of damage in inverse order. Russia suffered most, and calf next, whilst morocco showed no ill effects. Gas, however, affects the externals of books, the bindings only, destructive and vexatious as it is, it leaves the vitals uninjured, but it necessitates the rebinding, which is often, through the ignorance or obstinacy of binders, especially country binders, even more damaging than the gas, and we most cordially coincide with Mr. Blades in his vituperation of binders.

Want of proper ventilation and damp are still more destructive to the books themselves than gas, producing mould, "fox" spots, and gradual decay of the whole fibre of the paper until it crumbles away like dust. Our author justly says : books require the same treatment as children, "who are sure to sicken if confined to an atmosphere which is impure, too hot, too cold, too damp, or too dry."

Mr. Blades' accounts of his visits to various libraries during the last 30 years, and the condition in which he too often found them, though saddening, are interesting, as are also his many incidents and anecdotes of loss through ignorance of various valuable volumes.

Lovers of books will find many useful hints and valuable information in Mr. Blades' pages, and will not set down the book without admiring the beauty of the type and the tasteful manner in which the volume is produced.

## Archæological Intelligence.

EXCAVATIONS AT EPHEBUS.—The discovery by Mr. J. T. Wood of the site and remains of the celebrated Temple of Diana at Ephesus in 1869, its exploration during five successive years under his direction, and the deposit in the department of the British Museum, which is under the charge of Mr. Newton, of the valuable sculptures found in the course of the excavations, are facts now well known and their interest highly appreciated.

It is much less generally understood, that the exploration had by no means extended to its desirable limits, when the last portion of the Government grant of £12,000 was expended in 1874, and that the works were prematurely suspended for want of further funds.

The area which has been already fully excavated measures 500 feet by 300 feet, and the proposed excavations would extend it to 560 feet by 360 feet, the cost of exploring which, Mr. Wood assures the Committee, would not exceed £5,000, including every expense except the transport of the sculptures to England, which would of course be defrayed by the Government.

A trench was cut through the portico on the south side, and therein were found a beautiful fragment of the cornice of the Temple, some archaic fragments from an earlier temple, and numerous fragments of the columns and superstructure of the portico itself. Mr. Wood fully expects, that if the excavations are extended as proposed, much of the superstructure of the Temple will be found, which must have been precipitated beyond the limits of the present excavations; there might also be discovered portions of the sculptured columns, and other sculptures, in the unexplored ground at the east end, by which the cost and labour would be amply repaid.

It has not hitherto been considered convenient by the Government to continue the excavations with grants from the public treasury: and at the same time it seems highly desirable to press them to completion, while the services of Mr. J. T. Wood, his experience and approved zeal, and peculiar facilities, due to a residence of many years in Asia Minor, are still at command.

It is in consequence now decided to make application to those persons who are interested in Art and Archæology, for subscriptions towards the excavations; and a Committee has been formed of gentlemen (many of whom visited the site whilst the excavations were going on), and who have consented to exercise control over the application of the fund, and the undertaking generally.

The site of the Temple and the adjacent ground is the property of the British Government, for whom it was purchased by Mr. Wood in 1872; the sanction of Government must therefore be obtained to make the proposed excavations, and all antiquities, selected for the British Museum, would be removed under a Firman from the Sublime Porte.

From the interest in the subject displayed hitherto by the Trustees of the British Museum, as well as by Members of the Government, their sympathetic co-operation may be confidently relied on.

The sum required for the whole of the work would be spent in the

course of two seasons: the first commencing as soon as possible, and terminating in May 1881; the second commencing in October 1881, and terminating in May 1882.

That there may be as little delay as possible in commencing the works, the Committee request that the names of subscribers, and amounts of subscriptions promised, be sent at once to the Honorary Secretary, Professor T. Hayter Lewis, 12, Kensington Gardens Square, W.

ROMAN EXCAVATIONS AT ROSSEBOROUGH.—We are indebted to Lord Talbot de Malahide for the following copies of inscriptions which were brought to Rosseborough from Rome, probably from some collection in that city, in the middle of the last century. As they appear to be imedited, it seems desirable that they should be printed in the *Journal*.

FABIA  
RESTITVTA  
VIX. ANN. XXVI.  

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C. VENELIVS. C.F. POI  
PRISCVS  
DOMO. CARRIO > COIL. V. VIG.  
MILT. LEG. VIII. ANN XX  
EVOCATVS. AN. I > AN IIX  
CONSVMMATIS  
STIPENDIS XXIX  
VIX. AN. L H. S. L

Cist in form of a tomb :

D.M.  
PHILOCALO  
C Φ S  
VLPIA ATTICLEA  
CONIVGI E. M. F.

Three bulls' heads with garlands :

D.M. S  
I. CALTILI  
SALVTARIS  
CALTILIA POLITICE.  
ET. SABINVS LIB.  
P. B. M. F.

THE ROMAN WALL IN THE CITY.—We are indebted to Mr. A. F. Langley, the engineer-in-chief to the Great Eastern Railway, for the following :—"It may interest many of your readers to have an exact description of the piece of old Roman Wall which I have to-day finished taking out while excavating at Fenchurch Street Station. The top of the Wall, which was about nine feet below the surface, was seven feet six inches wide, and was composed of a bed of limestone walling, in concrete mortar about six inches thick ; then two rows of red tiles, extending right through the Wall, and projecting three inches on each side of it ; then six courses of random rubble, in limestone, each course being about six inches thick. At the face, the stones were in beds, six inches deep ; the centre was composed of irregular pieces, but the beds were still maintained. We then came to three more layers of red tiles, also extending through the Wall, the two lower courses projecting again three inches on each side. Below these, another four courses of stone-work. On the west side we found three more layers of tiles, again projecting the three inches, but they only extended eighteen inches into the Wall. There were no tiles in the centre here. On the east side, about the same level, there



was a course of red gritstone blocks, about two feet square, and running along the face of the Wall. Under the tiles on the west, or City, side, there were two layers of the same description of limestone, about nine inches deep each bed. We thus made up a height of about nine feet, and the width of the Wall at the bottom, in consequence of the three inch steps on each side, was nine feet. Under the stonework of the Wall there was a bed, composed of six layers of flint and clay, two feet six inches deep. Between each course of flint and clay, about one inch and a half thick. This was a very curious construction, and was taken three feet into the solid bed of natural gravel. The foundation of the Wall was about thirty feet above sea level. At this place there appears to be about eighteen feet difference between the Roman level and our own. There were no piles or woodwork of any description, such as were found in the foundation of the portion of Wall discovered during the Thames Street excavations some years ago. The tiles, of which I have preserved some, are seventeen inches long, twelve inches broad, and one and a half inch thick. They are very well burnt, and still retain their sharp edges and bright red colour. Many have been carefully washed and examined, but we have not found on them any date or inscription. I have had very accurate dimensions taken, and shall be very happy to show the sections to any one interested in the subject."

It will be observed that the rules laid down by Vitruvius are carried out in this instance as in case of the foundations of the Pharos at Dover.

THE NECROPOLIS OF ANCON IN PERU.—The first part of this valuable series of illustrations of the civilization and industry of the Empire of the Incas has been lately issued. There are indeed many other works which have dealt with the remarkable civilization of Peru, which suddenly came to an end on the arrival of the Europeans, such as Mr. Squiers' "Peru," and Mr. Wiener's "Peru and Bolivia," but it may perhaps be said that the works hitherto published, that of Squiers alone excepted, valuable as they are in some respects, contain little beyond the results of hasty surveys, besides illustrations of some of the most noteworthy discoveries, and the conclusions of historical research. Strange as it may appear, it is nevertheless a fact that in Peru not a single site containing ruins or the graves of the dead has yet been opened up and systematically explored for scientific purposes. Hence those researches are still wanting, which in Europe are regarded as the essential preliminary of scientific labour in the field of prehistoric culture. As a first serious step in this direction Messrs. Reiss and Stübel's *Necropolis of Ancon* will surely be gladly received. In this sumptuous work they propose to give what is in fact only, a small part, of the results of their years of exploration in South America; and their work is certainly systematically and thoroughly well done. The intelligent excavations in the small watering place to the north of Lima have surrendered the complete evidences of the life and culture of an ancient people. Thanks to a favourable climate and soil, we have laid before us arms, decorations, pottery, implements, toys, fabrics, &c., and finally the mummies of the Incas wrapped in their garments of many coloured cloths and tied up with ropes, in the midst of their personal effects so necessary for their use on their endless journey. The various objects are represented by chromolithographs of the highest possible kind. Such a work as this is monumental indeed, and it is to be hoped that the authors may have strength not only to carry it through, but to publish the results of their collections in

geology, natural history, anthropology, and other sciences. The work is published simultaneously in Germany and in England, Asher & Co., 13, Bedford Street, London W.C.

**THE HISTORY OF THE HUNDRED OF ALSTOE.**—The Rev. J. Harwood Hill announces as now ready for the press this important contribution to County History which is a continuation of Blore's History of Rutland, and gives full details of the manorial and other large estates in each parish—of the tenures by which they are held—also the genealogies of the principal families, extended in many cases to collateral branches—notices of the celebrated persons who have been connected with the division of the county—a history of monastic foundations—the state, endowments and patronage of the churches—and of the foundation as well as endowment of charitable institutions. The work is compiled from the most reliable records, and fully illustrated with etchings of the most interesting architectural remains in the Hundred. Mr. Hill's labours in this particular field are already well known, and we need only add that the work in question is printed for subscribers only, and that the price, in royal folio, is £4 4s. Names of subscribers may be sent to the author, Cranoe Rectory, Market Harborough.

**MONUMENTAL INSCRIPTIONS IN HEREFORD CATHEDRAL.**—The Rev. F. T. Havergal is occupied with the publication of the Inscriptions in Hereford Cathedral. His work will include notes on the brasses which were sold out of the Cathedral as old metal, after the fall of the western tower in 1786. Forty of these brasses were bought by Gough, the antiquary, and were inherited by the late Mr. J. G. Nichols, who desired to restore them to the Cathedral. This subject was brought before the members of the Institute at the Hereford Meeting in 1877, and the brasses have lately been returned to the Cathedral. It is a satisfaction to be able to record such a "restoration" as this. Mr. Havergal's book will be published by Jakeman and Carver, High Town, Hereford, price to subscribers, 10s. 6d.

**MONOGRAPH OF ASTON HALL.**—Mr. W. Niven has published a series of lithographs of this noted house, built by Sir Thomas Holte between 1618 and 1635. Aston Hall fortunately remains in a complete and unaltered state, and is a most important example of the domestic architecture of its period. It is needless to say that Mr. Niven's drawings have the accuracy and the delicacy that distinguish his etched works of the same character, viz.: "Old Worcestershire Houses," and "Old Warwickshire Houses." We understand that he now has in hand a series of etchings of "Old Staffordshire Houses," and we hope before he finally closes his labours in this direction he will take up the illustration of old houses in Northamptonshire. Surely Drayton, Kirby, Rushton, Castle Ashby, Burleigh, Canons Ashby, Deene, Lilford, Rockingham, Cottesbrook, and the crowd of little known and out-of-the-way manor houses with which the country teems—such, for instance, as the old house of the Trists at Maidford, the Manor House at King's Sutton, the Cross House at Gayton, and the Houses at Steane, and Stoke Albany,—would make a noble volume. Mr. Niven's "Aston Hall" may be obtained from Rimell & Son, 400 Oxford Street, W.

**RELIEVO MAP OF ATHENS AND THE PEIRAIÆUS.**—It is proposed to publish a Relievo Map of Athens and the Peiraiæus, similar to Mr. Burn's Relievo map of Rome. The subscription price of each copy would be two guineas. Names may be sent to the Rev. R. Burn, Cambridge.

# The Archaeological Journal.

## CATALOGUE OF THE EXHIBITION OF ANCIENT HELMETS AND EXAMPLES OF MAIL.

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### PREFACE.

The Exhibition of Helmets and Mail, which was held in the rooms of the Institute from June 3rd to June 16th, was planned with the object of bringing together as many types as possible, so as to facilitate a comparative study of the helmets of different periods and countries, and the construction of mail armour.

Although there were great and inevitable gaps in the series, the exhibition may nevertheless be considered to have been a marked success.

In the large room, on three tables, was a grand and nearly complete chronological series of one hundred and four European helmets dating from the middle of the fourteenth century and ranging over a period of three hundred years.

These helmets were thus arranged:—On the table nearest the windows stood the examples dating from 1350 to 1525; on the second table those ranging from 1530 to 1610; and on the third were the helmets of the time of the Civil Wars.

On the third table were also placed a number of interesting Oriental helmets of various dates and countries. Along one end of the room, and in the glass cases in the windows, were pieces of a miscellaneous character, and also fragments of helmets, and forgeries.

Over the chimney-piece were models of the helmets of Edward the Black Prince, Henry V, &c.

Some very fine helmets of Greek and Roman origin stood on a table in the inner room, while near to them, on a large table, were various specimens of body armour composed of chain mail and plates combined, or of small plates of steel used in various ways. Round the walls hung numerous coats of mail, coats of mail and plates combined, and pieces of mail armour.

The study of so many examples could not fail to throw much light on the construction and the development of the various kinds of helmets, and the presence of most genuine head-pieces of rare forms afforded a point of comparison for the test of doubtful ones and the detection of forgeries. One special circumstance which became apparent was that several of the helmets had been more or less altered at the time when they were in use.

The numerous examples of mail threw a new and clear light on the method employed in the construction of a form of defence hitherto but imperfectly understood.

That the Exhibition excited considerable interest was shown by the twelve hundred names inscribed on the visitors' book during the twelve days that it remained open; and the best thanks of the Institute are certainly due to all who contributed to the success of the Exhibition, either by organising and carrying it out, or by lending to it valuable relics of antiquity and specimens of the armourer's craft.

In order that a permanent record of the results of the Exhibition might be preserved, it was proposed that a catalogue of the objects exhibited should be published, and the Baron de Cosson and Mr. William Burges most kindly offered to add critical notes thereto.

Such an offer could not but be gladly accepted by the Council of the Institute. The Baron de Cosson accordingly undertook the description of the European helmets, with the exception of those of the Greek and Roman periods, and Mr Burges dealt similarly with the remainder of the Exhibition.

Each author has signed his part or parts of the work, and is solely responsible for the same.

The plates are reproductions of very careful drawings made by Mr W. G. B. Lewis from photographs of the helmets executed by Mr. Bedford, at the rooms of the Institute, under the superintendence of the Baron de Cosson. These drawings were closely compared with and corrected from the originals by Mr. Lewis, and their accuracy can be relied upon.

For various reasons the work has taken longer than the authors anticipated, but, on the other hand, the delay has enabled them to make a more careful study of many of the objects than would otherwise have been possible.

A. H.

# Antique Helmets.

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## INTRODUCTION.

The primary intention of these notes is to describe the objects exhibited at the rooms of the Archaeological Institute, and not to write a history of antique or mediæval helmets and coats of mail. Where the articles are many, as in the case of the mediæval helmets, the description naturally resolves itself into something resembling a history, but it would be exceedingly absurd to go into the rise and progress of the antique helmet when there are only eleven specimens in question, of which several are repetitions of the same form.

It must be confessed that there is a very great want of a thoroughly exhaustive work on antique arms and armour, illustrated by drawings from actual remains and monuments, and finally, with such texts as remain in the classic authors, accompanied with very *literal* translations.

It is true that there is a great variety of papers and notices scattered among various classical and archaeological publications, but there is nothing like such a work as above described and when works do come out they are often very disappointing.

Thus a book appeared lately under the title of "Der Helm," by Gustav, Freiherr von Suttner, but alas, it turned out to be almost entirely made up of copies of prints from Violet le Duc, Willemin, Hefner, and other well-known authorities. There is the first part of an article on the "Casque," illustrated with excellent engravings in the April number of 1880 of the *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, but unfortunately the author does not give his authorities, even in the very places where we would most desire them. Thus there is a woodcut of the so-called Bæotian helmet, but no reason is given for thus naming it; while for the statement that antique armour was lined with stuff with overlapping edges, we are referred to the modern restorations of classic costumes in the Musée d'Artillerie at Paris.

Sir S. Meyrick has a long chapter on Greek arms and armour in his "Critical Inquiry," but occasionally he falls into very strange theories. Thus for instance he broadly divides the Greek helmets into three classes. 1, the perikephalia, 2, the kranos, and 3, the korus, which would accordingly roughly answer to the helm, the skull cap, and the open helmet of the middle ages. The first he assigns to the hoplites, or heavy armed infantry; the second to the light troops; and the last to the cavalry. Now an examination of these words in a good Greek dictionary is sufficient to dispose of this theory, for we find that they simply replaced one another in order of time. Thus *korus* is a frequent word in Homer, and is occasionally used poetically by Euripides and Sophocles. *kranos* is the usual word for a helmet in the flourishing time of Greek literature; it occurs in Herodotus, Æschylus, Euripides, Aristophanes, and Xenophon; *περικεφαλαία*, however, is found in late authors, such as Polybius, Statius, &c.

If we examine the passages in Polybius we see that he uses the word simply in the sense of a helmet in general, and in one place, so far from

indicating a Greek hoplite helm, he tells us that the Roman velites (light troops) had brazen perikephalia.

It is most probable that the Greeks distinguished the different helmets by means of the names of the places where the particular forms had either been invented or had become fashionable. Indeed, Herodotus tells us of the Corinthian helmet and Xenophon of the Bœotian, but it is rather difficult at the present day to assign the particular form to the particular people or place.

Herodotus, in mentioning the Corinthian helmet, uses the word *κυνη*, which strictly means a cap made of dogs' skin, but is often employed in the sense of helmet; while an ancient coin of Corinth presents the hoplite helm with a crest from the front to the back.

In fact most Greek helmets appear to have been modelled after felt or leathern originals, and the curious ridge which is found in so many of them, going round the middle of the head, is probably a reminiscence of the string which was originally tied round the felt cap to prevent it slipping down over the face.

The very curious helmet exhibited by Mr. Bloxam is an excellent example of this; it is simply a representation in bronze of the petasus or travelling hat tied round very tightly with a ligature.

Antique helmets were executed in bronze with some exceptions, such as the Assyrian, which were occasionally made of iron. Bronze has the advantage over iron, that it can be cast and then beaten out, and this process was most probably employed for the thicker kinds, such as the hoplite helms, but some, even of these, were made so exceedingly thin that they could only have been used as ornaments like the helmets of our cavalry at Waterloo.

Most Greek helmets were surmounted by a crest, and a reference to the coins and vases will show how various and beautiful these ornaments were made. The coins of Heraclia, Athens, and Velia are only a few among many. The starting point of a crest was the mane and tail of a horse, the former being attached to a long metal box, which ran from the front to the back of the helm. The tail was attached to the part below, which protected the neck; the beautiful gem, well-known as the Poniatowski helmet,<sup>1</sup> shows this arrangement.

Sometimes the crest was only connected with the top of the helmet by a small support, sometimes the bronze box which contained it was ornamented with figures, sometimes the crest was triple, sometimes the side crests resolved themselves into tufts of horsehair or feathers supported on springs; in fact there was no end to the different varieties. A most charming work could be written about the Greek helmets alone without taking into consideration the other armour.

Mr. A. W. Franks has the honour of beginning the study of the subject in a proper and solid manner. In the plates to Mr. Kemble's *Hore Ferale*, he has described and drawn some of the classic helmets in the British Museum, and as several of them have dedicatory inscriptions we at last have some sure ground to start from.

The ensuing descriptions will be simply an attempt to continue the work so well and so carefully begun by this gentleman.

<sup>1</sup> See King's "Antique Gems," Pl. xlix.

## GREEK AND OTHER ANTIQUE HELMETS.

## No. 1. Fig. 1.

Greek Helmet of bronze, engraved round the edges, which have been further ornamented with bands of precious metal. The rivets remain by which these were attached.

*Mr. W. Burges.*

This is the most perfect specimen of the so-called Corinthian helmet in the exhibition, although it is evident that at one time it has been broken in a good many pieces, which have been reunited by means of a somewhat liberal use of solder, the whole being afterwards covered with a green patina. The forehead and nasal are much thicker than the other parts, but altogether the helm has the appearance of being a piece of serviceable armour. The form presents nothing remarkable, the lower edge being nearly level, with the exception of two quirks on either side of the neck. The cheeks meet in front within half-an-inch, and present a very different type to that afforded by the helm found in the Hissus, belonging to Mr. Bloxam.

The great peculiarity in the present example is the insertion of a number of small pins round the edges, probably for the purpose of affixing an ornamental strip of silver; they do not project inside, so that they could not have been used for securing the lining. These little rivets have no heads on the outside where they project some sixteenth of an inch, while the heads on the inside are by no means large.

We have very little knowledge about the lining of the ancient helmets, Homer describing felt as being used in one instance, and Aristotle, in his *Natural History*, telling us that a certain sort of sponge is used for spreading under helmets and greaves, but we are left in doubt whether the sponge was cut into thin layers and fastened to the inside of the helmet, or whether it was worn as a cap.

An instance of the latter case is afforded by a copy of some fine figures from a Greek vase, where the wounded Patrocles wears a cap covered with spots, which may probably represent the holes in the sponge.<sup>1</sup>

But to return to the helmet in question. All round the edge within the line of rivets is a punched ornament consisting of two rows of little circles, and beyond them an ovolo ornament.—(See plate 1 A).

There are two holes, one large and one small, at each extremity of the cheek. A small hole on either side of the bottom edge, where we should naturally expect a chin strap, and two more one-eighth of an inch in diameter, close together at the nape of the neck. These latter may have been intended for the horse tail, which was sometimes placed in that position. See the Poniatowski gem.

This helmet was obtained from Messrs. Rollin and Feuardent, of Great Russell Street

<sup>1</sup> I owe this reference to the kindness of Mr. Alma Tadema. The copy of the vase painting occurs in Weis's work, "*Kostum Kunde*."

## No. 2. Fig. 2.

Bronze Helmet, found in the bed of the Ilissus at Athens. *Mr. M. H. Bloxam.*

Here we obtain a piece of historical information. This helmet was found at Athens. It is distinguished from the preceding one by the great length of the cheeks and by the distance they are separated from one another. Round the edges is a stamped or engraved pattern consisting of lines of the ovolo and the wave pattern—(See B on plate 1). These ornaments are stamped with the most careful accuracy, and it is almost impossible to tell where the stamp begins and ends. The ornament on No. 1 is by no means so accurate.

A very similar helmet is in the British Museum and drawn in the *Horæ Ferales*. This, likewise, has exceedingly long cheek pieces, but along the lower edge is an inscription to this effect:—"The Argives have offered (this) to Jupiter out of the (spoils) from Corinth." It was found at Olympia (where it had been placed as a trophy) by Mr. Morritt, and afterwards formed part of the Payne-Knight collection.

Here we have further evidence that this form of helmet may have been known as the Corinthian, but it is quite certain that its use as the head piece of the hoplites was not confined to Corinth, for it has been found in every part of the antique world where Greek arms and civilisation may have penetrated.

A helmet of this form in the Meyrick collection is said to have been found in Pompeii, and there are several other examples in the United Service Museum. These latter are very thin.

## No. 3.

Etruscan Bronze Helmet (purchased at the sale of Samuel Rogers, the poet). *Mr. M. H. Bloxam.*

This is a hoplite helmet very like that just described; it is in very bad condition, the whole of the sinister side being wanting.

The stamped border round the edge is shown at D, Pl. 1, but it changes round the nasal and eyelids to the pattern C.

There are no holes in it with the exception of, perhaps, one behind.

## No. 4.

Etruscan Bronze Helmet (purchased at the sale of Samuel Rogers, the poet). *Mr. M. H. Bloxam.*

Same type as the last. Very fragmentary; the left cheek destroyed. No engraving; a hole behind.

## No. 5.

Etruscan Bronze Helmet (purchased at the sale of Samuel Rogers, the poet). *Mr. M. H. Bloxam.*

Same type. The only peculiarity is a series of holes one-sixteenth of an inch in diameter, and at distances of half inches from each other round the edges. Whether these holes were for a felt lining or for the



attachment of a metal border is a doubtful question. Most probably the latter was the case, as holes at half inch distances would not be very convenient for sewing. In mediæval helmets the linings are sewn to pieces of leather, secured by rivets, or when they are secured to the helmet itself the holes are made double and close together, as in the case of the salade of the Baron de Cosson, drawn and described in the *Archæological Journal*, vol. xxxvii, p. 180.

This helmet is in very bad condition and much broken.

#### No. 6.

Greek Helmet of Bronze, slightly damaged in front ;  
at the sides are engraved figures of a boar and lion.  
(Fig. 3).

*Mr. W. Burges.*

A precisely similar helmet to this is preserved in the British Museum, and has been drawn in the *Horæ Ferales*. Mr. Franks, in his description, considers it to be Etruscan, and copied from a Greek original. He also states that helmets of this type have been found in the Neapolitan States, at Canosa, and in the Caucasus. The example in the British Museum was discovered at Vulci, and was formerly in the Milligen collection.

The helmet exhibited at New Burlington Street is almost a fac-simile of that in the British Museum. It will be observed that the outline of the eyes and the nasal piece are represented by engraving only. The dexter animal is doubtless a boar, but there is some doubt about the sinister one. Mr. Franks describes the British Museum example as having two boars, and also as possessing a spike for a crest at the top.

In the present example the spike has disappeared, but on the apex there are four holes one-eighth inch in diameter (two of them double) in a lozenge-shaped figure, with about one inch space between them, evidently an arrangement for a crest. There is a hole on either side just over the ears, which may possibly indicate cheek pieces, and there are several more in the neck. As Mr. Franks observes, this species of helmet was copied from the Greek, and used in later times in Etruria and Magna Græcia.

The example in question was obtained from Messrs. Rollin and Feuillant.

Demmin<sup>1</sup> has a representation of a very perfect helmet of this type, which is in the Museum of Mayence, and possesses a very curious arrangement for the crest and antennæ.

#### No. 7. Fig. 4.

Etruscan or Greek Helmet.

*Mr. W. J. Belt.*

This may probably be another Magna-Grecian helmet. In the *Horæ Ferales* is figured a somewhat similar one, found with Greek armour in a tomb in the Basilicata near Naples. It came from the Burgen collection, and is now in the British Museum.

Demmin engraves two helmets not unlike this one, which are in the Musée d'Artillerie at Paris. They are described as Greek, and of the period of the decadence.

<sup>1</sup> "Weapons of War," by Auguste Demmin, London, 1870.

The form is not unlike the helmet shown on the coins of Thurium, but with the addition of the cheek pieces; the various lines are beaten up, and the little head of a man in the front has been fixed afterwards.

No. 8. Fig. 5.

Etruscan Bronze Helmet with hinged cheek pieces.

*Messrs. Rollin and Feuardent.*

There can be but little difficulty in assigning this helmet to the Etruscans.

Belonging to a professional dealer it is difficult to trace its parentage, but we are assisted by other evidence. In the first instance the helmet which follows (and is exactly similar but wanting its cheek pieces) once formed part of the Meyrick collection, and in the South Kensington catalogue was described as coming from the estate of the Prince of Canino, during the excavations made on the site of the ancient Etruscan city of Vulci, (see Dennis' cities and cemeteries of Etruria, vol. i, chap. 29.)

In the same work, vol. ii, p. 103, is the representation of an Etruscan helmet forming part of a suit of armour in the Etruscan Museum at Florence; this suit of armour was found at Orvieto. We have, therefore, three helmets of the same shape, two of which can certainly be traced to Etruria.

In the *Horæ Ferales* Mr Franks gives a drawing of an Etruscan helmet now in the British Museum; it has the same form, *i.e.*, of a reversed pot, but wants the knob at the top and the cheek pieces. On it is this inscription engraved: "Hiero, son of Deinomenes, and the Syracusans (dedicate this) to Jupiter, a Tyrrhene (spoil) from Cumæ."

This helmet was found at Olympia by Mr. Cartright; it came subsequently into the possession of George IV., and was presented by him to the British Museum.

No. 9. Fig. 6.

Bronze helmet of unique form found in the Tigris, near the supposed site of the passage of the ten thousand Greeks.

*Mr. M. H. Bloxam.*

In the *Archæological Journal*, vol. xix, p. 76, will be found a very complete account of this helmet by Mr. Bloxam, its present possessor. It was found by Mr. R. Banner Oakely during a journey up the Tigris, at a spot a little below the town of Til, where the river Sert, the ancient Centrites, joins the Tigris. It may either have belonged to the ten thousand Greeks, who are known to have crossed the Centrites, or to one of the soldiers of Alexander, who traversed the countries bordering on the Euphrates and Tigris.

Mr. Bloxam also tells us that a similar helmet is found on the coins of Eucratides, one of the Greek Bactrian monarchs.

Of the two attributions, that which would assign it to the Macedonian army is, perhaps, most probable; as, in addition to the fact of the coin of

Eueratides presenting the same shape, the petasus form of hat and helmet appears to have been rather a favourite one with the Macedonians. Thus, in the Egyptian Museum at Turin, there is preserved a helmet very like a petasus in form, but unfortunately in a very dilapidated condition. On the neck piece is engraved ΑΑΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΝΙΚΑΝΔΡΟΣ, both common Macedonian names.<sup>1</sup>

The Tigris helmet is only another proof of the forms of helmets being taken from felt or skin originals. Here we have the petasus or common travelling hat tied up very very tightly with a string around the head; the large border being thus formed into folds or puckers.

## No. 10.

Bronze Helmet found on the estate of the Prince of Canino, with a pair of Greaves (from the Meyrick collection). *Mr. W. Burges.*

This helmet is exactly like the preceding, but wants the cheek pieces, of which, however, the attachments are easily traced.

The helmet and greaves will not be found in Skelton's work, inasmuch as the book was published in 1830, and the Prince had just begun his researches in 1829.

Mr. Dennis, in his work on the Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria, gives a very full account of the discoveries on this site at the end of the first vol., and in vol. xxiii of the *Archæologia*, the Prince himself relates the progress of the excavations, and describes the vases and their inscriptions.

## No. 11. Fig. 7.

Helmet: bronze, found in the fens at Hitcham Gavel, of the period of the Roman occupation of Britain. *Mr. T. M. Vipian.*

This must have been a very splendid affair when perfect, as the major part of it is composed of gilt bronze. It is built up of several pieces riveted together upon an iron skull cap.

1. The crown piece. This would appear to have been made of some white metal, probably of the alloy called by the Chinese white copper, and answering to our German silver.

2. The front piece. This is made of thin bronze, and is decorated with two arches made by raised dots; between these was a raised boss.

3. The back part is a counterpart of the front, but on either side, where the two pieces join, are traces of something having been lost. Could these have been horns? Below these are riveted—

4. Two pieces which covered the upper part of the ears.

5. A neck piece upon which there are three bosses.

6. Two cheek pieces, one to the right side being lost. That remaining is very large and has a representation of the ear beaten out, and has been further ornamented with five small bosses of which only the traces remain.

<sup>1</sup> I owe this fact to the kindness of Mr Franks, who gave me his notes and sketch of the helmet in question.

There is a helmet of somewhat similar form in the Musée d'Artillerie at Paris, numbered D. 29. It is there described in the catalogue as belonging to the time of the Lower Empire, and having cheek pieces which cover nearly the whole of the face. The "garniture" is in bronze, the "timbre" in iron, and the crest in bronze. There is a very rude representation of it in Demmin's work.

Mr. Franks is inclined to think that this helmet belonged to some mercenary in the Roman pay towards the end of the Roman occupation of Britain.

W. BURGESS.

## European Helmets.

FROM THE FOURTEENTH TO THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

### INTRODUCTORY NOTICE.

It is not within the scope of the present notice to deal with the general history and development of the helmet during the Middle Ages and down to the period when defensive armour was finally abandoned. Such notes only will therefore be given as are required to illustrate the very instructive series of headpieces exhibited at the rooms of the Institute, of which a detailed catalogue will be found further on. But, first of all, it may be useful to glance at the history of the study of ancient armour, and to establish the principles upon which it should be conducted.

Collections of ancient arms and armour had been formed as early as the sixteenth century,<sup>1</sup> and the subject was treated of by the President Fauchet in his "*Origine des Chevaliers Armories et Hereaux*," published in 1600. Like all first attempts, Fauchet's work whilst containing some valuable matter, is full of errors, and has no pretence to a general treatment of the subject. A more thorough essay was attempted by the learned Jesuit le Père Daniel in his "*Histoire de la Milice Française*," whilst the first English treatise devoted entirely to the study of armour appears to be the one written by Grose, who collected a mass of curious and interesting information on the subject. But all these authors had made but little study of the then existing specimens of ancient armour, and Grose would have been quite incompetent to distinguish by their styles between a helmet of the fourteenth and one of the sixteenth century. The series of Kings of England in the Tower, which existed until 1828, is a proof of the state of knowledge at that time.<sup>2</sup>

Meyrick came next, and by his persevering researches added vastly to our knowledge of armour, but he himself admits that his acquaintance with actually existing armour out of England was small, and some most unaccountable blunders appear in his works, as when, for instance, he attributes his tilting suits of the second half of the sixteenth century to the second half of the fifteenth century.<sup>3</sup>

His work was, however, the foundation of the present study of

<sup>1</sup> Several of the great foreign princely collections took their origin at that period, and a very curious account has been preserved by Brantôme of the private collection formed by Marshal Strozzi, who died in 1558.—"Si le Marechal Strozzy estoit exquis en belle bibliothèque, il'estoit bien autant en armurerie et en beau cabinet d'armes; car il avoit une grande salle et deux chambres que j'ay veues autresfois à Rome, en son palais *in Burgo*; et ses armes estoient de toutes sortes, tant à cheval qu'à pied, à la française, espagnole, italienne, allemande, hongroise, et à la bohémienne; bref de plusieurs autres nations chrestiennes." After describing oriental and classical arms and the engines of war, etc., he says—"J'ay vu depuis

tous ces cabinets à Lyon, ou M. Strozzy dernier, son fils, les fit transporter, pour n'avoir este conservez si curieusement, comme je les avois veus à Rome. Aussi je le vis la tout gastez et brouillez, dont j'en eus du deuil au cœur; et c'en est un très-grand dommage; car ils valioient beaucoup, et un roy les eust seen trop achepter; mais M. Strozzy brouilla et vendit tout; ce que je lui remonstray un jour; car il laissoit telle chose pour cent escus, que en valoit plus de mille."

<sup>2</sup> Meyrick in his "*Critical Inquiry*," vol. iii, p. 3, gives a curious account of these figures and the armour on them.

<sup>3</sup> Engraved Illustrations, plates iv, v, vi, and vii.

armour, and so great was his authority, that most of his statements and his nomenclature have passed unchallenged to the present day. In France, Allou<sup>1</sup> did little but arrange the materials already existing, but René de Belleval<sup>2</sup> and more especially Violet-le-Duc<sup>3</sup> have made very important researches into the subject. In England, Hewitt's book on armour contains a vast amount of learned research, and Way and Planché both gave much attention to the subject.

For the study of ancient armour to be successfully pursued, it is of primary importance that a careful examination should be made of every existing specimen within our reach. This alone will enable us to derive full profit from our researches into ancient authors and our examination of ancient monuments. Every hole and rivet in a piece must be studied and its use and object thought out. The reasons for the varied forms, thicknesses and structure of the different parts of armour must have special attention. The methods of work by which the pieces were produced, and the nature, quality, hardness, and colour of the metal should all be the subject of close investigation.

This preliminary study will alone enable the student to form a sound opinion on two most important points. First, the authority to be accorded to any given representation of armour in ancient art, for he will then be able to discern whether it was copied from real armour worn at the period, or whether it was the outcome of the artist's imagination. Next, whether a piece of existing armour is genuine or false, and whether or no it be in its primitive condition. The detection of forgeries is a subject that will be discussed further on, but with respect to the first point, it may be noticed that the value of the various representations of armour that have come down to us in works of art is widely different.

Some are clearly copied very faithfully from real armour, others give the general effect without being exact in details, whilst many are wholly conventional and could never have been worn. The fact that at the same period we find the representations of armour in monumental effigies, in miniatures, in brasses and in tapestry have a different character and treatment, is a proof of this statement. As a general rule monumental effigies and brasses are more trustworthy than miniatures, whilst the representations of armour in tapestry are often wholly fanciful. The armour in many of the works of the early painters and engravers bears evidence of having been closely copied from original examples and is proportionately valuable.

Another point which must not be lost sight of is that various fashions of armour prevailed in different countries at the same period,<sup>4</sup> and even a harness worn in France might be of the Italian fashion or of the German, but certain broad characteristics generally not unconnected with the civil costume of the land, indicate the place to which the fashion of a harness should be assigned. It will also be found that certain forms of armour were in common use in one country long before they became general in another. Thus the armour worn by Bartolomeo Coleoni

<sup>1</sup> "Mémoires de la Société Royale des Antiquaires de France," tome xiii. 1837.

<sup>2</sup> "Du Costume Militaire des Français en 1446," and his more recent work, "La Panoplie du XV<sup>e</sup> au XVIII<sup>e</sup> Siècle."

<sup>3</sup> "Dictionnaire du Mobilier Français," tomes v and vi. and for Jousting and

Tournament harness, tome ii. The careful studies of real specimens of armour in this work are admirable, the restorations from illuminations in manuscripts must be taken with more reserve.

<sup>4</sup> The passage from Brantôme quoted in a previous note is a proof of this.

in his statue at Venice executed in 1494 is as far advanced in ornament and decoration as the armour worn in Germany a quarter of a century later. It may instructively be compared with the pure Gothic armour on the monument of Otto von Henneberg dated 1500, of which a cast is at South Kensington. The leg-piece of the statue of Gattamelata at Padua<sup>1</sup> by Donatello would, if found in steel, be taken for work of the Negrolis in the time of Charles V. The Italian medals by Pisano, all executed before 1450, show us knights in full armour as advanced as that worn in France and England forty or fifty years later.<sup>2</sup> The most striking example of the slowness of some countries to adopt the new fashions occurs in Ireland. So conservative was that country that at the end of the reign of Henry VIII. an Irish gentleman appeared in armour which would have been fashionable at the battle of Crecy, whilst under Queen Bess he had only reached the bassinet with a gorget of plate, such as might have been worn at Agincourt.<sup>3</sup>

Two circumstances combine to render an exact identification of the various names used for helmets at the time they were worn, with the forms remaining to us either in existing examples or in works of art, exceedingly difficult. In the first place the forms of head piece are so wonderfully varied that the types merge into one another through a vast number of intermediate links. We have bassinets which are almost sallads and some that nearly resemble helms. Some sallads of Italian and German make at the end of the fifteenth century nearly approach the armet, and others at an earlier date are scarcely different from chapels-de-fer, but notwithstanding this the fact must not be lost sight of that certain widely used and well marked types exist, and that the variations being regarded as exceptions we must not confuse ourselves by mistaking them for the true type. The next difficulty is the loose nomenclature which we shall find used by many of the ancient writers. The same name is often used for widely different pieces, but here it is imperative to remember that this confusion of terms is most apparent when the original type had either gone out of use or was but little worn, and it cannot be too strongly insisted on that when a new word appeared a new form had generally been invented, and that consequently the early meaning of the word is the one to be sought and to be adopted as the true one. When the object originally designated by the word had gone out of vogue the name came to be applied to any kind of piece at all resembling it.

<sup>1</sup> Said to have been made in 1432.

<sup>2</sup> One medal of Sigismundo Pandolfo Malatesta in particular gives a grand full face view of a knight in complete armour. Mr. Planché could not believe that the battle piece by Uccello in the National Gallery was painted before the close of the fifteenth century, because the armour in it does not appear in other countries than Italy before that time. He was probably not aware that the armour in Pisano's medals, all done before 1450, is identical with that in the Uccello picture. Uccello died in 1479, aged 83, and so strong was Planché's view on the subject that he doubted the attribution of the National Gallery picture, ignoring the fact that one of its companions with armour identical in the Uffizzi at Florence is signed

by the master. Planché, "*Cyclopædia of Costume*," vol. i, p. 284, and *Journal of the Archaeological Association*, vol. xxxiv, p. 171, where his views are given at length.

<sup>3</sup> See "Kilkenny Cathedral," by Graves and Prim, 4to, 1857, in which are representations of the tombs of the Earls of Ormonde and other knights of the sixteenth century. John Grace, who died in 1552, wears a pointed bassinet with a visor, a large camail, and has mail sleeves and *gloves of mail*, such as were worn in England in the thirteenth century! Richard Butler, who died in 1571, wears a bassinet with a gorget of plate and armour all of plate. The visors of the bassinets are curious, nor is it easy to understand how they worked. See also *Archæological Journal*, vol. iii, p. 165.

The word sallad may be cited as an example. The sallad proper was possibly invented in the fourteenth century, but in the fifteenth century it came into widespread and general use, and its vogue ended with that century. In the writings of authors of the fifteenth century we shall rarely find the word misused, and we shall know that it refers to a particular form of helmet, another word, as bassinet, heaume, armet, chapel, being used if another form is meant. But in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when the true sallad was no longer worn, the word is used for almost any kind of helmet. Bellon in 1641, describing the armament of cavalry under Louis XIII, and doubtless meaning a "lobster tail" helmet of the type of Fig. 97 in this catalogue, says, "*avec la ~~salade~~ dont la visière se lève en haut et fait une belle monstre.*" Pluvinel in his work on horsemanship, written for the instruction of Louis XIII, calls the close helmet of the tilting suits of his day a "*salade*," and his plate shows how clearly it differed from a true sallad. In a book on heraldry in the author's possession, printed in 1581, three heraldic barred helms are called "*trois salades*," and Brantôme continually uses the same word for almost any kind of helmet, mentioning his own "*salade*" in his will amongst the arms he wishes to be hung after his death in the chapel of the Château de Richemont.<sup>1</sup>

In the same way the word bassinet recurs constantly in the second half of the fifteenth century in accounts of fights on foot, and means a quite different kind of head piece from the bassinet of Froissart. This explains the misconception which has so long reigned in England as to the real meaning of the word bevor, or in its older form bavier, which all through the fifteenth, and the early part of the sixteenth centuries, most clearly meant a guard for the lower part of the face, but in Shakespeare's time was used for the visor of a close helmet, and even in poetry for the whole helmet; and as armour gradually went out of use, the confusion of terms became greater and greater.

Pasquier, at the end of the sixteenth century, already laments, "*Ce que nos anciens appellerent heaume on l'appela sous François I<sup>er</sup> armet; nous le nommons maintenant habillement de teste, qui est une vraye sottise de dire par trois parolles ce qu'une seule nous donnoit.*"

### BASSINET.

So much has been written on the history of the bassinet, so many varieties of it have been engraved in different works from brasses and monumental effigies, and the notices that will be found further on of the examples exhibited are so detailed, that it would be useless repetition to do more than glance at its origin and development and then inquire into a form of it which has not as yet been studied.

The name (derived from the old French for a bason) sufficiently indicates that in its origin the bassinet was a hemispherical head-piece, and it first appears in documents in the latter part of the thirteenth century.

It was found that a heavy blow from an axe or sword would fracture the skull under a coif of mail, however well wadded, and this steel cap

<sup>1</sup> Œuvres de Brantôme, tome i, page 88, Ed. de 1779.



was therefore put over it to distribute the force of a blow over the whole of the surface of the top of the head, besides which many blows would glance off its polished surface.<sup>1</sup>

In the fourteenth century, either because the new form was still better calculated to deflect a blow, or perhaps on account of the great vogue of the pointed arch in art work, we find the summit of the bassinet assumes a beautiful pointed form.<sup>2</sup> The cap of mail, too, ceases to exist under it, and only a curtain of mail is retained to protect the neck, cheeks, and chin. This curtain of mail which was hung to the helmet in various ways and which spread over the shoulders like a small cape was called a camail. Such was the helmet used almost throughout Europe during the fourteenth century, varying slightly in form, but beautiful in outline and often richly adorned. Froissart relates that the bassinet of the King of Castille in 1385, "avoit une cerele d'or ouvragé sus de pierres precieuses qui bien valaient vingt mille francs," and the accounts of the "argentier" of the King of France, Etienne de la Fontaine, show how splendidly royal bassinets were sometimes adorned. These have all vanished and even plain bassinets are of very great rarity.

The face not being entirely protected by the bassinet, a large helm was often worn over it on the field of battle. This helm was not a new invention, having been used with the mail coif before the introduction of the bassinet. It was, however, soon found so troublesome and cumbersome that a variety of attempts were made in the course of the fourteenth century to adapt a movable visor to the bassinet, and thus do away with the second head piece. That visor ultimately took a salient and beaked form of great resisting power, and was fixed to the hinges at the sides of the head piece with pins, so that it could be removed at will.<sup>3</sup> This form of visor was in general use about the beginning of the fifteenth century, the big helm only being used (without any under helmet) for tilts and tournaments. The next improvement was to substitute a high collar of steel for the camail, thus relieving the head of the weight of the latter and allowing much more freedom in turning the head about. Then in the middle of the fifteenth century the summit of this head piece gradually gets rounder, and it makes way for the sallad and for the armet into which it would seem to merge through a variety of gradations.

But the history of the bassinet does not, as is usually supposed, end with the middle of the fifteenth century. The original form of head piece known by that name had, it is true, disappeared,<sup>4</sup> but from 1443 down nearly to the end of the century, the bassinet recurs constantly in all the numerous accounts that have been preserved of the "pas d'armes à pied" or "armes on foot" with axes and swords which were so fashionable at that period. "Il estiot armé pour combattre à pied, le bacinet en la teste, à visière levée," says Olivier de la Marche.<sup>5</sup>

For a while Jacques de Lalain introduced the fashion of fighting in sallads as will be shown later, but even after that the bassinet often recurs, as when in 1467 "the Lorde of Seales stroke the Bastarde of

<sup>1</sup> The slab of Sir John de Botiler, circa A.D. 1285 shows the bason shaped form of the bassinet. Boutell's "Monumental Brasses and Slabs, 1847," page 159.

<sup>2</sup> See Fig. 9 in the plates of this

catalogue.

<sup>3</sup> See Fig. 12.

<sup>4</sup> Except in Ireland as has already been observed.

<sup>5</sup> Page 203 Ed. of 1616.

Burgon in the side of the visern of his basnet,"<sup>1</sup> and it will be found as a general rule that when the combat was on foot the head piece worn (which is almost always referred to) was the bassinet; when it was a course on horseback in war harness either with sharp or blunted lances armets are mentioned; whilst if the course was a joute, that is to say run in the special jousting harness with a coronal at the end of the lance, then it is the helm or heaume that is used.

On one occasion we learn that Messire Jean de Boniface attempted to fight on foot with axes, wearing an "armet d'Italie," but to his cost "il se trouva mal asseurement armé de la teste pour combattre à pied," and Jacques de Lalain threw him by getting the point of his axe into the opening at the back of his adversary's armet.<sup>2</sup>

The question then arises, what was this bassinet so generally worn on foot in the second half of the fifteenth century and with what form of helmet can we identify it? The numerous references to its construction show that it had a movable visor. We continually read "le bacinet en teste la visière close" and "le bacinet en teste la visière levée." We also find that this visor could easily be removed, as when the Seigneur de Haubourdin being informed of the "subtilité" of the axe "à bec de faucon" of his adversary which had a "dague de dessous longue et delié, et de façon telle qu'elle pouvoit legerement entrer ès trous de la visière d'un bacinet et de sa longueur pouvoit porter grand dommage au visage de son compagnon," says "qu'il ne donneroit pas à son compagnon tant de peine, que de percer la visière de son bacinet" and he "preste-ment le fit declouer et oster de tout poinet, si que le visage lui demoura tout decouvert."<sup>3</sup> On another occasion, "avoit le dict Messire Pietre faiet desclouer et oster la visière de son bacinet, tellement qu'il avoit tout le visage decouvert, et mettoit sa teste hors de son bacinet, comme par une fenestre."<sup>4</sup>

It was sometimes worn with a bavier to it as well as a visor. "L'Anglois issit de son pavillon armé de tout harnas, grand bassinet à bavière et visière fermée," but this big bassinet did not save him, for Jacques de Lalain armed according to his wont with a sallad (but on this occasion "sans gorgerin et sans bavière,") "moult vivement prit ledit Anglois par la coupe de son bassinet<sup>5</sup> de l'une de ses mains, et de l'autre par le bras senestre, si le tira par terre par telle force, qu'il chut le visage dessous si rudement que la visiere d'icelui bassinet entra dedans le sablon."<sup>6</sup>

The bassinet, however, was regarded as the safest head piece a man could fight in, and on one occasion Jacques de Lalain having to fight with "espées d'estoc" (or *joining* swords as they are termed in the account of the fight between the Lord of Scales and the Bastard of Burgundy), Olivier de la Marche says, "de son chef il estoit armé d'un bacinet à grande visière laquelle il avoit close, et fut la première et seule fois que ledit Messire Jacques combattoit onques le visage couvert, mais les armés de l'estoc, férus et sans rabat, desiroient seurreté de harnois, comme chacun qui cognoit le noble mestier d'armes le peut legerement entendre."<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "Excerpta Historica," by Samuel Bentley, 1831, p. 211. These "armes" are there wrongly called a Tournament.

<sup>2</sup> Olivier de la Marche, "Mémoires," Ed. 1616, p. 304. See also Introduction to Armet.

<sup>3</sup> Olivier de la Marche, pp. 285-6.

<sup>4</sup> Olivier de la Marche, p. 183.

<sup>5</sup> Olivier de la Marche gives a very detailed account of this fight but says, "de la main dextre le prit par le *gros* du bacinet."

<sup>6</sup> Georges Chastelain, "Chronique de J. de Lalain," Ed. Buchon, p. 668.

<sup>7</sup> Olivier de la Marche, p. 321.

His adversary, a Savoyard, "estoit armé de la teste d'un armet à la façon d'Italie, armé de sa grande bavière" and it is presumable that the armet did not offer the same disadvantages in fighting with the sword that have been referred to in a combat with axes. The point of the sword could not easily get round to the opening at the back, the weak point of the early armet.

Now, the question still remains, what was this bassinet so repeatedly mentioned in accounts of combats on foot in the second half of the fifteenth century? It must be particularly noted that *never* is it referred to as being used on horseback; also that it is found in English texts as well as in French, as for instance in the Landsdown MS. transcribed by Bentley,<sup>1</sup> where, as before mentioned, the Bastard of Burgundy wears a "basnet" in his fight with the Lord of Scales; also in the Astley MS. to be referred to hereafter.

At first one might be tempted to think that the beaked bassinet with a steel collar survived for these combats after it had gone out of use on the battle-field, and there is nothing in the texts quoted seriously to oppose this theory. But against it is the fact that no such helmet is represented in any document of the period. What then is the head piece depicted in the few representations that remain of such combats? There is the French illuminated manuscript in the National Library at Paris entitled "Cérémonies des Gages de Bataille" evidently dating from the second half of the fifteenth century.<sup>2</sup> In this the champions wear a large kind of helm with an almost spherical crown piece, which helm comes down to the cuirass to which it appears firmly fixed, having consequently no independent motion with the head, but apparently large enough for the head to move about freely inside it. The visor is salient in curve, large, and pierced with a number of small apertures so that in whatsoever direction the wearer looks he may be able to see out of it. There is also the Cotton MS., Julius E 4, containing a representation of a combat (much after the style of those described by Olivier de la Marche) between Richard Beauchamp Earl of Warwick and Sir Pandolf Malacat at Verona in 1408.<sup>3</sup> The style of this MS. shows that it was executed in the second half of the fifteenth century, and the helmets worn here are not unlike those in the "Cérémonies des Gages de Bataille" in type. The nearest approach to these helmets in the exhibition was No. 80, fig. 78 of this catalogue, and its visor was so thick and the outward curve of it so bold that the hardest thrust of a stiff foining sword, or of an axe point, would have had no effect on it. Another very fine example hangs in Wimborne Minster, over the tomb of John Beaufort, Duke of Somerset.<sup>4</sup>

But the conclusive proof that such is the form of helmet which in the second half of the fifteenth century was described as a bassinet, is furnished by the Astley MS., transcribed in the fourth volume of the *Archæological Journal*<sup>5</sup> by Way and entitled, "How a man schalle be armyd at his ese when he schal fighte on foote." In that text the head piece to be worn is thus described: "And then his basinet

<sup>1</sup> "Excerpta Historia," p. 211.

<sup>2</sup> In Lacroix's "Vie Militaire et Religieuse au Moyen Age" will be found a copy of one of the miniatures of this MS.

<sup>3</sup> *Archæological Journal*, vol. i, p. 287.

<sup>4</sup> See Blore's "Monumental Remains." This fine piece was exhibited at a recent meeting of the Royal Archæological Institute, and will shortly be engraved.

<sup>5</sup> P. 226.

pynnid upon two greet staplis before the breste, with a dowhille bokille helynde upon the bak for to make the basinet sitte juste," and if we turn to the illustration at the beginning of the paper copied from an illumination in the MS. (which dates from the second half of the fifteenth century) we shall see just such a helmet as Fig. 78 represented lying on the table. The helmet Fig. 78 has two holes for the "great staplis before," and a similar staple secured it behind so that it might "sitte juste," and both in it and the one in Wimborne Minster the visor is fixed to its hinges with movable pins so that it could easily be taken off. We may therefore be justified in assuming that in the second half of the fifteenth century the oft-recurring word *bassinnet* meant a helmet of this type, which will be found to tally with all the texts given above. Nor was it so far removed from the *bassinnet* with a rounded crown and a chin piece rivetted on to it, like the one in the effigy of John Fitz Allen Earl of Arundel engraved by Stothard,<sup>1</sup> of which it was probably the direct descendant.

Several suits, evidently made for fighting on foot exist at Vienna, Madrid, and Paris. They generally have a helmet similar in type to Fig. 78, large shoulder guards (the right and left being of equal size) and a steel skirt. Some of them certainly are as late in date as 1530. There is also a fine one in the Tower ascribed to Henry VIII.

In 1517 we still find the *bassinnet* associated with fighting on foot, the first prize for that exercise at a tournament held at Nancy on the 8th of October of that year being thus described, "*et pour le combat à pied, le venant qui combatra le mieux aura un bassinnet d'or de cinq cens escus ou au dessous.*"<sup>2</sup>

#### SALLAD.

In "*Chaucer's Dreame*"<sup>3</sup> we read—

Ne horse, ne male, trusse, ne baggage,  
*Sallad* ne speare, gardebrace ne page."

and two derivations have been ascribed to the word *sallad*, and two forms of helmet distinct in their origin and names would appear ultimately to have been described by that word.

These were the Italian "*celata*" apparently in its origin a modification of the *bassinnet* and the German "*schalern*," the tailed *sallad* with a slit for the eyes—in its origin probably a modification of the *chapel-de-fer*.

Both arose in the course of the fourteenth century and the similarity of their names caused them to be more or less identified by the French under the name of *salade* whence our English *sallad* or *sallet*. A variety of early and beautiful forms of *celata*<sup>4</sup> may be seen in Avanzo's frescos in the Chapel of St. George at Padua<sup>5</sup> executed about 1384, and they bear

<sup>1</sup> "Monumental Effigies," plate 119, ed. of 1876. This monument is exceedingly interesting as being the only one I am acquainted with which shows the construction of those ovoid *bassinets* with chin pieces rivetted on to them so common in brasses of from 1430 to 1450. John Fitz Allen died in 1434.

<sup>2</sup> Marc Vulson, Sieur de la Colombière, "*Le Vray Theatre d'Honneur et de Chevalerie*," 1648, p. 217. This work contains a vast amount of information on

the various forms of combat now usually included in the word *tournament*.

<sup>3</sup> Urry's *Chaucer*, p. 582. It must be mentioned that the best authorities consider this poem not to be by Chaucer, but to date from the fifteenth century.

<sup>4</sup> Supposed to be derived from "*celare*" to conceal.

<sup>5</sup> Ernest Förster, "*Der Wandgemälde der S. Georgen-Kapelle zu Padua*," Berlin, 1841."

all the appearance of having been drawn from real examples. The bassinet at this time was a small ovoid head piece completed by a camail, and when not worn with a visor, it left nearly the whole face exposed. The celata coming lower protected the back and sides of the neck, and closing round the cheeks, often only left the eyes, nose, and mouth exposed.<sup>1</sup> The camail (which must have dragged heavily on the head) thus became unnecessary, a standard of mail protecting the neck if required, and the celata thus allowed much more freedom in moving the head about than the bassinet with its camail.

In the fifteenth century the celata ceased to be pointed at its summit, was slightly curved outwards at the nape of the neck, and assumed that graceful form seen in so much Italian painting and sculpture during the fifteenth century.

The sculptures of the arch of Alphonso of Aragon at Naples, his medal by Pisano, and Paolo Ucello's pictures, may be cited as giving numerous and beautiful varieties of this graceful head piece, which was sometimes made to resemble the Greek Hoplite helmet.<sup>2</sup> Figs. 14, 15 and 16 of this catalogue belong to the Celata type, whilst 29 is a very late example of the same character.

The German form on the other hand called Schalern, from "schale," a shell or bowl,<sup>3</sup> is characterised by a more or less projecting brim and a long tail. It would seem to be derived from the chapel-de-fer, or iron hat, as a chapel large enough to cover the upper part of the face and with a slit cut in it to see through, would much resemble the earliest known forms of German sallads.<sup>4</sup> Those worn by two knights tilting at one another on a painted shield in the Musée d'Artillerie may be cited as examples, and the same collection possesses an actual sallad of almost identical form.<sup>5</sup> In these the brim projects nearly equally all round, in fact, in the actual example, rather more in front than behind, whilst at a later period the front part becomes very much flatter than the back, where the brim is drawn out into a long pointed tail. Figs. 19 to 24 are all specimens of this kind. The sallads which appear on monumental brasses and effigies

<sup>1</sup> Some very strange helmets not apparently unrelated to the early celata were found in 1841 in a cistern of the citadel of Chalcis in Eubœa. A few of them are engraved by Hefner, "Trachten," pl. 63.

<sup>2</sup> Towards the year 1500 some Italian sallads have ribbed visors to them. Suttner in "Der Helm" has engraved a very fine one at Erbach. Several are in the Musée d'Artillerie, but they are always rare pieces.

<sup>3</sup> Mr. Hewitt in his paper on sallads in the *Archæological Journal*, vol. xxvi, p. 20, says, "Meyrick, in his 'Critical Inquiry,' suggests that 'the name had its origin from the German word schale implying a shell' (Glossary voce Salett, ed. 1842); but at p. 94, vol. ii, of the same edition he proposes 'a cup,' and at p. 116 of the same volume he refers the derivation to 'a saucer.' The rival claims of a shell, a cup, and a saucer, we must leave to our readers to adjust, and shall not be surprised if they find no resemblance to

any of the three."

Had Mr. Hewitt consulted his German Dictionary he would have found that "schale" means shell, peel or bark, that is to say shell as of a nut (cortex), as distinguished from a sea shell (concha) for which there is a distinct word), and that figuratively it is used for a cup, dish or bowl. A closely fitting head piece on a man's head might well be likened to the shell of a nut, nor were some sallads so very unlike bowls, consequently Meyrick did not exactly merit Mr. Hewitt's somewhat off hand criticism.

<sup>4</sup> Lord Londesborough and Prince Charles of Prussia both have sallads which seem the connecting link, but are they authentic? The author has only seen engravings of them. A real one somewhat like them exists on the suit No. 1 in the Brussels collection, but it is of finer form.

<sup>5</sup> Both the figures and the sallad are engraved by Viollet-le-Duc, "Mobilier," tome ii, pp. 375-6.

in England also belong to the German type. The front part was sometimes movable, and formed a visor, and in a few examples the tail piece is jointed, to enable the head piece to be thrown back, more easily when the face was to be uncovered.

It would seem that one of the greatest champions of his day, Jacques de Lalain, did much to bring the sallad into fashion, at least for "pas d'armes" on foot. When he began to fight on foot—bassinets, as we have seen, being the head piece worn—he always had the visor removed. He fought James Douglas in Scotland, and we learn that "il combattoit sans visière et à visage decouvert;" whilst "celui Messire James combattoit en bassinet la visière fermée et ledit de Lalain estoit sans visière parquoy il avoit son haleine tout à delivre,<sup>1</sup> et celui Messire James avoit tout le contraire; et bien y parut, après que le roy eut jeté le bâton quand on lui leva sa visière." As wrestling was often resorted to in these fights on foot, Jacques de Lalain found he could keep his wind much better with his face uncovered, and although at first his opponents sought to wound him in the face (as when "Messire Douglas moult iré ..... moult vivement et tôt prit sa dague si en cuida ferire Messire Jacques au visage,") yet so skilled was Messire Jacques that he never received any wound in the face. We find him next fighting the Englishman referred to in the notice on the bassinet, wearing "une petite sallade de guerre toute ronde et avoit le visage et le col tout decouvert,"<sup>2</sup> and "l'Anglois feroit de toute sa force après le dict Messire Jacques, et feroit de mail, de taille, et d'estoc après le visage qu'il voyait nud et decouvert." It has already been related how the fight ended, but the whole account is well worth reading, as it gives a wonderful idea of these combats. After this (except on the one occasion already referred to, when he fought with an "estoc") we always find Messire Jacques fighting in a sallad sometimes with a "haussecol de maille" and sometimes with a "bavière" and soon his adversaries begin to follow his example. Gérard de Roussillon enters the lists in a bassinet, but "pource que ledit Gerard estoit averty que le dict Messire Jacques combattoit communément en salade, et en haussecol de maille, il se pourveut d'une salade ronde, et d'un haussecol de maille et s'enarma."<sup>3</sup>

In Chastelain's account of the same fight, it is added that this sallad was "un chapeau de fer d'ancienne façon, qu'on avoit approprié pour ce faire,"<sup>4</sup> a sort of impromptu sallad made out of an old chapel-de-fer. So far did Jacques de Lalain carry his innovations on established customs, that on a number of occasions he appeared in combats with axes, with his dexter leg unarmed. Chastelain says, "il combattit le chevalier du pas en tel harnas qu'il avoit accoutumé sauf qu'il n'avoit point de harnas de jambe en sa dextre jambe,"<sup>5</sup> and Olivier de la Marche who was present on the occasion says, "et me souvient que l'entrepreneur estoit armé et paré, comme aux autres fois, qu'il combattit de la hache en celui pas, réservé qu'il n'estoit point armé de la jambe, ne de la cuisse droite, et me fut dict depuis qu'il le faisoit pour estre plus à son delivre,<sup>6</sup> et si son compagnon le joindoit au corps,"<sup>7</sup> and so he continued to fight until the end of the celebrated pas de la Fontaine des Pleurs, on one occasion even discarding

<sup>1</sup> Old French for libre, free, unembarrassed.

<sup>2</sup> G. Chastelain, p. 665.

<sup>3</sup> Olivier de la Marche, p. 282.

<sup>4</sup> Olivier de la Marche, p. 307.

<sup>5</sup> P. 679.

<sup>6</sup> P. 684.

<sup>7</sup> More at liberty.

<sup>8</sup> P. 324.

his dexter gauntlet. The sallad seems to have come into great favour in France. A writer of the period describing the armour worn there in 1466-8, says "*la tierce armeure*" (de teste) "*et la plus commune et la meilleure à mon semblant est l'armeure de teste qui se appelle sallades.*"<sup>1</sup> The other two head pieces he mentions are the "*biquoque*," probably one of the many forms of helmet derived from the *bassinet* (which he says it resembled), and the *chapeau de Montauban*, his account of which will be quoted in its proper place. The sallad was completed by a chin piece, fastened to the breastplate and strapped round the neck, called a *bavier*, of which more anon. The sallad appears to have remained longer in use in Germany than elsewhere. In the picture at Hampton Court of the meeting of Henry VIII and Maximilian, a number of the German knights are armed with the sallad, whilst all the English have armets.

The forms of sallad used for tilting will be referred to under Nos. 29 and 32 of the catalogue.

Sallads were often very richly decorated. One sallad alone, out of a number of "*divers harnois de teste garnis et adjolivez de perles de diamants et de balais,*"<sup>2</sup> à merveilles richement," carried by the pages of the Duke of Burgundy in 1443, was valued at 100,000 crowns of gold,<sup>3</sup> whilst Duclercq attributes the same value to one worn by Louis XI on his entry into Paris. He also speaks of archer's head pieces, "*tout garnis d'argent,*"<sup>4</sup> and in describing the celebrated *compagnies d'ordonnance* of Charles VII, he says each man at arms had "*ses sallades et espées garnies d'argent.*"<sup>5</sup> In 1455 the Queen of France having paid for the equipment of three men at arms, 1 marc 7 ounces and 7½ gros of silver was employed for making the ornaments of the three sallads.<sup>6</sup>

In the privy purse expenses of Henry VII are these entries, "Delivered by the King's commandment for diverse peeces of cloth of gold, and for certain and many precyous stones and riche perlis bought of Lambardes for the gamyshing of salades, shapues,<sup>7</sup> and helemyts agenset the King's noble voyage, £3,800;" and later, "To John Vandelf for gamyshing of a salett, £38 1s. 4d." Also, "To the Quene's grace for garnishing a salett, £10," probably a little souvenir for her husband, who was then planning an expedition to Scotland.

## BAVIER OR BEVOR.

The sallad alone, at least the form of it used in Germany, France, and England, did not cover the lower part of the face, and it was often accompanied by a piece of armour which at its upper edge fitted inside the sallad whilst its lower plates reached to the breastplate to which it was in many instances fixed, though at times it would seem only to have been strapped round the gorget. Figs. 20, 22, 25, and 27 will show clearly the nature of the piece in question, which has always been regarded by foreign antiquaries as being the "*bavière*," in English *bavier* or *bevor*, which so repeatedly occurs in the texts of the fifteenth century in con-

<sup>1</sup> René de Belleval "*Costume Militaire des Français en 1446*" (p. 2) contains a transcript of this MS.

<sup>2</sup> Rubies.

<sup>3</sup> Oliver de la Marche, p. 211.

<sup>4</sup> Buchon's edit., p. 15.

<sup>5</sup> P. 25.

<sup>6</sup> Vallet, "*Histoire de Charles VII.*"

<sup>7</sup> Bentley's "*Excepta Historica*," pp. 90 and 112.

<sup>8</sup> Wrongly transcribed "*shapues*" by Bentley; it means *chapeaus*, or *chapels-de-fer*.

nection with the sallad. But archaeologists in this country, founding their view on some texts of Shakespeare, have regarded the word bevor as almost synonymous with visor, and have therefore sought to identify the piece just described with some other name. Sometimes it has been called "mentonnière," a word which the author believes did not exist at the time when the piece was in use, at least he has not found it in any fifteenth century texts, and Littré does not include it in his dictionary, whilst Planché sought to identify it with the "haussecol" which occurs repeatedly, but which it will be shown was quite a different thing.

Grose started with a mistaken derivation of the word, and the texts of Shakespeare, who uses the word in a most elastic way, completed the misconception. Grose<sup>1</sup> says, "Bevor from beveur, drinker, or from the Italian bevare, to drink," forgetting that in its original form it was spelt bavier, French, "bavière," Italian, "baviere," and is derived from the French "bayer," to slobber. If we look at the conformation of the piece, we shall at once see how apt was its name, "bavière," or slobberer.<sup>2</sup> Let us now turn to the texts of Shakespeare. "He wore his *beaver* up."—"Hamlet," act i, sc. 2. "Their *beavers* down; their eyes of fire sparkling through sights of steel."—"Henry IV," pt. 2, act iv, sc. 1. "I saw young Harry with his *bearer* on."—"Henry IV," pt. 1, act iv, sc. 2. "What, is my *bearer* easier than it was?"—"Richard III," act v, sc. 3.

It is not for a moment to be denied that at the time when Shakespeare wrote, and perhaps even earlier, the word beaver was used for the visor of a close helmet,<sup>3</sup> but the loose way in which the poet uses the word, making it as often stand for the whole helmet as for a part of it, shows that we cannot deduce a very accurate definition from his texts. In his day the actual piece of armour for which it is maintained the word was invented had ceased to exist (the latter form of separate chin piece being called a buffe),<sup>4</sup> and it has been shown in the introduction how the word sallad came to be used for almost any helmet as soon as the piece for which the name was originated had gone out of use. In the same way when the chin piece of the sallad disappeared, the word which had been invented to describe it remained and was used for a somewhat similar part of the helmet then worn. That does not prevent, however, the fact that we ought rather to seek for the original meaning of the word than a late and corrupt one, or at the very least we should let the piece of armour for which the word was coined have the benefit of it.

Let us now do away with the false names that have been given to the piece in question. Mentonnière is a word which did not exist when the piece was in use, and consequently will not do. Hanssecol it could not be, for in the fifteenth century we generally find the hanssecol described as being of mail. "Sallade et haussecol de maille" occurs continually, and will

<sup>1</sup> "Ancient Armour," page 8.

<sup>2</sup> "Être en bavière," was formerly used to denote a condition of salivation brought about by a certain medical treatment. See Littré, "Supplément au Dictionnaire."

<sup>3</sup> Hall appears to use it in the same sense; "The Duke of Hertford was quickly horsed and closed his bavier and caste his spere."

<sup>4</sup> Holland classes the beaver and the buffe together. "Others furnished their

head pieces, buffes and beavers." This, in conjunction with many other texts, shows that the beaver was a separate piece and not a part of the helmet. We read in the account of the combat between the Lord Scales and the Bastard of Burgundy that after tilting "the Lorde Scales voided speare bavioure and garde-brace and the garde of his wambraze," in other words his tilting pieces before fighting on foot.



be found in several of the texts quoted in the notice on the sallad. Chastelain also calls it "housecot de mailles." It was what in England is called a standard of mail, and in one case we read of "le chamail du haussecol,"<sup>1</sup> the camail or cape of the standard. The haussecol was very like the gorget, but, as its name implies, higher. Fauchet says, "Ils avoient aussi une gorgière, que nous appelons haussecol,"<sup>2</sup> and the little metal gorget worn until quite recently by French officers when on duty, and which was a descendant of the steel gorget worn over the buff coat in the seventeenth century, preserved the name of haussecol.

The word bavier first appears in the fourteenth century, and at the same time we find representations of chin pieces of plate adapted to the bassinet. Meyrick quotes a portion of the "Romance of Clariodes," and there is a passage in it which is the fullest confirmation of the views expressed above as to the derivation and original meaning of the word.<sup>3</sup>

"Upon the hede a basenet of stele,  
That within was locked wonder wele  
O crafty sight wrought in the viser:  
And some wold have of plate a *bavere*,  
That *on the breste* fastened be aforne,  
The canell-piece more easy to be borne."

Now, here we have the original spelling of the word in conformity with its deviation from "bave," slobber, and we also find it quite independent of the visor, and fastened on to the front of the breastplate. In the fifteenth century the notices of it are innumerable, and all point to the same identification. It is always distinct from the visor. A passage was quoted in the notice on the sallad in which "grand bassinet à bavière et visière fermée" occurs. Again "Issit hors de son pavillon le Seigneur d'Espiry la cotte d'armes vêtue, salade en tête, ayant bavière et visière."<sup>4</sup> To prove there is no mistake here, we have another account of the same head piece, "le Seigneur d'Espiry avoit une salade à visière, et courte bavière."<sup>5</sup> Being short-sighted, the Seigneur d'Espiry "s'arresta, et prit la visière de la salade, de sa main dextre et l'arracha hors de la salade, et le jetta loin de lui en arrière, et demoura le *visage moult fort deconcerté*" consequently the bevor did not cover much of his face.<sup>6</sup> Besides the "courte bavière," which occurs in more than one text, we find "salade a haute bavière." Now, these adjectives, high and low, apply perfectly to our piece but will not in the least apply to a visor.

The high bevor covered the face up to the eyes and was worn with the chapel-de-fer, "Et celui Pitois avoit un harnas de tête qui n'étoit ni bassinet ni salade, mais étoit fait a la semblance et maniere d'un capel de fer . . . et avoit une haute bavière, tellement que de son viaire" (face)

<sup>1</sup> Olivier de la Marche, p. 325.

<sup>2</sup> "Origine des Chevaliers, Armoiries et Heraux." Paris, 1606.

<sup>3</sup> "Critical Inquiry," vol. ii, p. 78.

<sup>4</sup> Chastelain, p. 683.

<sup>5</sup> Olivier de la Marche, p. 317.

<sup>6</sup> There is also the often quoted Brander MS. of the first year of Edward VI., which speaks of "At Calis sallets with vysars and bevers — sallets with bevers, — At

Hampton Court, old sallets with vizards," showing that the sallad could either have a visor like Fig. 24, or having no visor could have a bevor like Fig. 20, or could have both. Now, no one has explained what a "sallet with vysar and bever" was unless it was a combination of the two pieces, Figs. 24 and 25, or else the author used the word sallet for the close helmet and not for the true sallad at all.

"il n'apparoît que les yeux."<sup>1</sup> The "bavière" occurs continually with the armet, and that form of it will be spoken of in the notice of the armet. It is also found with the barbute and will be referred to under that head.

We have seen that the "haute bavière" covered the face up to the eyes, so the "courte bavière" covered only the chin up to the mouth, the sallad being deep enough to meet it when drawn down over the eyes. In the contemporary account already quoted of the armour worn in France in 1446-8 we read that the men-at-arms wore "*salade à visière et une petite bavière qui ne couvre que le menton*," and further on that the "*visière quant elle est abessée recouvre les yeulx, le nés et la bouche*."<sup>2</sup>

Nothing could be clearer. The position of the bavier, however, is further settled by Philippe de Commynes in his account of the wound received by the Comte de Charolois at the battle of Montlehéry, of which he was an eye-witness. "*Et là le dit Conte fut en très grand dangier, et eut plusieurs coups, et entre les autres ung à la gorge d'une espée . . . par default de sa bavière qui lui estoit cheute et avoit esté mal attachée dès le matin : et lui avoit ven cheoir*."<sup>3</sup> De Commynes himself saw the bavier fall and the position of the wound is confirmed by Oliver de la Marche, who says : "*Quant au Comte de Charolois, combien qu'il fut blessé en le senestre partie de son col, et de poinete d'espée toutefois il radia ses gens*."<sup>4</sup>

Jean d'Anton in his "*Chronique de Louis XII*," relates that, "*Jehan Stuari, duc d'Albanie, eut là un coup de trait d'un arc turquois, duquel fut sa bavière faulcée, avec sa gorgerette, tout au travers, et lui atéint jusques au sang*," showing that the bavier was placed over the gorget.

It would be easy to multiply these texts, but enough have been given to show clearly the nature of the bavier and to no other piece in common use when they were written will they apply but the one with which it is here identified.

## CHAPEL-DE-FER.

The chapel-de-fer, or, as it would seem to have been called in English, chapewe<sup>5</sup> is peculiar in that it remained longer in use than any other form of helmet. It is mentioned in statutes from the end of the twelfth century, and early in the thirteenth it appears in the sculptures of the Chapel of St. Maurice in the Cathedral of Constance.<sup>6</sup> Joinville mentions it repeatedly, and in art and literature it recurs continually through the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. In the sixteenth it loses its name and with a change in form becomes the morion and cabasset, whilst in the seventeenth it returns more to the form of a hat in the pikeman's helmet, and an iron hat imitating the felt hat of the period is ascribed

<sup>1</sup> Chastelain, p. 687. Chapels-de-fer continually appear in paintings in MSS. and in sculpture with the chin piece here identified with the bevor.

<sup>2</sup> René de Belleval, "*Costume Militaire des Français, en 1446*," p. 122.

<sup>3</sup> "*Mémoires de Commynes*," livre i, chapitre 4.

<sup>4</sup> Page 472.

<sup>5</sup> Berners translates the passage quoted from Froissart further on thus, "*a chapewe of Montaban, bright and clere shynynge agaynst the sonne*," and Grafton calls it a "*chapem*."

<sup>6</sup> Heffner, "*Trachten*," vol. i, plates 4 and 5.

in the Musée d'Artillerie to the "maison du roy" of Louis XIV. Perhaps the very long vogue of the iron hat was due to its nature. It was a light head piece easily put on and taken off, it allowed great freedom of motion to the head and its broad brim formed a fairly efficient protection to the face. From the time of Froissart, who describes "un chapel de Montauban, fin, cler et net, tout d'acier, qui resplendissoit au soleil," down to that of Grafton, who says, "on his hedde a chapeau Montabin with a rich coronal, the fold of the chapeau was lined with crimsen satten,"<sup>2</sup> the variety of chapel most in favour would seem to have been the one called a chapel de Montauban, but whether it was so named merely from the excellence of those made at Montauban or from some distinctive shape is not clear.

The contemporary author before quoted who describes the armour worn in France in 1446-8 says, "Item et les chappeaulx de Montauban sont rons en teste à une creste au meillen qui vait tout du long, de la haulteur de deux doiz, et tout autour y a ung avantail de quatre ou cinq doiz de large en forme et manière d'un chapeau."<sup>3</sup>

Few early chapels remain. Hefner has engraved a fine example in his own collection,<sup>4</sup> and Demmin says a similar one exists at Copenhagen.<sup>5</sup>

The two exhibited at the Institute, Nos. 98 and 99, Figs. 98 and 99, probably dated from the first years of the sixteenth century. For morion and cabasset the reader is referred to the notices given further on of the examples shown at the exhibition of helmets.

## BARBUTE.

Before leaving those helmets which belong equally to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, it is necessary to refer to a headpiece, about the identification of which much uncertainty yet exists, and that is the one called *Barbata* in Italian and *Barbute* in French. Ducauge has clearly shown that in Italy in the fourteenth century the word *barbata* was used (very much as "lance" was in France), to indicate a man at arms, 1000 *barbute* meaning 1000 men at arms. But it no doubt also meant some form of helmet, and later perhaps a portion of a helmet. When we endeavour to determine exactly what manner of helmet it originally meant, we meet with many difficulties. The best plan will be to give some texts concerning it, proceeding as nearly as possible in order of date. In a will dated 1349 occurs, "Placeas, corellum, gurgeriam, *barbutam*," &c.;<sup>6</sup> Article 22 of the Statutes of the Order of the Saint Esprit, instituted at Naples in 1352, has "Item se aucuns desdits compaignons se trovoient en aucun fait d'armes là où le nombre de leurs ennemis feussent ecc *barbues* ou plus."<sup>7</sup> Cereta, in his Veronese Chronicle, states that Bernabo Visconti lord of Milan attacked Verona in 1354 with 800 *barbute*.

<sup>1</sup> Catalogue of 1875, H. 152, and Demmin "Guide des Amateurs d'Armes," p. 288, No. 114.

<sup>2</sup> Henry VIII, ann 5. Exactly such a chapeau, coronal, fold and all, is represented in a portrait of Phillip the Fair, father of Charles V (d. 1506) in the Brussels gallery. In form it precisely resembles Fig. 99.

<sup>3</sup> René de Belleval, "Costume Militaire de Français, en 1446," p. 2.

<sup>4</sup> "Trachten," vol. ii, Plate 83.

<sup>5</sup> "Guide des Amateurs d'Armes," p. 283, No. 83.

<sup>6</sup> Meyrick, "Critical Inquiry," vol. i, p. 555.

<sup>7</sup> Montfaucon, "Monuments," &c., tome ii, p. 310.

Matteo Villani, relating the way in which Jean II (the Good) King of France, in 1356, took Charles II (the Bad) King of Navarre prisoner in the castle of Ronen, says, "e seguendo il Re (di Francia) co'suoi cavalieri armati entrò nel palagio, ov'era il Re di Navarra c'l Delfino c'l Conti di Ricorti (Harcourt) con quattro cavalieri Banderesi di Normandia . . . ed essendo juinto inmanzi il cavaliere e appena compinto di favellare al Delfino il Re di Francia armato colla barbute in testa . . . comandò che alcuno non si movesse."<sup>1</sup>

Giovanni Villani says that the allies of the Duke of Brabant against the King of France were almost all armed with cuirasses and "barbute," like knights.<sup>2</sup> These passages clearly prove that at that period the word *barbute* meant a helmet, and also was often used for a whole man at arms.

That this helmet sometimes had a vizor is shown by a passage in the Chronicle of Pietro Azario, written in the 14th century. Relating the death of one of the Guelph leaders, who with 500 "barbute" was going to succour Vercelli in 1320, then besieged by the troops of Matteo Visconti, he says, that whilst seeking to cross the river Sesia at Verecelli, he, who was in advance of the others, wishing to see the Ghibelline camp, raised the vizor of his barbute and was struck in the forehead by a cross bow bolt and fell dead from his horse.<sup>3</sup> In the next century we still find the barbute described as a head piece, and learn that it was worn with a bavie or chin piece. In an ordinance of Charles the Bold, dated 1472, men at arms are ordered to wear "cuirasses complète salade à bavière, barbute ou armet," and in the "Traicté d'un Tournoy tenu à Gand par Claude de Vauldray Seigneur de l'Aigle l'an 1469," written by Olivier de la Marche, we read, "il advint sur la fin de leur bataille, que l'entrepreneur avoit donné ung si grant cop d'espée audit signeur de la Ferté, qu'il avoit avallé (lowered or beaten down) la bavière de sa barbute, tellement que, du cop, il avoit la pluspart du visage desouvert;" and in another place, "Mais pour ce que la grant bavière de la barbute dudit Charles de Viscn ne fut point abbatue à prendre son espee, par faulte d'une coroye rompue, il sambla par ledit bavière qu'i tenoit qu'il fust desarmé au visage," whilst the prize offered for the best joustes is "une belle barbute de guerre estoffé d'or et de beau plumas très richement."<sup>4</sup>

But on another occasion the same Olivier de la Marche certainly uses the word for something like a bavie, for he says that Claude de Sainte Hélène appeared "sa teste armée de salade et de barbute,"<sup>5</sup> and Chastelain describing the same combat, speaks of him as having "salade en tête ayant bavière."<sup>6</sup> Hall also uses the word *barbet*, probably derived from

<sup>1</sup> "History," book vi, chap. 24.

<sup>2</sup> "History," book ii, chap. 77.

<sup>3</sup> *Præterea dum Dominus Petrus ... ex Dominus de Palestrino valde probus cum D. barbutis ex proceribus partis Gultie Papiensis, promittendo Vercellas Salvium flumen transire studeret et ipse, qui procedebat, volens videre castramenta partis Ghibelline et qualiter procedebant, levata risera barbute, uno viretono in fronte exstitit vulneratus et taliter quod ab equo subito cecidit interfectus.*

<sup>4</sup> "Traicté des Tournois," par Bernard Prost, Paris, 1878, pages 80, 85, and 91. The word *bavière* in these passages is

wrongly transcribed *banrière*, and the same mistake has crept into many transcriptions of ancient texts. Any one acquainted with medieval manuscripts, knows how hard it is to distinguish *u* from *n* in many of them. Buchon has thus made Henry V wear "un très bel bachinet à bannière" in his transcription of St. Remy's account of the battle of Agincourt, and in other authors *bavière* is quite as often transcribed *bannière* as by the right word; the second *n* in these cases having been put in to modernise the orthography.

<sup>5</sup> P. 314.

<sup>6</sup> P. 681.

barbute, for a portion of a helmet in his curious account of the mishap which befel Henry VIII at a tournament. "For a surety the duke strake the King on the brow right under the defence of y<sup>e</sup> hedpece on the very coyffe scull or bassenetpece whereunto the barbet for power and defence is charneled."<sup>1</sup> In these instances it is a part or adjunct of a helmet that is described, and other examples exist of this use of the word.

Now this word barbute must originally have meant something bearded, and it is also the head piece of the Italian fourteenth century man at arms. When it first appears the head piece which we call bassinet was almost universally worn by men at arms in Western Europe, but, as the word *lacinetto* existed in Italy, it is probable that the barbute was some modification of that headpiece, and would, no doubt, have been called a *bassinet* in England.

Violet-le-Duc was of opinion<sup>2</sup> that barbute meant a bassinet without any camail or covering for the chin, which thus allowed the beard to be seen. The author is inclined to take exactly the opposite view, and to suggest that it was from the bassinet being so to speak bearded, not the man, that the barbute took its name. In other words, that the barbute was a bassinet with a chin piece of plate, something like what in France was called a "*bascinet à bavière*," and we could then perfectly understand how its bavier being the distinguishing characteristic of the barbute, that word should come to be used for a bavier alone after the original helmet had gone out of fashion. But the texts as yet found are not sufficiently precise for this to be more than a suggestion, made, as our neighbours say, *sous toutes réserves*.

## ARMET.

The origin of the armet<sup>3</sup> is a matter of some obscurity, and even the derivation of the word is by no means certain. It has usually been supposed that it is derived from *heaumet*, diminutive of *heaume*, just as *helmet* is from *helm*, and the Italian *elmetto* from *elmo*. Olivier de la Marche mentions the armet and *heaumet* as early as 1443 in his descriptions of "pas d'armes" on horseback. In a combat in that year between the Seigneur de Haubourdin and Bernard de Béarn the latter received a blow "sur le bord du clou qui tient la visière de l'armet." The armet "n'estoit pas attaché mais l'avait Messire Bernard seulement mis en sa teste, ainsi que communement l'on court es Espaignes." It was consequently almost torn off, and the Duke of Burgundy, who presided, "voyant son cas, et qu'il n'estoit pas pourvu d'armet ou heaumet suffisant pour sa seurcté," stopped the fight.<sup>4</sup> In "Le Challenge de Philippe de Bouton" in 1467 the combatants are to fight "portant armet ou heaumet ou choys et plaisir d'unch un de nous."<sup>5</sup> These passages might seem to show that *heaumet* and *armet* were the same, but they are by no means

<sup>1</sup> Henry VIII, an. 16, p. 674, ed. of 1809.

<sup>2</sup> "Dictionnaire du Mobilier," tome v, p. 185.

<sup>3</sup> It must be noted that *armet* would seem to be a foreign word, and not to have been used in England when the peculiar head piece it describes was worn, but as no distinctive English word for the

kind of helmet which came from Italy with that name, has been found, it has been adopted by most writers on ancient armour, close helmet being too general a term.

<sup>4</sup> Olivier de la Marche, p. 288.

<sup>5</sup> Bentley's "Excerpta Historica," p. 221.

conclusive. In the second it would almost appear that the "armet" and the "heaumet" were two distinct head pieces, either of which might be chosen,<sup>1</sup> and Littré has found a passage in a writer of the fourteenth century, from which he deduces that armet was not derived at all from heaumet. He quotes Girard de Ross, who says, "Li ars (l'air) resplendit touz les splendissours des armes, des *armez*, des aubers, des lances, des jusarmes," and observes that it is strange that the earliest form of the word should not show any traces of the transformation from heaumet or heaume, but appear to be derived from "arme." Still the passage in no way indicates what kind of head pieces were described as "armez" in the fourteenth century, and the word may have no connection with the armet of the fifteenth, besides which the orthography of that period is not a very safe guide to the derivation of a word.

Although the derivation is thus uncertain, the invention of the armet was a very great stride in the progress of armour. Before it appeared, all helmets either fitted on the top of the head or were put right over it, but in the armet the lower part of the helmet opened out with hinges, so that when put on it *enclosed* the head, fitting closely round the lower part of it. It was thus neater, lighter, and more movable, whilst its weight was borne by the gorget, (and consequently the shoulders,) instead of by the head, as was the case with the bassinet and camail.

Just at the same period, when Olivier de la Marche describes the armet as being the head piece worn in every "pas d'armes" on horseback, (for whenever he treats of a "joute" or course run in the regular jousting harness, heaumes are mentioned as being worn) that spherical head piece with a disc at the back, which we identify with the armet, begins to appear on Italian medals and in Italian paintings, and to Italy must the invention of the new head piece probably be assigned. It will be seen on a medal of Pandolfo Malatesta by Pisano,<sup>2</sup> which dates from 1445-50, the disc at the back being clearly shown, and it has a chin guard or bavie strapped on in front as with most of the armets in Paolo Uccello's pictures. The roundel or disc protected the opening at the back of the helmet, the weakest point in the armet of Italian origin, and the bavie strapped on in front; the "grande bavie" that we shall find described as belonging to this form of head piece, prevented a lance from forcing up the visor, which in early examples has no catch or bolt to fix it when down. The reader is referred to the description of No. 36, Fig. 32, for an account of the construction of these early armets, which in their origin had a camail or fringe of chain mail hung to them by a row of staples much as in the beaked bassinets. This camail was continued at a later date, but it was then fixed either to a metal band or to a leather strap riveted round the base of the armet. Camails appear clearly on some of the armets in Uccello's pictures. In 1450 Jacques d'Avanches in his combat with Jacques de Lalain wore an "armet à la façon d'Italie, armé de sa grande bavie," and although the Burgundian knights wore armets when fighting on horseback, it is probable that the armet, such as we know it, was of Italian origin, the French and Burgundian ones approaching more the form of the ovoid bassinet. At all events the armet of Italian form does

<sup>1</sup> The heaumet, if not the same as the armet, was probably a head piece of the type of No. 81, Fig. 77, in this catalogue, which is half way between the heaume and the armet.

<sup>2</sup> This medal has been admirably reproduced by the Autotype process, in the "Guide to the Italian Medals," just published by the British Museum.

not appear in French art until later, and in England and Germany it would appear not to have come into common use until about 1500.

The great perfection and excellence of Italian armour was a subject of wonder to the Burgundians in the middle of the fifteenth century, as is shown by the account of a combat in 1446 between Gaillot Baltasin, chamberlain to Filippo Maria Visconti, Duke of Milan, and the Seigneur du Ternant. Messire Gaillot appeared in the lists "armé de toutes armes, l'armet en la teste à un grand plumas d'Italie, et estoit son cheval couvert d'une barde de cuir de bouffe peinte à sa devise<sup>1</sup> et y avoit au chanfrain, au poictrail et es flans de la barde, grandes dagues d'acier," and the Seigneur du Ternant, after the course with lances was done, "commença à charger, et à quérir son compagnon de la pointe de l'espée par le dessous de l'armet, tirant à la gorge, sus les esselles, à l'entour du croisant de la cuirasse, par dessous la ceignée du bras, à la main de la bride tant que ladicte espée passoit outre une poignée; et partout le trouva si bien armé et pourvue, que nulle blessure n'en advint."<sup>2</sup>

The reverse of a medal by Pisano of Gaillot de Baltasin's master, the Duke Filippo Maria Visconti, shows doubtless how the knight was armed, and the man at arms there represented wears an armet with a roundel and armour exactly of the type of that in Uccello's battle piece. As the duke died in 1447 the medal is a contemporary document. In 1449 we find Jean de Boniface (also in the service of the Duke of Milan) wearing so admirable a harness that "disoit on que ledit de Boniface avoit trempé son harnois d'une caine qui le tenoit si bon que fer ne pouvoit prendre sus; et à la verité, il couroit en un léger harnois de guerre, et n'estoit pas possible sans artifice ou aide que le harnois eust peu soutenir les atteintes que fit desous Messire Jacques."<sup>3</sup> Commynes too bears witness to the difficulty of killing an Italian knight when relating how, at the victory of Fornova in 1495, the French varlets and serving men used the axes they had for chopping wood for building the knight's quarters to kill the Italian men at arms, "dont il rompirent les visieres des armetz et leur donnoient de grans coups sur les testes, car bien mal ayses estoient à tuer, tant estoient fort armez."<sup>4</sup> On one occasion, however, the Italian armet came off badly, and that was when Jean de Boniface tried to use it in a combat with axes, instead of the usual bassinet, and we are told that "il se trouva mal asseurement armé de la teste pour combattre à pied" for Jacques de Lalain, finding that the heaviest blows with both the front and the back of his axe did not damage it, "il entra dedans sa hache par une entrée de la queue de revers," that is to say he got the axe into the opening at back or tail piece of the armet, and thus having a hold of his enemy, he seized him by the plume of the helmet and then threw him face downwards to the ground.<sup>5</sup> It is possible this helmet had no roundel at the back, but it is clear that it opened behind, much like No. 36, Fig. 32. It is rather singular that Chastelain, recounting this fight, calls the head piece in question a bassinet, and adds that "tout autour de son dit bassinet avoit pointes aigues environ de deux paux de long et par dessus un petit

<sup>1</sup> We shall find this horse armour of painted cuir bouilli mentioned in another quotation as a Lombard fashion.

<sup>2</sup> Olivier de la Marche, pp. 351 and 353.

<sup>3</sup> Olivier de la Marche, p. 303.

<sup>4</sup> "Memoires de Commynes," livre viii, chap. 11.

<sup>5</sup> Olivier de la Marche, p. 304.

plumas."<sup>1</sup> He generally agrees exactly with Olivier de la Marche's descriptions, but in this case the latter's account is so circumstantial that it is probably correct, besides which, the bassinet being the proper helmet for fighting on foot, Chastelain may have supposed the head piece really was one.

Most singular plumes and crests appear on the armets in Ucello's pictures, and Chastelain describes one of the kind. When Jean de Boniface first appeared in the lists, "devant lui avoit un page sur un cheval armé de cuir bouilli armoyé de ses armes a la façon de Lombardie et en la tête dudit page un armet, où au pardessus avoit un plumas où y avoit un croissant d'or, et aux débouts plumes de paon et au milieu une houppe de plumes de paon blanche et par dessus tout un couvrechef de plaisance."<sup>2</sup>

On another occasion Jean de Boniface "sur son armet avoit le bras d'une dame tenant un grand volet."<sup>3</sup> And on a medal of Grati Count of Bologna, by Sperandio, there is a very peculiar ornament on the top of an armet in the shape of a small flagstaff with a pennon fluttering in the breeze. Armets were sometimes very rich. Jacques du Clercq tells us that at the entry of Charles VII into Rouen, "un page du Comte de Saint Pol portoit en la teste un armet tout de fin or richement ouvré," whilst the king's pages carried "ses harnois de tête couverts de fin or de diverses façons et plumas d'antruches de diverses couleurs."<sup>4</sup> And when Louis XI entered Paris in 1461 his armet was carried before him, "et après ly, et tout le plus prochain du Roy par devant estoit Joachim Roault portant l'armette royale, couronne et tymbre de fleurs de lys d'or bien riches."<sup>5</sup>

The armet is continually mentioned in the French "ordonnances" concerning the equipment of men at arms.

Charles the Bold in 1472 orders that "les hommes d'armes seront armé de cuirasses complètes, salade à bavière, barbutte ou armet," and Francis I says they shall wear "l'armet avec ses bavieres." Brantôme relates that at Marignan the king himself wore "un armet orné d'une rose d'escarboucle." There is an ordinance of Henry II of France in 1549, which says that "ledit homme d'armes sera tenu porter armet petit et grand," and no satisfactory explanation has been found of this order to wear a great and little armet. It can only be suggested here that perhaps the armet was called "petit" when not furnished with its tilting bavier and grand when the great bavier or "haute piece" was screwed on, but this is purely a conjecture. By this date the distinctive features of the early armet of Italian origin had entirely disappeared, and any close helmet would seem to have been called an armet in France.

The ordinances of 1574 and 1584 say "nous voulons l'homme d'armes être armé, à savoir d'armet ou habillement de teste fermé et sans y recevoir aucun morion, encore qu'ils eussent bavieres." This goes strongly against Meyrick's theory that the petit armet was an open casque, which became the grand armet, when a falling beaver like Fig. 91 in this catalogue was fixed to it,<sup>6</sup> besides which such casques were the headpiece of the "cheval-légers," not of the "hommes d'armes."

<sup>1</sup> P. 678.

<sup>2</sup> P. 677.

<sup>3</sup> Olivier de la Marche, p. 268.

<sup>4</sup> Buchon's edition, p. 14.

<sup>5</sup> "Chronique des Ducs de Bourgoigne" par G. Chastelain, Première partie, ch. 18.

<sup>6</sup> "Critical Inquiry," vol. iii, p. 3, and "Engraved Illustrations," Plate XXIX.



In England the armet does not appear in any monuments before the beginning of the reign of Henry VIII, but by the time when the pictures now at Hampton Court of that King's meeting with Maximilian and of the battle of the Spurs were painted, we find all the English knights wearing the armet with its roundel, and although the sallad lingered longer in Germany than elsewhere the armet appears in profusion in art work from about the year 1500.<sup>1</sup> There is an admirable armet on the suit for man and horse, supposed to have been given by Maximilian to Henry VIII, now in the Tower, which is perhaps the grandest suit of armour of the early years of the sixteenth century in existence.

### TILTING, JOUSTING, AND TOURNAMENT HELMS.

One example only of the war helm of the time of Edward III was exhibited, and that will be fully described under No. 75.<sup>2</sup> Two helms from Cobham Church dating from the last years of the fourteenth or quite the beginning of the fifteenth century (Nos. 76 and 77<sup>3</sup>) show a much nearer approach to the form of helmet ultimately adopted for jousting, and were probably only intended for use in the tilt-yard. Although these were rather more firmly fixed to the cuirass than the earlier helm, still the profile view will show that they did not fit closely down to the breast and back pieces as all later helms did. In fact the distinctive feature of the true helm of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries is that it fitted closely down to the breast and back plates, to which it was very firmly fixed, so that no blow could wrench it off. As a consequence of this it had to be made large enough for the wearer to move his head freely inside it, for it had no motion in common with the head.

This kind of head piece was only used for those varied military exercises, all commonly included in the word tournament, which were perhaps carried to their utmost perfection in the second half of the fifteenth century. Most detailed accounts of many of them have been preserved,<sup>4</sup> and although no complete description of them can be given here, yet as a separate form of helmet was used in each, it will be well for the better understanding of the helms to be described later on, to state broadly the great divisions into which they may be classed.

There was first the combat on foot, "*pas d'armes à pied*," "*armes on foot*" of English texts. In this axes were used, generally with a sharp axe edge on one side, a pointed beak on the other, a long spear blade at the head, and a sharp taper point at the butt<sup>5</sup>. Spears also of a light kind were often used at the commencement of the fight for thrusting or casting, and occasionally the combat was with the stiff foining (thrusting) sword known as an "*estoc*" in France,

<sup>1</sup> Two knights wear it in a drawing of the crucifixion by Albert Durer now at Basel, and dated 1502.

<sup>2</sup> Figs 72 and 73.

<sup>3</sup> Figs 74, 75, and 76.

<sup>4</sup> The works of Oliver de la Marche, Georges Chastelain, the book on the "Tournament" by King René, the works of Hardouin de la Jaille, Antoine de la Salle (published in the "*Traicté des Tour-*

*nois*"), Hall's Chronicle, the account of the tournament of the Lord of Scales in Bentley's "*Excerpta Historica*," and Marc Vulson de la Colombière's "*Vray Théâtre d'Honneur et de Chevalerie*" (which contains a vast amount of information), may be consulted on this subject.

<sup>5</sup> A very fine example of this weapon is in the Tower and there called a *pole-axe*.

which usually had a roundel instead of a cross guard to protect the hand. The head piece used in these fights has been fully described under *bassinet*, and No. 80, Fig. 78, is an example of this type. Next there was the "*pas d'armes à cheval*" a course run on horseback in war harness, either with sharp or blunted lances. In France and Italy the armet with its great bavair was used for this exercise, whilst in Germany the *sallad* was often preferred. Certain reinforcing plates were usually put on the harness in these courses to render it more resisting. Then there was the *jouste*, in which a harness of immense strength specially designed for this exercise was worn, with a great helm firmly fixed to the cuirass.<sup>1</sup> The lance used was furnished with a coronal instead of a sharp or blunted point. Lastly there was the *tourney* or tournament, where a number of mounted men, divided into two opposing bands fought together with rebated (blunted) swords and sometimes with wooden maces. The helm used here was not unlike in form to the one used for combats on foot,<sup>2</sup> but for the *tourney* the visor was generally barred, leaving plenty of breathing space, this exercise not being so dangerous as it was fatiguing. Sometimes, instead of a movable visor, the bars were riveted on the helm, and examples exist where the face was only protected by a sort of wirework like a fencing mask<sup>3</sup>.

There were many variations of each of these exercises, but it would be out of place to describe them here.

## BURGONET AND BUFTE.

Two very different kinds of helmet have been identified with the word *burgonet*,<sup>4</sup> which first appears about the beginning of the sixteenth century, and was undoubtedly applied to a form of head piece in use until the end of that century. English writers on armour, following Meyrick (who founded his opinion on a text of the President Fauchet, which will be quoted later), have considered the *burgonet* to be that form of close helmet, which has a hollow rim round its base made to fit closely on to the salient rim at the upper edge of the gorget.<sup>5</sup>

Foreign antiquaries have, on the other hand, always regarded the open casque of the type of these engraved on Plate VII of this catalogue as

<sup>1</sup> Figs. 79 to 82 are jousting helms. A complete contemporary account of the jousting helm will be found with the description of No. 78. In Germany a *sallad* was sometimes used for the *jouste*. It was not quite of the same type as the war *sallad* (see No. 30.) A magnificent series of jousting suits may now be seen at the Musée d'Artillerie.

<sup>2</sup> Like the helm used on foot it is sometimes also called a *bassinet*. In the account preserved of the marriage of the Duke of Burgundy to the Princess Margaret, sister of Edward IV. in 1468, we read of the "hewing on *bassynettes* w<sup>th</sup> blunt swerdes" at a tournament held to celebrate the event. Bentley's "*Excerpta Historica*," p. 239.

<sup>3</sup> Hefner "*Trachten*," vol. ii, Plate 137.

<sup>4</sup> *Burgonet* is derived from the French *bourguignote*, which name seems to indicate a Burgundian headpiece. Richardson, in his Dictionary, suggests that it might be derived from the Anglo-Saxon *Byrg-an*, to protect, to defend, but as the word does not appear in any language until the sixteenth century, and people did not then go to the Anglo-Saxon when they wished to invent a new name, the theory is manifestly absurd. In the same way he suggests *Morion* might come from *Myrr-an*, *a.s.* to dispel or repel. As this is also a new word in the sixteenth century, one might as well seek an Anglo-Saxon derivation for *Telephone*.

<sup>5</sup> Figs. 39 to 41, 47, 50, and 53 to 55 of this catalogue would have been called *burgonets* by Meyrick, Hewitt, Planché, &c.

the bourguignote or burgonet. The face in this form of helmet was generally exposed, but could be covered by a movable face-guard strapped or otherwise fixed to the helmet, of which Figs. 91 and 93 are examples. Here is the passage from Fauchet, and it must be noted that it is the *only* authority for Meyrick's theory, whilst, as will be found later, several weighty objections to it exist in other texts. Fauchet then, in his "*Origines des Chevaliers Armories et Héraux*,"<sup>1</sup> after speaking of the great heaume, which in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries was put over the hood of mail or the bassinet, says—"Depuis, quand ces Heaulmes ont mieux représenté la teste d'un homme, ils furent nommez Bourguignotes: possible à cause des Bourguignons inventeurs: par les Italiens Armets, Salades, ou Celates." He then talks about lances, &c.

Now, if this sentence be carefully examined in its entirety, we shall find—first, that there is nothing at all to show that a close helmet fixed to the gorget by a rim at its base was a burgonet rather than any other form of close helmet, there being no suggestion of anything of the kind; secondly, that what it really does say is, that when the helmet ceased to be the great cylindrical heaume of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and fitted more closely to the form of the head, it took the various names of burgonet, armet, sallad and celata.<sup>2</sup>

Writers on armour have hitherto contented themselves with quoting the first half of the sentence and then it certainly reads in favour of Meyrick's theory, but if the sentence be taken as a whole there is no reason for supposing that the burgonet was the only helmet which "représenté mieux la teste d'un homme," the armet, the sallad, and the celata being mentioned in the same breath, besides which these helmets are only mentioned as being *more* like the human head than the huge cylindrical helm, and almost any helmet of the sixteenth century would answer to that.

In short it is a purely gratuitous assumption that any one peculiar form of the close helmet is there identified with the burgonet, and as we examine other texts in which this word appears we shall find the gravest objections to Meyrick's supposition. A letter from Richelieu to the Cardinal de la Valette speaking of the formation of a new cavalry force tells us exactly what was meant by a burgonet in his day. He states that they are to be armed with "une bourguignote couvrant les deux joues avec une barre sur le nez." This is clearly a head piece of the type of Fig. 95, which at that period was coming greatly into vogue for cavalry. Earlier still, in 1595, Sir John Smith says of light cavalry called Stradiotes, "I would wish them all to bee armed with good burgonets and buffes, with collars, with cuirasses, with backs, and with long cuisses."<sup>3</sup>

Here again the helmet cannot be the close helmet with a rim, for it is of light horse he is speaking, and in this case we find the burgonet coupled with a buffe, the nature of which we shall learn from another text. In the Survey of the Armour in the Tower in 1660, we find mentioned, "Foote armour of Henry viij<sup>th</sup> richly guilt consisting of backe

<sup>1</sup> Second edition, Paris, 1606, leaf 42. The dedication is dated 1600, the year when the first edition probably appeared.

<sup>2</sup> It must be observed that the colons before and after the supposition concerning

the origin of the name bourguignote, stand for brackets, the sentence reading without the parenthesis, ils furent nommez Bourguignotes Armets Salades ou Celates.

<sup>3</sup> "*Instructions Militaire*," p. 199.

breast and placket, taces, gorget, a burgonet with a buffe or chin peece," and also "Armour richly guilt and graven consisting of a backe, breast, cushes, a paire of kneecops, gorget, a pair of short taces, one burgonet with a buffe, murrion, one gauntlet, and a shaffrone, with a paire of guilt steeles for a saddle."<sup>1</sup> Again, here the burgonet is in both instances associated with a buffe, which we now learn is a chin peece.

At an earlier date we find the buffe mentioned in France and Italy as a kind of tilting bavier or "haute-pièce." Fausto da Longiano, speaking of the arms necessary for a combat, says, "Ti provvederai di tutte l'arme da giostra, così con la targhetta, come con la buffa."<sup>2</sup> Brantome tells us that at Marignan, Francis I. "s'y mesla si bien, qu'il y fust en grand danger, car sa grande buffe lui fut percée à jour d'un coup de pique," and in the history of Bayard it is said that "le bon cavalier lui bailla si grand coup sur le haut de sa grande buffe qu'il l'en desarma."<sup>3</sup> The buffe in these passages was probably what has been called a tilting bavier or haute-pièce, and Holland associates it with the bavier when he says, "others furnished their head pieces, buffes and beavers," besides which it is distinctly stated above to be a chin peece. It might therefore be argued that the suits described in the Survey were tilting suits with close helmets and haute-pièces, but it must be noted that these are not complete suits, having no greaves, and would therefore seem to have been light horse armour, for all the tilting and cap-à-pied suits in the inventory are described as such by the author, who was evidently well acquainted with the technical terms for armour. Besides which is the fact that the burgonet is associated in so many texts with lightly, not with heavily, armed men. It may again be objected that the texts as yet quoted are of late date, and it has already been shown how the names of helmets got to be most loosely used at a late period, but still Sir John Smithe wrote his recommendation for Stradiote light horse to be armed with the burgonet five years before Fauchet wrote the equivocal passage on which Meyrick founded his supposition that the burgonet was a close helmet. Fortunately, however, there remains a text written almost at the date when the burgonet is supposed to have made its first appearance, in which it is distinctly described as the especial head piece of light cavalry in contradistinction to the heavy armament of the man at arms.

In the life of Giovanni de' Medici, Captain of the Bande Nere, written by his contemporary, Giangirolamo Rossi, we read, "Per il che questo signore ebbe cento cavagli leggeri di condotta, la quali fu il suo primo principio nel mestiere dell'armi; e fece prove mirabili facendosi sempre vedere dai nimici con danno loro, per avere egli cominciato a rinnovare e favorire quel mestiere alla leggiera, che era già quasi disposto e fuori d'uso, in modo che venne in grandissima riputazione, volendo che i suoi soldati avessero cavagli turchi e giannetti e fossero bene armati con *celate alla borgognona*: tal che per opera sua, a per lo comodo de tal uso, gli uomini d'arme si sono quasi dimessi in Italia, facendo questi, e con minore spesa e con più prestezza spesse volte, l'uno e l'altro effetto."<sup>4</sup> This band was raised in 1516-17, consequently just after the date usually given to the invention of the burgonet, and here it is termed a celata,

<sup>1</sup> *Archæological Journal*, vol. iv, pages 349 and 350.

<sup>2</sup> "Del Duello" Venezia, 1559.

<sup>3</sup> Ed. of 1651, page 65.

<sup>4</sup> "Vite di Uomini d'Arme e d'Affari del Secolo XVI. narrate da Contemporanei." Barbèra, Firenze, 1866, p. 80.

which was the Italian word for an open helmet without a visor. We are told that the convenience of the armament of these light horse led to their superseding the men at arms, and it cannot be supposed that they were armed with the rimmed close helmet, which was only suited to very heavily armed men. To discover then what the burgonet really was, we must look for a head piece essentially suited to light horse, a head piece which appears about the beginning of the sixteenth century, and a head piece which has not a chin piece; as a separate and distinct chin piece called a *buffe* is so often associated with it. If we look at the various forms of helmet in use in the sixteenth century we shall find but one which answers all these conditions, and that is the one engraved in Plate VII, where we have a series dating from the time when Giovanni delle Bande Nere adopted the "*celata borgognona*" for his lightly armed cavalry down to the days of Richelieu, who armed his horse with "*une bourguignote couvrant les deux joues avec une barre sur le nez.*"

### FORGERIES.

When the taste for any class of objects of art or antiquity develops itself, when rare specimens command high prices; then spurious examples will at once begin to appear. For a while they will pass current, but before long they are found not to equal the excellence of the originals, and they cease to be dangerous to any but the tyro at collecting.

For many years past forgeries of ancient arms and armour have been made. Richly repoussé helmets and shields, imitating the work of the great masters of the sixteenth century, and swords with finely chased hilts, have been fabricated in Italy, and imitations of swords of an equal excellence have appeared in France, whilst Germany has supplied visored *bassinetts*, pieces of the so called Gothic armour of the fifteenth century, and indeed much armour of very fair workmanship, together with guns and pistols with stocks inlaid with ivory.

But the peculiar speciality of England has been early helms of every imaginable form and long toed *sollerets*.

Why in a country where the Civil Wars swept away almost all armour of home manufacture of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, early helms and long toed *sollerets* should abound, is puzzling, to say the least. It is true that some real specimens of early helms have been preserved in churches, through the old practice of hanging them in achievements of arms over the tombs of departed warriors, and these pieces have occasionally passed into private hands; but the rate at which church helms appeared in the market a few years ago, would have been anything but creditable to those in whose keeping they ought to be.

Of course the story with which these helmets came before the buying public was occasionally varied, but it was always a good circumstantial one. And wonderful to relate, for nearly thirty years these miserable shams were accepted as genuine by the best judges in the country, described and engraved in the most learned publications, and allowed to vitiate the best collections, not excepting those of an almost national character.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Sir Samuel Meyrick's collection was an exception and I believe free from forgeries, although as was natural in so

large an assemblage, some of the pieces were not in the purest state.

That the general public and even some of the dealers should have been deceived is not to be wondered at, when we consider how difficult it was, until quite recently, to get access to any good armour.

Abroad one might pass an hour in the careful examination of a single suit in any of the great collections, but here one was allowed to bestow about as much attention on a suit of armour in the Tower, as a conjuror permits one to give to the machinery with which he performs his tricks, or a showman to a questionable giant at a fair.

The Tower was, to the public mind, little more than a branch of Madame Tussaud's establishment. The unprivileged collector was, therefore, ready to accept any specimen offered to him. But the owners of large collections, and those to whom every facility for access to our national collection was granted, those who described, illustrated, and bought these forgeries, how can we explain their infatuation?

Leaving that point aside, the authors of this catalogue determined when convinced of the falsity of a piece simply to class it amongst the forgeries. It was of course a painful duty,<sup>1</sup> but imperative.

The description given further on of the spurious helms will sufficiently explain the various tests to be applied to a piece before accepting it as genuine, and if the detailed accounts of real early helms be compared with the notices of the spurious ones, these tests will become still more apparent.

<sup>1</sup> In one instance a gentleman to whom the exhibition owed three of the grandest and rarest helms in the whole collection also sent three, which unfortunately had to be condemned. Those early *English* helms in the Musée d'Artillerie, of which Planché laments the loss to this country

("Cyclopedia of Costume," vol. i, pp. 280 and 283), did not appear to me, when I last saw them, to be quite above suspicion, but the light in which they were was not very good as the collection was being rearranged.

## European Helmets,

No. 12, Fig. 8.

Part of a Helmet? Came from the South of Germany and was used as a water bucket. Date (?)

*Mr. E. Wright.*

Has this piece been a helmet? Its form certainly suggests an affirmative answer. And if a helmet, of what period is it? It bears sufficient resemblance to the existing examples of the conical helmet of the eleventh and twelfth centuries to render Mr. Wright's conjecture that it dates from that period a fair one. Nor is it an isolated instance of an ancient head-piece having been used at a recent period as a bucket. Mr. Riggs, in Paris, possesses a fine German Sallad which he discovered being utilised in that way by a bricklayer; whilst No. 18, when found by Fortuny, was serving the same purpose in the hands of a mason. Workmen in remote districts must occasionally find old armour when pulling down ancient buildings, and, if ignorant of its value, they turn it to any use that may suggest itself.

The existing authentic helmets of a form similar to this piece are, as far as the author is aware—

1. A helmet found near Abbeville, France, and now in the Musée d'Artillerie in Paris. It is of copper and truncated at the top like Mr. Wright's.<sup>1</sup> Viollet le Duc thinks this helmet belongs to the twelfth century.

2. The helmet attributed to Henry the Lion Duke of Brunswick who died in 1195, formerly in the collection of the Duchesse de Berri, more recently in that of the Baron Von Zu-Rhein, of Würzburg, and now in that of M. Basilewski, in Paris. It was exhibited at the Trocadero in 1878. It is constructed of six segments of iron or steel. Round the bottom of the helmet there is a broad band of gilt and engraved brass which, at its lower edge, has the remains of a series of holes, apparently for a camail or curtain of chain-mail. On this band are engraved birds and flowers and there is also a large embossed lion. Narrower bands of brass, also engraved and gilt, spring from this, and covering each junction of the iron segments, meet together at the top, where there would seem to have been an ornament of some kind, which is now wanting. Altogether, whatever may have been its origin, it is a most remarkable and interesting helmet.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Engraved in Viollet-le-Duc's "*Mobilier*," tome vi, p. 143.

<sup>2</sup> The only engraving of this beautiful

helmet with which the author is acquainted is in the illustrated catalogue of the Baron Von Zu-Rhein's sale, Würzburg, 1868.

3. A helmet in the Cathedral of Prague attributed to St. Wenceslaus who died in 935. It has a nasal, and Demmin<sup>1</sup> says it is incrustated with silver. It is engraved in the Baron Von Suttner's work.<sup>2</sup> The author has not seen this helmet.

Besides these examples, there is a small conical helmet with indications of a nasal (now broken off) in the Musée d'Artillerie,<sup>3</sup> which would seem to be the last trace of the Norman helmet with a nasal, but it bears a close affinity to the bassinet, and probably dates from the end of the thirteenth or beginning of the fourteenth century.<sup>4</sup>

## BASSINETS.

### No. 13, Fig. 9.

Bassinet, with iron staples for camail (from the Meyrick collection). Date about 1350. *Mr. W. Burges.*

This helmet is said to have been found in an old castle at Naples.<sup>5</sup> It has suffered from corrosion, but is still the most interesting specimen of its kind extant. The iron staples, which nearly follow the lines of the edge of the bassinet but cease over the forehead,<sup>6</sup> were for fixing the camail, which was probably attached to plates of metal, pierced with holes through which the staples passed. A cord through the holes in the staples then secured the plates in their places.

The helmet is hollowed out at the nape of the neck to allow of the head being thrown back with ease. Between the staples and the edge of the bassinet are small holes countersunk on the outside, by which the lining of the helmet was sewed in. These holes follow exactly the line of the edge and are continued over the forehead. There are two rivets over the centre of the opening for the face. It is difficult now to determine what their use may have been, but it is not improbable that they were for fixing up a moveable nasal like that seen in the monuments of Albrecht Von Hohenlohe<sup>7</sup> (d. 1319), Günther Von Schwartzburg<sup>8</sup> (d. 1349), and Ulrich Landschaden<sup>9</sup> (d. 1369). A fine example from a statue at Freiburg is given by Viollet-le-Duc.<sup>10</sup>

That this nasal was not exclusively a German fashion is proved by the fact that it is found on the statues of Francesco della Scala (better known as Can Grande or the Great Dog), d. 1329, and of Can Signorio, d. 1375,

<sup>1</sup> "Guide des Amateurs d'Armes," page 264, No. 8.

<sup>2</sup> "Der Helm, von seinem Ursprunge, &c." Von Gustav, Freiherrn von Suttner, Wien, 1878.

<sup>3</sup> Catalogue of 1875. H. 18.

<sup>4</sup> Demmin, page 268, No. 25, and for a similar helmet in a MS. of the beginning of the fourteenth century see Quicherat "Histoire du Costume," Paris, 1875, page 217.

<sup>5</sup> Meyrick, "Critical Inquiry," ii, 10.

<sup>6</sup> One of these staples is represented near Fig. 9, at E.

<sup>7</sup> Bontell "Brasses," 1847, p. 191.

<sup>8</sup> Hefner, "Trachten," vol. ii, pl. 27.

<sup>9</sup> Hefner, "Trachten," vol. ii, pl. 53.

<sup>10</sup> "Mobilier," tome v, p. 188. Viollet-le-Duc here attributes this statue to the end of the thirteenth century, but it seems of later date. He says it is from the tomb of Berchtoldus.



both lords of Verona. These monuments, together with the adjacent tomb of Mastino II, were executed about 1739, in the life time of Can Signorio, by Bonino di Compione. Both knights wear a small bassinet, not unlike the one under consideration, and Can Grande has his helm with its crest, a mastiff's head, slung to his back.<sup>1</sup> This small bassinet without a visor was the usual headpiece of the man at arms throughout Europe during the third quarter of the fourteenth century. For tilting with the lance, or on the actual battle field, a helm, like the one described under No. 75, was put over it. In the Chapel of St. George, at Padua, built in 1377, is a fresco representing a number of knights of the Lupa family kneeling before Our Lady. Each wears the bassinet with camail but no visor, and hanging at his back to a strap round his shoulders, is his helm with its crest.

The frescos in this chapel are supposed to have been executed about 1384.

There are two somewhat similar bassinets to the one under consideration in the Poldi Pezzoli collection at Milan but they are both much damaged.

#### No. 14. (Fig. 10 & 11.)

Bassinet, from Aldborough Church, Holderness, Yorkshire. 14th century. *The Rev. P. W. Loosemore.*

To Mr. Wentworth Huyshe is due the credit of having obtained this most interesting helmet for exhibition. In his opinion it dates from the second half of the fourteenth century, and he furnished the following notes concerning it.

"This bassinet is traditionally assigned to Sir John de Melsa or Meaux, who was governor of the City of York. 1292-6, and hangs over his effigy in Aldborough Church. The bassinet is of great size, and it was either worn over a mail coif, or a camail was fastened to it inside."

Extract from *Notes & Queries*, 25 Jan., 1879 :

"About 1850 I was at Aldborough, Holderness, Yorkshire, and was there informed that there was an old iron helmet in the church, which was employed habitually as a coal-scuttle to replenish the church fires in winter. D. D."

Extract from letter of the present Vicar, the Rev. Philip Wood Loosemore, to Wentworth Huyshe, Esq., Feb., 1879 :

"The notice of the iron helmet in the extract from *Notes and Queries* has reference to 60 or 70 years ago, when it was used as a coal-scuttle and much damaged thereby. The village school was then held in the chantry of the church. . . . The helmet now hangs over the tomb to which it belongs, and this tomb has the figure of Sir John de Melsa in armour with the feet resting on a lion. There is no inscription on the monument. . . . The first Sir John de Melsa or Meaux, of whom any account has been found, was the owner of the land at Melsa, or Meaux, in Holderness, on which the Abbey of Melsa was built, in the year 1150. Amongst his

<sup>1</sup> Conte Pompeo Litta, "Famiglie Celebri Italiane," vol. i. It is much to be regretted that we do not possess at South Kensington casts of this and the two other magnificent equestrian figures of knights on the tombs of Mastino II. and Can Signorio. The two latter, which are very perfect, and not so large as the first, would give

a wonderful insight into the appearance and armour of a noble Italian warrior in the fourteenth century. The nasal has been broken off the statue of Can Grande, but a fragment of it still exists projecting from the camail and is visible in a photograph in the author's possession.

descendants was a son John, who died without children about 1377, who owned the manor of Berwick.

"The bassinet cannot have belonged to the first Sir John de Melsa mentioned in Mr. Loesmore's letter, as that type of helmet was not in use in the thirteenth century; but there is little doubt that it belonged to his descendant John, who died in 1377, its form corresponding with the known type of that period."

This head piece, which perhaps ought rather to be termed a helm than a bassinet, is fourteen inches high. As may be supposed from Mr. Huyshe's notes, it is in very bad condition, and a thick coat of tar with which it appeared to be covered when exhibited, did not facilitate an inquiry into its original aspect. Over the arch of the opening for the face is a series of small countersunk holes half an inch apart for sewing in a lining.<sup>1</sup> At the nape the helmet is hollowed out, and rivets could be traced by which a strap was probably secured, also for the lining to be sewed to. Up each side of the face opening there are more rivets, probably for the same purpose, or possibly for fixing a camail; but as this helmet rested on the shoulders, it would seem probable that it was used with a standard or hausse-col of mail rather than with a camail.<sup>2</sup> On each side of the helmet, somewhat high up, is a rather large hole for the rivet which secured the visor. At the apex there is a ring. These helms or big bassinets with a large visor, are frequently seen in miniatures of the fourteenth century, and Mr. Burges at the time of the exhibition drew attention to the resemblance of this one to the helmets represented in the Meliadus MS. in the British Museum.<sup>3</sup>

A still closer resemblance will be seen to the helmet of a knight in a miniature from the *De ruina Troje*, engraved by Hewitt,<sup>4</sup> who considers this MS. as well as the Meliadus one to date from about 1350. In this latter case there is no camail apparent.

A helmet very similar in many points to the one under consideration exists in the Christy collection at 103, Victoria Street, Westminster. Curiously enough it originally came from Kordofan on the White Nile, and formed part of the collection exhibited by the Viceroy of Egypt in Paris in 1867. Mr Burges drew the author's attention to the fact that one of the indictments against Jacques Cœur, the celebrated *argentier* of Charles VII. of France, was that he had sold armour to the Soldan of Babylon, as the Khalif of Egypt was then called, and that it was not impossible that this helmet was exported by the great French merchant. The date would correspond well enough.<sup>5</sup>

The principal points of difference between the Kordofan and the Yorkshire helmets are, that the former has a chin-piece riveted to it, but this chin-piece is exceedingly thin and might be an addition of later

<sup>1</sup> As a general rule when holes in a helmet are small, near one another, and *countersunk* on the outside, they originally served for sewing in a lining.

<sup>2</sup> A large and fine bassinet which has passed from the collection of the Comte de Thun at Val di Non through those of Mr. Spengel at Munich and the Comte de Nieuwerkerke in Paris into that of Sir Richard Wallace, and which is engraved by Denmin, p. 276, and Viollet-le-Duc, "Mobilier," tome v, p. 187, shows how different was the shape of the bottom

of a bassinet worn with a camail. This one has its original twelve staples, and two hooks on the forehead show that it was used with a moveable nasal of the kind mentioned in the description of Mr. Burges's bassinet.

<sup>3</sup> See Hewitt, vol. ii, p. 82.

<sup>4</sup> Vol. ii, p. 231.

<sup>5</sup> Jacques Cœur's trial took place in 1452, but the exportation of arms took place before this date, and the arms exported were probably not of the latest fashion.

date. Against this hypothesis are the facts that the holes for sewing in the lining cease where the chin-piece begins, and also that the chin-piece has rivets for a lining.

Still the form of the chin-piece is so bad, and it is so very thin, that it seems likely that in its present form at least, it is not coeval with the rest of the helmet.<sup>1</sup> At the back, the helmet, instead of being hollowed out, extends down between the shoulders, so that it could be fastened securely to the back plate. It is very thick, indeed, towards the apex, where there is a small hole for fixing either a ring, as in the Yorkshire helmet, or more likely a crest. This helm most probably dates from about the time of the battle of Agincourt,<sup>2</sup> and it has been described thus minutely as it is a rare and interesting specimen, and but little known to lovers of ancient armour.

That it should have crept one thousand eight hundred miles up the Nile and have found its way back to Europe after four centuries and a-half is certainly passing strange.

### No. 15. Fig. 12.

Bassinet with pointed visor. The camail does not belong to it. Date about 1400. *Sir Richard Wallace, Bart.*

This bassinet comes from the Meyrick collection and was engraved by Skelton.<sup>3</sup> When exhibited, a piece of chain mail was fixed to it with a wire, but it was a recent addition and in no way belonged to it.

The bassinet with a beaked visor (called in the artistic world a pig-faced bassinet) is now scarcely ever to be obtained, and of late years several counterfeit ones have been offered for sale, but a large number, more or less perfect, exist in various museums. This particular form of bassinet appears on many monuments principally of the first quarter of the fifteenth century, but a similar helmet with a rather less acutely pointed visor is seen during the second half of the fourteenth century. On reference to the monuments<sup>4</sup> it will be seen that this headpiece was almost always worn with a camail which was usually fastened to the helmet by a series of staples as in No. 13.

Now, the existing bassinets have for the most part no staples, but on a careful examination of this example, it seems probable that it originally had them and that at a later date they have been replaced by rivets, and the same alteration may have been made in most of the other bassinets where the staples do not any longer exist. In Sir Richard Wallace's bassinet, as in Mr. Burges's, there is a row of small holes near

<sup>1</sup> Mr Burges thinks that it might be the original of the ovoid bassinet with a chin-piece riveted to it, so common on our brasses during the first half of the fifteenth century.

<sup>2</sup> Bassinets with baviers or chin-pieces were much worn at this time. The "harnois de teste" of Henry V. at Agincourt "estoit un très bel bachinet à baviere," St. Remy.

Several examples will be seen in Lonsdale and Tavyer's "Illustrations of Medieval Costume."

<sup>3</sup> "Engraved Illustrations," vol. i, p. 14.

<sup>4</sup> See the statue of St. George at Dijon. It represents a bassinet of exactly this type and all the details are most clearly and beautifully rendered. It is engraved in "Archæologia," vol. xxv,

together, close to the edge of the crown piece of the helmet. They are countersunk on the outside, so that their edges should not cut the thread used for sewing in the lining. They are continued right over the forehead, shewing conclusively that they are not for the camail. They are also too far apart and too far from the edge for rings of mail to pass through them, and the same remark will be found to apply to all the bassinets of this kind.

Above this row of holes is a row of rivets, each alternate one having a brass washer in the form of a rosette. This row of rivets, like the row of staples on Mr. Burges's bassinet, *ceases* over the forehead, that is to say, that it follows the line to which we find the camail is attached on the monuments and ceases where not required for the camail.

On examination the brass rosettes prove to be identical in form and make with those in use on morions of the sixteenth century. The pattern does not in the least resemble the work of the fourteenth or fifteenth century. They are of later date than the helmet, and on further examination it seems most probable that they occupy the places where staples originally were, for the visor does not fit at all close to the crownpiece of the helmet, a considerable space being left for the staples and the band to which the camail hung. Of the nine visored bassinets in the Musée d'Artillerie collection not one has now got staples, but it is likely that some of them have originally had them. One indeed has rosettes to its rivets of the same pattern as those on this helmet. It has often been supposed that the camail was attached to the helmet by rings passing through the small holes near the edge, but if it is remembered that these holes are continued right over the top of the face, whilst the line of rivets stops short there, it will become evident that it was to this last line that the camail must have been fixed.

It is quite probable that these helmets were still used with a standard of mail or plate after the camail with which they were originally worn had gone out of fashion, and the staples in consequence had been removed.

The visor of this bassinet is perforated with a large number of small round holes on its right side only. The back part of the hinge piece on each side is modern, but in front of each hinge near its lower end is a small hole in the visor, the use of which at first seemed a complete mystery. The Dijon statue of St. George, already mentioned, gave however a clue to it. The pin of the hinge was originally fastened to the visor by a small chain, one end of which was linked through this hole, whilst the other was fixed to a similar hole in the top of the pin. The pins could not thus be lost when the visor was removed. Several bassinets preserve these pins with holes at their tops.

Over the centre of the visor are two holes in the crown piece of the helmet now filled up with rivets. They may have been for a spring bolt which sprung out when the visor was down, and prevented an upward blow from uncovering the knight's face, or for a plume holder, as in the Coburg example.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Bassinets of this type being exceedingly rare, it may be interesting to notice the examples best known in various museums. In the Tower is one purchased at the sale of the Brocas collection. It would appear

that the visor had once been hinged on the forehead and altered later to the side hinge system.

In the Musée d'Artillerie are six of this type. A seventh, with a more bell-

## No. 16. Fig. 13.

Bassinet of the time of Henry V. exhibiting an approach to the form of a Sallad. There is a perforation at the top for the socket to hold a feather and the holes seen in the side are to fix the cap within and the orle or chaplet without. From the Meyrick Collection.

*Sir Noël Paton.*

The above is Meyrick's description of this helmet.<sup>1</sup> A close study of it, however, reveals a curious fact which will become evident if the following remarks be accompanied by an examination of the representation of the piece in Figure 13. This helmet was originally a bassinet similar in type to No. 13, Fig. 9, and in the middle of the fifteenth century it has been altered into a sallad of the fashion then prevalent in Italy. It will first be noticed that the square opening for the face cuts at its corners through an arched series of small holes exactly corresponding to those over the face-opening in the bassinets previously described. This arched series of holes indicates that the face-opening was originally arched. At the back of the helmet, near the bottom edge, there is also for the width of four inches an arch of similar holes, indicating that the helmet was originally hollowed out at the nape, like Fig. 9. Above these are distinctly seen (although they have not appeared in the photograph from which the plate was taken) a series of holes rather far apart, following the same curved line, which were probably for staples, and these also

shaped crown piece; and two others said to be English, one of which has a rather spherical visor resembling those seen in a miniature of the reign of Richard II, and the other (which I should consider Italian) looks like a Venetian sallad of the type of No. 17, with a visor to it, only the top of it is conical instead of spherical. There is also a visored bassinet with a gorget of plate, which will be mentioned later.

The museums of Chartres and Nancy each possess a bassinet of the type of Sir R. Wallace's, as do also the Armoury of Turin and the Ambras collection now at Vienna. The one at Chartres is known as the helmet of Philippe le Bel, but is of later date. At Coburg is a splendid example with all its staples, but here the visor is hinged to the centre of the forehead, as in the statue of Hartmann von Kroneberg (d. 1372), engraved by Hefner (Trachten, vol. ii, pl. 85). This Coburg helmet is engraved in Heidehoff's "Ornements du Moyen Age" (Heft, xv, pl. 3); it has its plume holder and is of blued steel.

Mr. Hefner Alteneck has a similar helmet, also with all its staples (Trachten, vol. ii, pl. 50), and Lord Londesborough has a very fine bassinet with the visor hinged in the same way, which came from the castle of Herr von Hulsolt in Bavaria (engra-

ved in Fairholt's "Miscellanea Graphica.") This mode of hinging the visor would seem to have been German, but in the Bargello at Florence there is a small detached visor of this kind. Another variety is the bassinet with a camail shaped gorget of plate. A splendid example of this, formerly in the Soltikoff and Napoleon III. collections, is now in the Musée d'Artillerie. It is engraved by Viollet-le-Duc, (Mobilier, tome v, p. 164). The date of this fashion is fixed by the monument of Philippe le Hardi at Dijon, executed about 1390, on which a similar bassinet appears.

There is an example in the Tower engraved by Hewitt (vol. ii, p. 209), but it is impossible at present to verify its authenticity, which has, I believe, been doubted. At Venice is a very large bassinet which is peculiar in that the helmet and the camail of plate are all forged in one piece. It was found with a chafron near Aquilena, and is commonly ascribed to Attila! (Journal Arch. Assoc., vol. viii, pl. 23). At Warwick a fine bassinet, with remains of a visor, has almost as absurdly been ascribed to Guy of Warwick (Grose, "Ancient Armour," pl. 42).

<sup>1</sup> "Engraved Illustrations," vol. ii, pl. 74.

appear at each side of the face opening, following a similar line to the staples in Fig. 13.

Over the centre of the face-opening are two holes exactly as in Mr. Burges's and Sir Richard Wallace's bassinets. These may have originally been for a nasal or for a vizor hinged there like the one on the statue of Hartman von Kroneburg already mentioned. The series of rivets which run round the helmet on a level with the top of the opening for the face are for a strap to which a cap for lining the helmet was sewn, the old mode of sewing in the lining by means of the set of small holes having been spoilt by the cutting down process, for the helmet has been cut round the bottom to get a straight line, and the edge then rolled over.

The rivets for a chin strap are clearly visible below those for the lining strap exactly in the position of those in the next helmet (Fig. 14.) All these holes are those which Meyrick thought were for fixing an orle, but they are too low down. The description of the next helmet will treat further of this matter.

The plume holder is ancient, but more probably dates from the time when the bassinet was transformed into a sallad of the form in vogue in Italy from 1450 to the end of the fifteenth century. In France and England such sallads were much worn by archers about 1475, and some of almost exactly this shape appear in the miniatures of a manuscript executed for Edward IV. about 1480.<sup>1</sup>

## SALLADS AND BAVIERS.

### No. 17. Fig. 14.

Sallad, Italian, with T shaped opening in front.  
Weight, 5lbs. 7oz. Armourer's mark, a star with a  
crown over it. Date, 1450 to 1490. *The Baron de Cosson.*

Although more allied in form to the bassinet, than to the sallad of German fashion this form of head-piece would seem to have been known in Italy as a *celata*. It appears as early as 1448 on a medal of Alphonso of Aragon, by Vittorio Pisano, his last dated work. The form of the opening for the face varied very much in these helmets. In some cases the Greek hoplite helmet would seem to have been imitated. Meyrick possessed one of this form,<sup>2</sup> and a fine example now in Sir Richard Wallace's collection is engraved by Viollet-le-Duc.<sup>3</sup> On the triumphal arch of Alphonso of Aragon, erected at the Castel Nuovo at Naples in 1470, are two bas-reliefs representing grand groups of warriors.<sup>4</sup> A variety of helmets of this type will be found on them.

In the helmet under consideration, the opening for the face, already very small, is guarded by a band of steel rivetted all round it. This would prevent the point of a hostile weapon from glancing into it.<sup>5</sup> On a level with the top of the opening is a series of rivets running round the helmet. These are for a strap to which the lining was sewn. Below, on

<sup>1</sup> See Hewitt, vol. iii, plates 97 and 98.

<sup>2</sup> "Engraved Illustrations," vol. ii, plate 71.

<sup>3</sup> "Mobilier," tome vi, p. 272.

<sup>4</sup> There are casts of these in the Musée d'Artillerie, Paris. Similar casts ought

to be at South Kensington, as the bas-reliefs are noble works of the finest period of the Italian renaissance. Photographs, however, can easily be obtained of them.

<sup>5</sup> This arrangement is also seen in Meyrick's *celata* just mentioned.

each side, are two rivets. The bas-reliefs of Alphonso of Aragon give a clue to the use of these. One of the principal figures in one of them is holding a celata, exactly similar to the one in question, by its chin straps as if it were a pail. These chin straps, which buckled under the chin, were fixed to the helmet by the two rivets. Several of the helmets of this type on the bas-relief are represented with wreaths or orles, but the wreath is always *above* the line of rivets which appears clearly below it. On the monument of Antonio Rido,<sup>1</sup> a noble Paduan general who died in 1475, is represented a similar celata, ornamented apparently with bands of applied metal, with a ball for a crest and a scarf tied round it in place of a wreath.

Indeed, the very earliest example the author has met with, the one on Pisano's medal dated 1448, is grandly ornamented, and has a crest somewhat in the shape of a cock's comb. The chin straps are also clearly represented in this helmet. In general appearance it much resembles the latest form of the celata Veneziana which will be described under No. 33 and is represented in pl. II, fig. 29.

In the grand battle piece by Ucello, in the National Gallery, young Malatesta carries in his hand a helmet with the T shaped opening, like the one under consideration, but it is covered with velvet and studded with gilt nails.

#### No. 18. Fig. 15.

Sallad, Italian, of classic form, with slight projections for the ears. From Fortuny's Collection at Rome. Armourer's mark, two stars. Date 1450 to 1490.

*The Baron de Cosson.*

The influence of the study of classic art is clearly traceable in the beautiful curves of this head-piece so admirably fitted to the shape of the skull. Each projection for the ears is pierced with six small holes to facilitate hearing, for in common with all the Italian helmets of this period this celata fits the head very closely. In the north it was customary to leave a large space between the helmet and the head, which was filled with a thickly wadded cap, and which served to deaden the force of a blow on the head-piece, but the Italian sense of beauty required that the apparent size of the head should not be exaggerated.

Just above the top of the opening for the face is a series of small holes for sewing in a lining. These holes cease under the ears, and the cap must have been cut away there so as not to impede hearing. The last hole on each side next to the ears is filled with a rivet, which served to fix the chin strap. In the top of the helmet is a small hole for fixing a crest. In Ucello's battle piece in the National Gallery will be seen two sallads of this form, with nasals curving boldly outwards. One of the bas-reliefs of Alphonso show this same nasal, which it there clearly appears was *hinged*, turned back over the crown of the helmet, which it exactly fits. It was only lowered when in action. We shall meet with a similar contrivance two centuries later in the so-called spider helmets of the reign of Henry IV. of France, No. 97, fig. 112.

<sup>1</sup> In the Church of S<sup>ta</sup> Francesca Romana at Rome. See Bonnard. pl. 133.

## No. 19. Fig. 16.

Sallad, Italian, of fine form, with plume holder of gilt brass and an applied ornament round the edge, of the same material. From Rhodes. Date 1470 to 1500.

*The Museum of Artillery, Woolwich.*<sup>1</sup>

This is one of the various helmets which the authorities of the Museum of Artillery at Woolwich most kindly allowed the author to select for exhibition. In form it is distinctly Italian. On the arch of Alphonso, already mentioned, several sallads will be seen of the same kind. The plume holder is shaped like an Italian shield, and on it is engraved a vase with flowers. It is fixed to the helmet by two rivets with flat heads, stamped with a sort of rosette. One of them is represented on Plate II at B, and we shall find these identical rivets used on several head-pieces of the same period, as for instance on the sallad next to be described and on the armets, Nos. 38 and 39.

The style of the engraving on the escutcheon is quite that of Italian fifteenth century work. The brass border is three quarters of an inch wide and is represented (with its section) half the real size at A. The helmet has had chin straps, the rivets for which remain, together with a small piece of leather on one side. The rivets with which the brass border is fixed are of brass. Those which secured the strap for the lining are of iron, with a small brass cap soldered on to their heads. There is a somewhat salient ridge or crest running from front to back of the helmet. It is altogether a most beautiful example of the Italian head-piece of the close of the fifteenth century.

## No. 20. Fig. 17.

Sallad of an archer or foot soldier, with a reinforcing piece on the front and a jointed tail piece. From Rhodes. Date 1460 to 1500.

*The Museum of Artillery, Woolwich.*<sup>2</sup>

There is in the Musée d'Artillerie another sallad very similar to this, which also came from Rhodes, only the piece on the front is hollowed like the simulated visor on many Roman helmets.<sup>3</sup> It is altogether a finer piece of work than the Woolwich one.

This form of helmet is often seen in Italian pictures of the end of the fifteenth century, notably on a soldier in the background of Boccaccio Boccaccino's procession to Calvary in the National Gallery.

The Woolwich helmet has no crest or ridge. The rivets for the lining are flush on the outside (so have not appeared in Fig. 17) and their heads on the inside are stamped like the one drawn at B. One of these rivets also remains to fix the reinforcing piece. There has been an armourer's mark but it is nearly effaced.

<sup>1</sup> Woolwich Catalogue, Cl. xvi, No. 201.

<sup>2</sup> Woolwich Catalogue, Class xvi, No. 205. The visor is there stated to be

movable. This is a mistake. It has got loose, but was never meant to move.

<sup>3</sup> Cat. of Musée d'Art, II24.



## No. 21. Fig. 18.

Sallad, probably Flemish. From Rhodes. Date 1460 to 1500. *The Museum of Artillery, Woolwich.*<sup>1</sup>

This piece is unique in form, nor has the author met with any representation of a helmet exactly of this shape. The rivets for lining and chin straps are nearly flush with the outside. There is no ridge. Mr. Burges attributed a Flemish origin to it on account of its clumsy form, but it is difficult to assign it positively to any country until a representation of it shall have been found on some monument.

## No. 22. Fig. 19.

Sallad, of German form, from Rhodes. Date about 1450. *The Museum of Artillery, Woolwich.*<sup>2</sup>

This sallad is unusual in form from its great depth and from the very slight projection of its tail. A comparison of Fig. 19 with Figs. 20, 21, and 23, which are the normal types of German sallad of the second half of the fifteenth century, will show how much this sallad differs from the usual shape. A series of rivets, flush on the outside, maintained a strap just above the level of the slit for the eyes to which the wadded cap or lining was sewn. The bottom edge is rolled outwards over a wire, but, as will be seen by a small section close to the figure of the head-piece, this rolled edge does not, as is usually the case, project beyond the level of the outer surface of the sallad.

It is impossible to determine exactly the date and country of this sallad, but it would seem an earlier form than those which are next to be described. It approaches more nearly to the chapel de fer with a slit in it which appears to have suggested the origin of these German sallads. There is a very curious example, if genuine, of this prototype in the collection of Prince Charles of Prussia.<sup>3</sup>

## No. 23. Fig 20.

Sallad and Mentonniere or Bavier. This defence for the head was worn during the greater part of the second half of the fifteenth century. Date, 1450 to 1490. *The Baron de Cosson.*

The sallad and the chin-piece or bavier, although fitting one another so well that it has been thought instructive to place them together, were obtained, the one from Germany and the other from Spain. In the helmet, the long tail piece, the chief characteristic of the German form of sallad, is much more marked than in the last example. In battle these helmets were worn nearly horizontal, the slit in the front serving to look through. It will be observed that just below this slit the front of the helmet is strongly salient so as to guard the slit from the adversary's thrust.

<sup>1</sup> Woolwich Catalogue, Class xvi, 210.

<sup>2</sup> Woolwich Catalogue, Class xvi, 209.

<sup>3</sup> "Die Waffensammlung Sr Königlichen Hoheit des Prinzen Carl von Preussen,"

Nürnberg. Taf. 6. A similar one in the Londesborough Collection is engraved in Fairholt's "Miscellanea Graphica." Genuine?

When not actually fighting the wearer threw back his sallad and wore it somewhat as a coalheaver wears his hat, looking out from under it. The surface of this sallad has a watered appearance like an oriental watered sword blade. The steel of which it is composed must have been strong in carbon, and the hammering together of the small pieces in which it was produced has caused the appearance mentioned.<sup>1</sup>

The rivets for the lining are nearly flush on the outside but on the inside they have large flat heads three-quarters of an inch in diameter. The edges, as in almost all armour of the fifteenth century, are rolled outwards.

The bavier was removed from a helmet which had belonged to the opera house at Madrid, the crown of which was formed of part of an old cuirassier's helmet. The author saw it in that state in Don José

<sup>1</sup> Sir Henry Bessemer, in a recent lecture on steel at the Cutler's Hall, related how the steel used by the medieval armourer was produced, and as his account explains many of the peculiar qualities and appearances of the metal which we find in ancient armour and weapons, it will add to the interest of these notes if the words of so high an authority be quoted.

"It may be instructive to pause just sufficiently to get a glimpse at the system of manufacture as pursued by the artificers in steel of that period when the Bilbao, the Andrew Ferrara, and the famous Toledo blades were manufactured; for, perhaps, at no period of the history of steel was the skill of the workman more necessary or more conspicuously displayed. The small Catalan forges used for the production of iron and steel at that period were scattered throughout the Spanish Pyrenees and the southern provinces of France. The ores selected by the manufacturer were either the brown or red hematites or the rich spathose ores, still found so abundantly in Bilbao. This small blast-furnace, some two feet only in height, was blown by bellows formed of the untanned skins of animals, trodden on alternately by the foot, the fuel being exclusively charcoal. It is important to remember that the ore reduced to the metallic state in the Catalan furnace never becomes sufficiently carburetted to admit of its fusion, as is the case in all the blast-furnaces in use at the present day; but, on the contrary, the metal sinks down through the burning charcoal to the lowest part of the furnace where the lumps of reduced ore agglutinate and form an ill-shaped coherent mass, the various portions of which are more or less perfectly carburetted, so that while some portions of the lump might be classed as soft iron, other parts have passed through every grade of carburization, from the mildest to the hardest and most refractory steel.

The mass of metal thus formed, and weighing from 40 lbs. to 60 lbs., is removed by simply pulling down a portion of the front of the furnace. It is then taken by the workmen to the anvil, where it is cut into smaller pieces and sorted for quality; those portions judged by the workmen to most nearly resemble each other are put together, and, after reheating, are welded into a rough bar. This is again cut into short lengths, which are piled together, welded, and drawn out. By these successive operations the several thick lumps of which the bar was originally composed have been reduced to a number of thin layers; and at each successive heating of the stratified mass that tendency which carbon has to equally diffuse itself results in the more highly carburised or harder portions losing some of their carbon, which is absorbed by the less carburised or milder portions of the laminated bar, thus equalising the temper of the whole mass, and conferring on it a far greater degree of uniformity in texture than at first sight would appear possible. It was clearly to the skill of the operator, and the exercise of an empirical knowledge acquired by long practice, that the world was in those days indebted for the excellent blades produced. Each piece of steel thus made had its own special degree of strength and elasticity. The artisan continually tested it again and again, and if he found it too hard he exposed the blade in the open air for many months to rust or get milder, or he buried some parts of it in charcoal powder on his forge-hearth, and patiently waited many hours while he kept up a gentle fire under it, so as to further carburise the edge or the point as he deemed advisable, but without affecting the general temper of the whole blade; he had also his own special and peculiar mode of hardening and tempering."

The lecture has been published at the *Ironmonger Office*, 44A, Cannon Street.

Vera's collection at Seville. It then passed into the possession of Fortuny. On the upper part of it are three armourer's marks, a crowned M and the cross-keys twice repeated; on the lower part I H crowned twice repeated.

These baviers were strapped round the gorget of plate or hausse-col and were generally also fixed at their lower extremity to the breastplate.

No. 24. Fig. 21.

Sallad, German, of remarkably fine form and workmanship. From the Soeter collection at Augsburg.

Date, 1450 to 1490.

*The Baron de Cosson.*

This sallad is remarkably strong and well-finished in its workmanship. The armourer's mark is a K. There is a stout piece of metal riveted on the inside just over the slit for the eyes to give extra strength. The curves about this slit are all calculated to deflect a sword point striking anywhere near it.

The rivets for the lining have convex heads with brass caps soldered on to them. Fragments of the leather strap remain, and a loop at one side would seem to show that it was fixed under the chin with a thong or cord. In the summit of the helmet is a hole probably for a plume or crest.

No. 25. Fig. 22.

Sallad and Mentonniere, German. Date, 1450 to 1490.

*Mr. W. Burges.*

Very similar to the last in general form, this sallad is much lighter. It only weighs 5lbs. 2½oz., whilst No. 24 weighs 7lbs. 8oz.

The mentonniere or bavier differs from the one described under No. 23, in that the upper portion is formed of two pieces, the top one being hinged at the sides, so that it could be pushed down over the lower one. The wearer could thus speak clearly without removing the bavier. A spring catch kept it in its place when raised. A bavier which was not jointed like this one must have much impeded the voice. It is considerably thinner and lighter than No. 23, and its lower portion descends further over the chest. It was probably intended to be worn over a brigandine.

No. 26. Fig. 24.

Sallad, German, probably of a mounted archer. It retains much of its original lining and its chin strap. It was probably painted on the outside. A similar sallad in the Tower, painted on the outside, came from the Castle of Ort in Bavaria. Date, 1450 to 1490.

*The Baron de Cosson.*

This sallad, which came from Munich, has been very fully described and illustrated by Mr. Burges in a recent number of the *Archæological*

*Journal*.<sup>1</sup> The small holes, in pairs, which will be seen in Fig 24, were for the purpose of sewing in a lining which covered the inside of the visor, and that portion of the sallad which was not lined with the wadded cap of which the greater portion still remains. It is curious that this arrangement, which must have made the head-piece more comfortable, was not adopted in the heavier knight's sallads, but it was perhaps thought more necessary in a light head-piece like this which would be driven against the face by a heavy blow and was probably worn without a bavier.

Viollet-le-Duc<sup>2</sup> engraves two archers from a manuscript of the "*Passages d'outre mer*" who wear this identical form of sallad and the front view shows that no bavier was worn with it. These sallads are also peculiar for the flattish tops of their crowns, there is no ridge whatever; also for their great length from front to back. This one is eighteen inches long. Viollet-le-Duc<sup>3</sup> describes and engraves a very similar sallad now in Sir Richard Wallace's collection, but he was probably in error when he pronounced it to be French.

Count von Törring Jettenbach at Munich possesses a similar sallad. Durer's "Knight" wears a sallad of this type, as do also the brothers Baumgartner in their portraits by Durer at Munich.<sup>4</sup>

There is a similar sallad at Venice in the Museo Civico.

#### No. 27. Fig. 23.

Sallad, with visor, from Rhodes. Date 1450 to 1490.

*The Museum of Artillery, Woolwich.*<sup>5</sup>

This is a good example of the visored sallad, but the point of the tail has received a blow and been turned up. A spring catch on the right side held the visor in its place when down; when raised the whole of the face was exposed. This helmet is principally remarkable for the very large hollow twisted heads of the rivets for its lining cap.<sup>6</sup> These large and beautiful rivet heads appear on several effigies,<sup>7</sup> but not often on actually existing sallads.

#### No. 28.

Sallad, with visor and jointed tail piece. The tail piece is wrongly mounted. From Rhodes. Date, 1450 to 1490.

*The Museum of Artillery, Woolwich.*<sup>8</sup>

This helmet was not photographed for engraving on account of the clumsy and incorrect way in which the tail pieces had been riveted on.

The general form of the sallad is similar to that of Fig. 23, only the tail piece is formed of two jointed plates, so that when the sallad was

<sup>1</sup> Vol. xxxvii, page 180.

<sup>2</sup> "Mobilier," tome v, pp. 57-58.

<sup>3</sup> "Mobilier," tome vi, p. 264.

<sup>4</sup> Hefner, "Trachten," vol. iii, plates 113, 114.

<sup>5</sup> Woolwich Catalogue, Class xvi, No. 207.

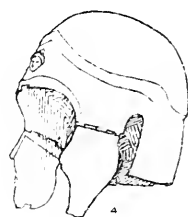
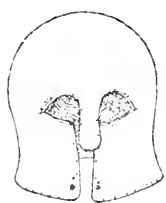
<sup>6</sup> Engraved at C, on Plate 2, half size.

<sup>7</sup> The effigy of a Neville in Brancepeth

Church, Durham, engraved by Stothard in his "Monumental Effigies," and supposed to be that of Ralph 2nd Earl of Westmorland, who died in 1484, has rivets like these, and Hefner, "Trachten," vol. ii, plate 131, gives a German example of the same date.

<sup>8</sup> Woolwich Catalogue, Class xvi, No. 208.

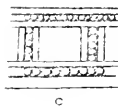
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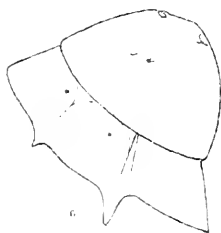
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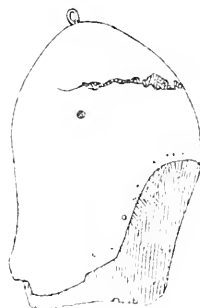
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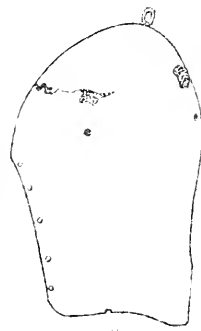
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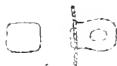
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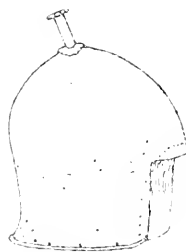
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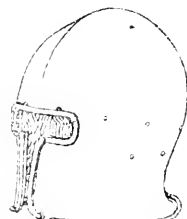
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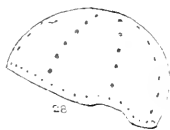
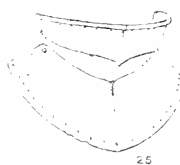
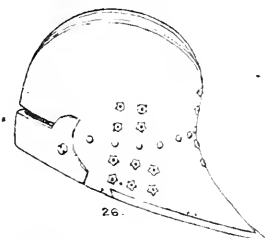
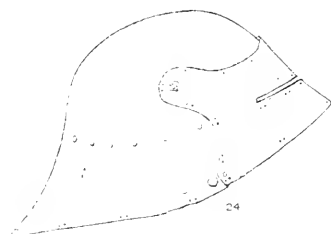
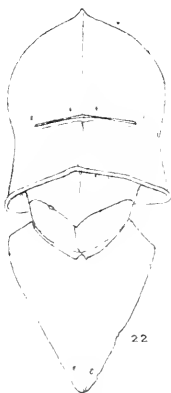
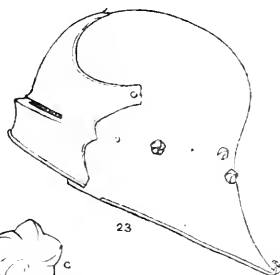
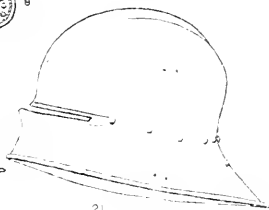
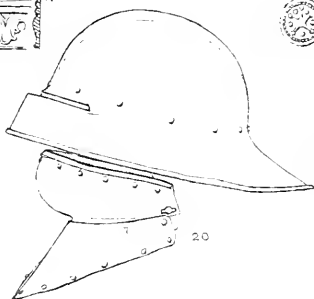
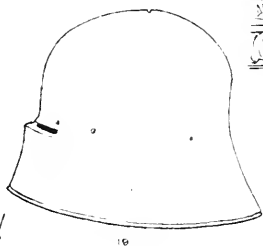
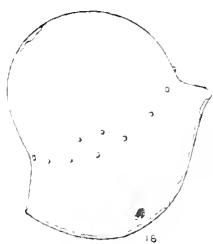
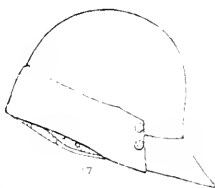
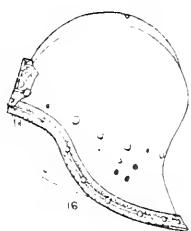
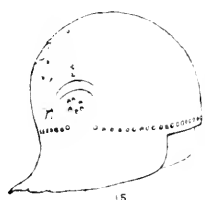
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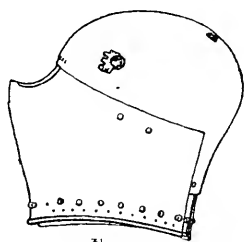
SALLADS & BAVIERS.



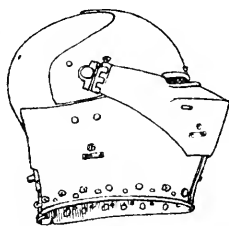




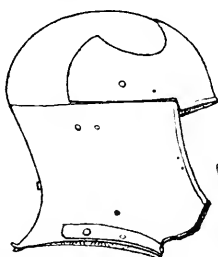
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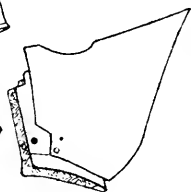
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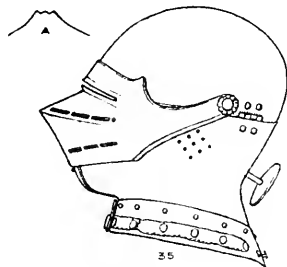
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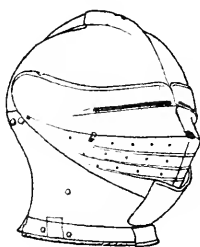
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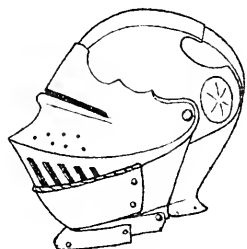
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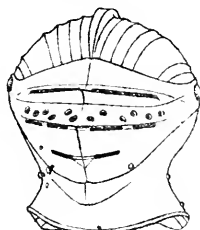
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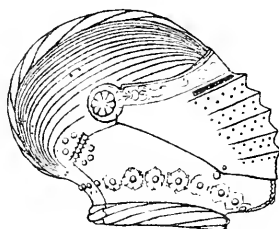
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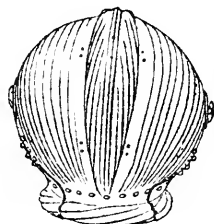
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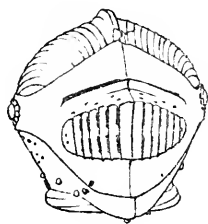
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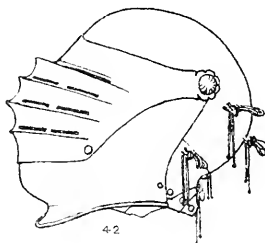
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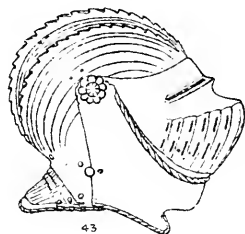
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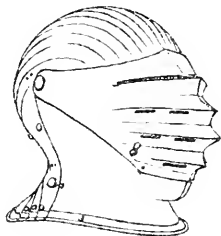
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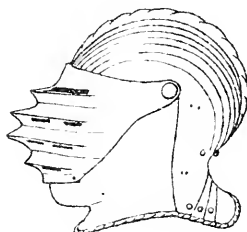
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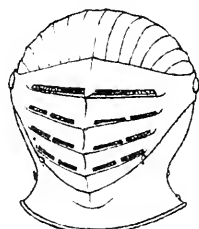
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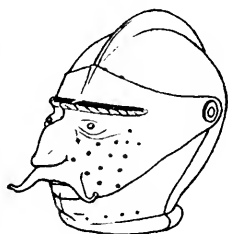
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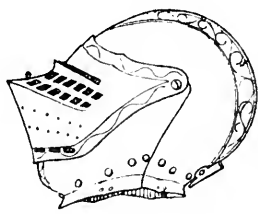
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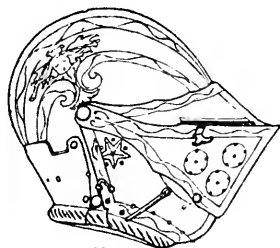
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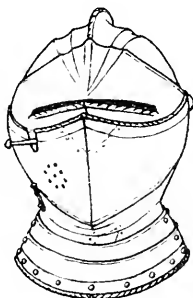
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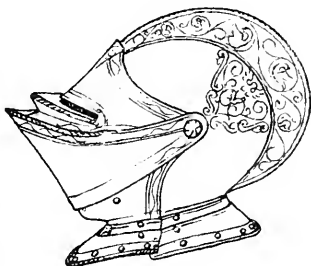
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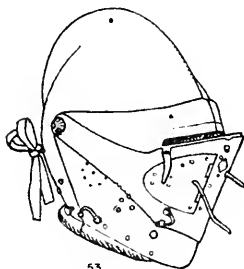
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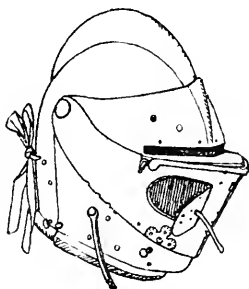
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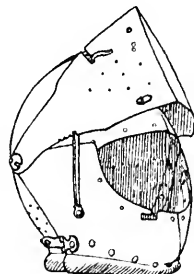
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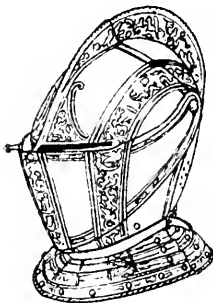
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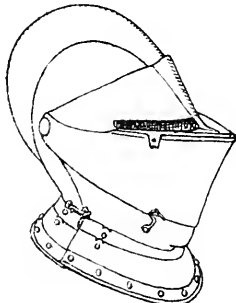
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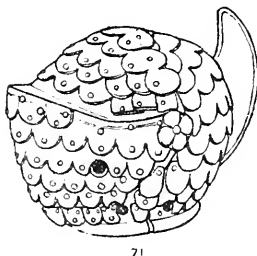
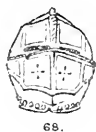
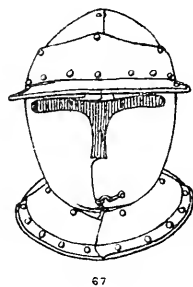
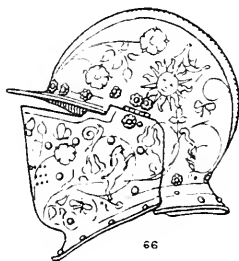
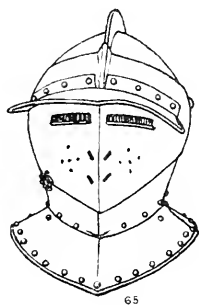
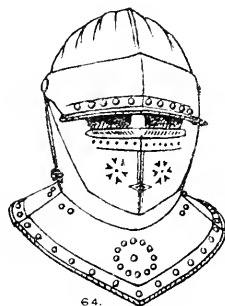
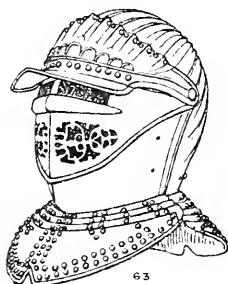
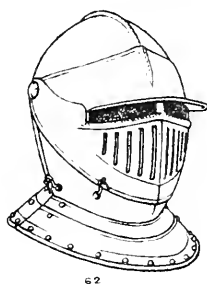
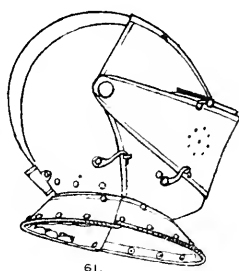
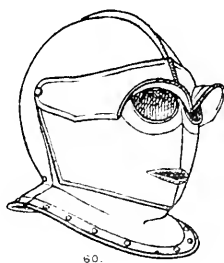
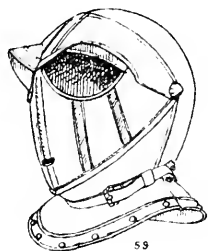
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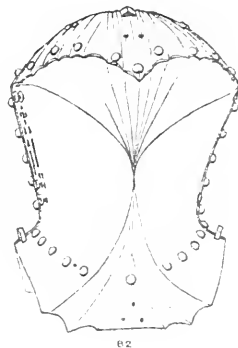
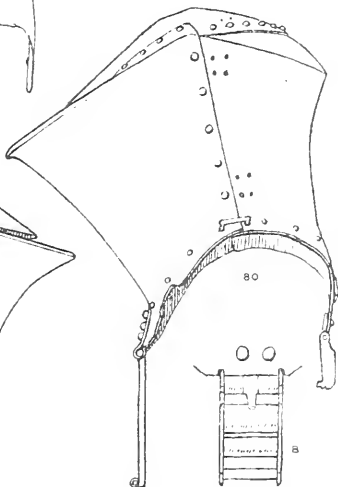
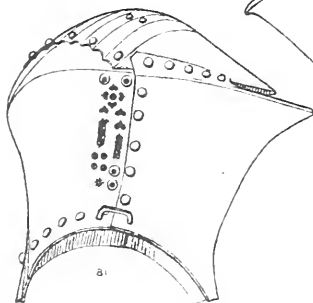
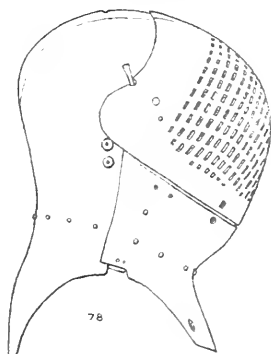
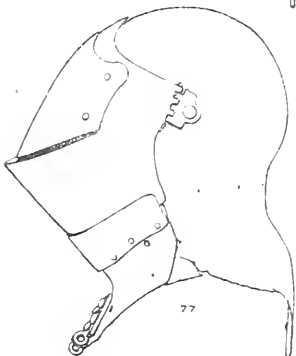
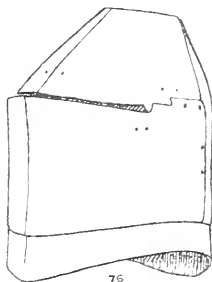
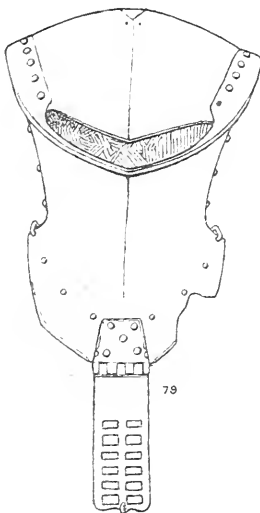
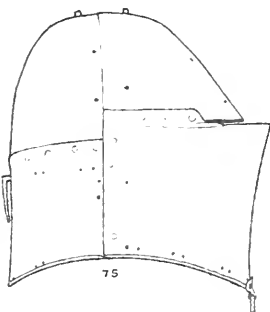
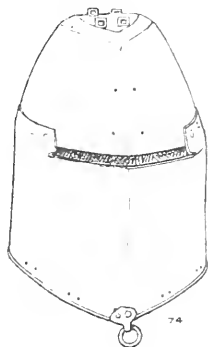
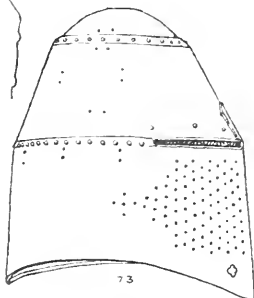
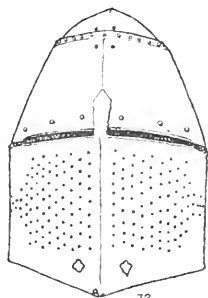


CLOSE HELMETS.





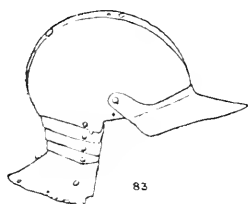
TILTING, JOUSTING, & TOURNAMENT HELMS



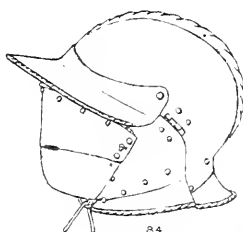




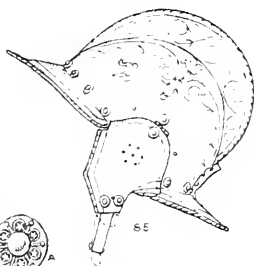
## BURGONETS & BUFFES



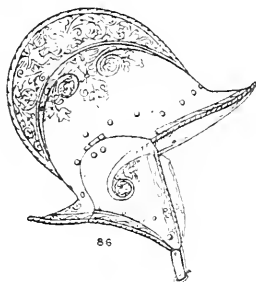
83



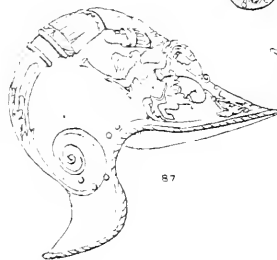
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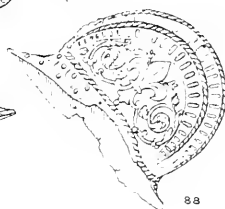
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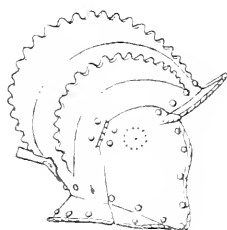
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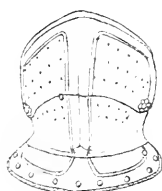
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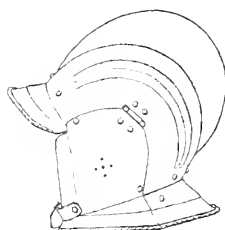
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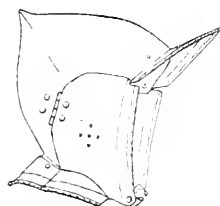
89



90



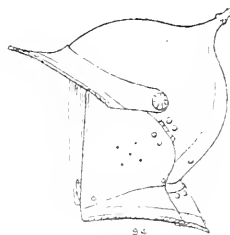
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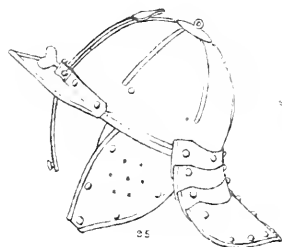
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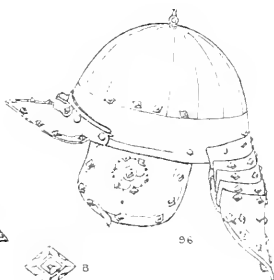
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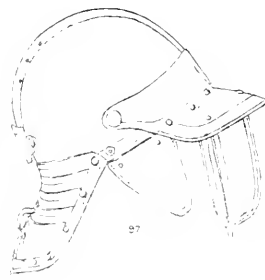
94



95



96



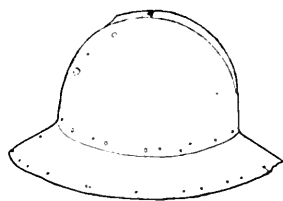
97



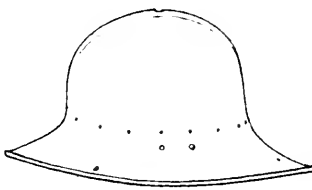
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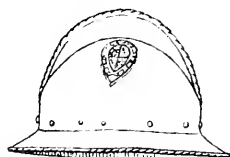
## MORIONS. CABASSETS, ETC.



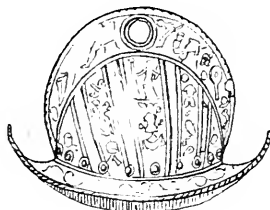
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99



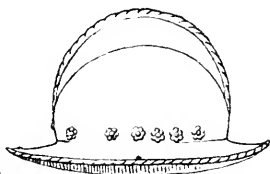
100



101



102



103



104



105



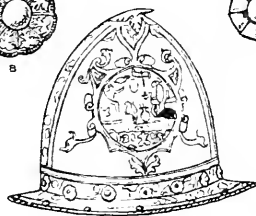
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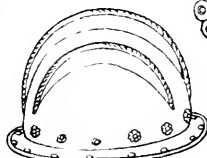
B



C



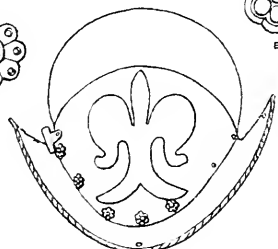
107



108



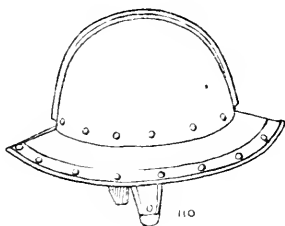
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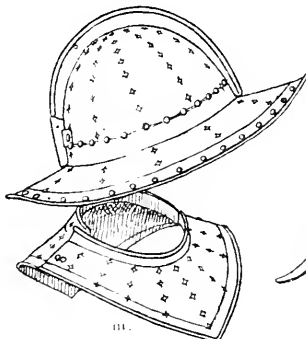
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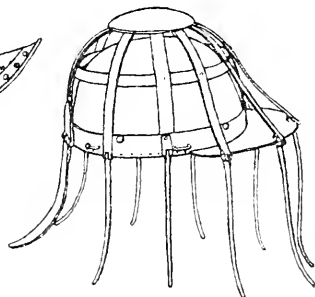
E



110



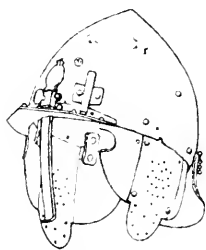
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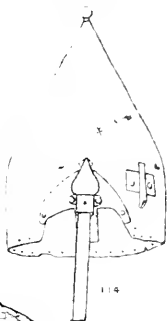
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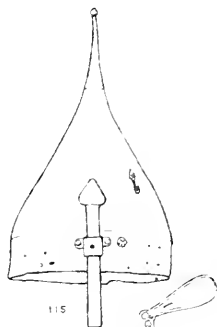
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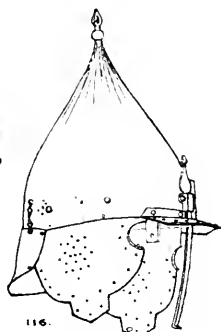
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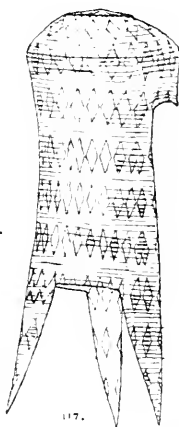
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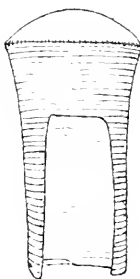
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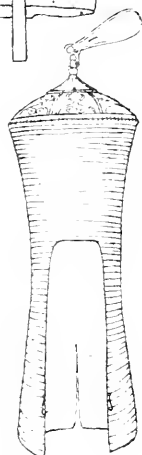
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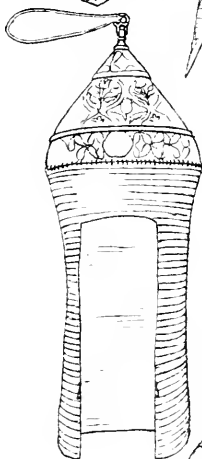
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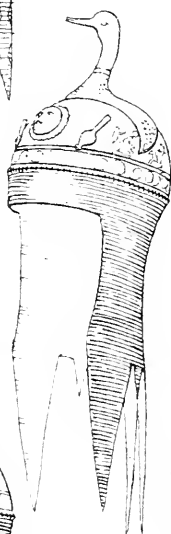
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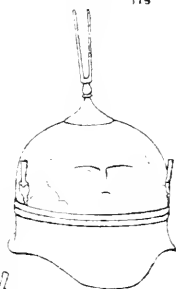
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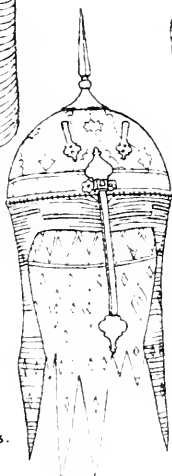
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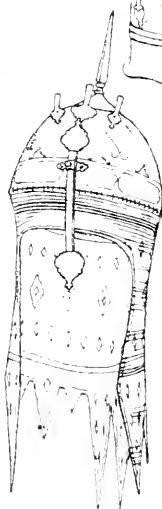
121



122



123.



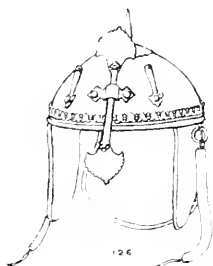
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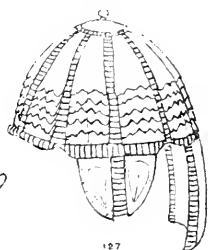
## ORIENTAL



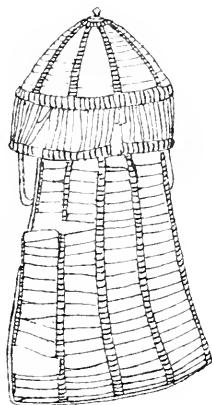
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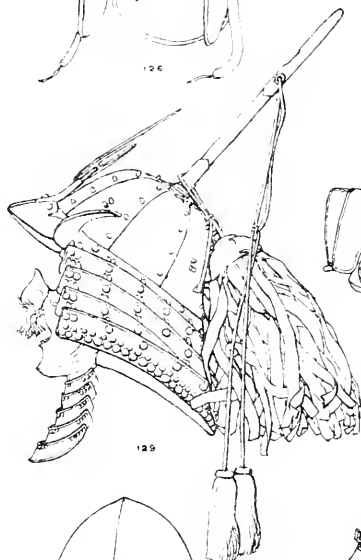
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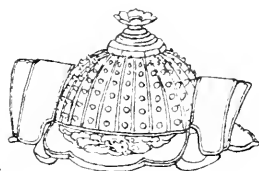
127



128



129



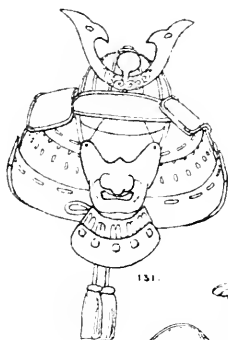
130



B



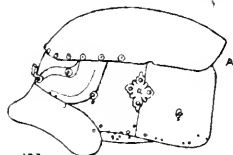
C



131



132



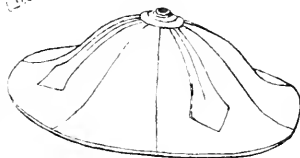
133



E



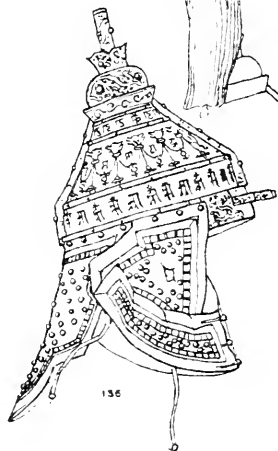
134



135



D



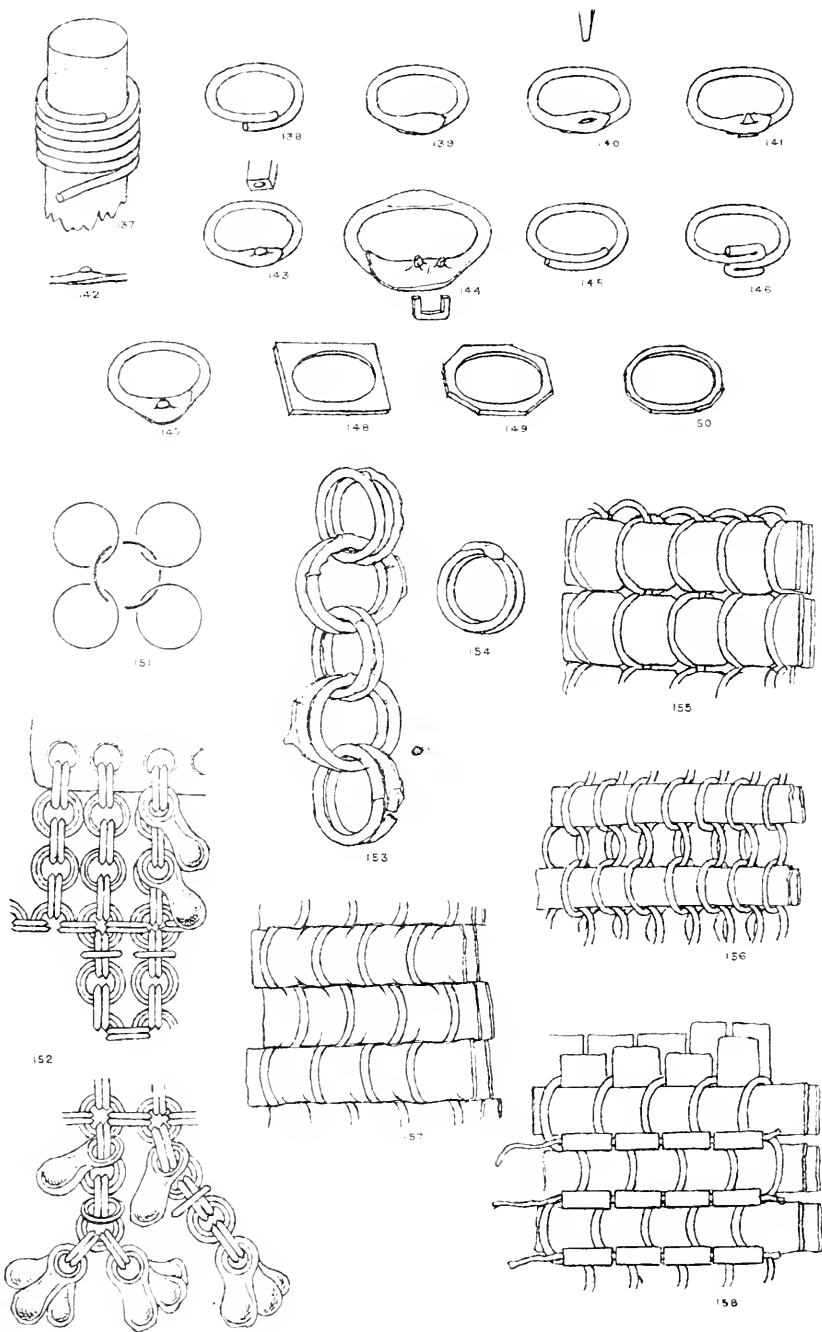
136

D



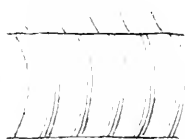


## MANUFACTURE.





## CONVENTIONAL REPRESENTATION



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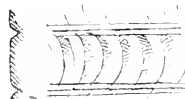
51



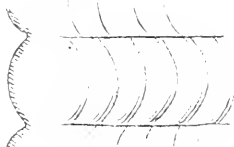
52



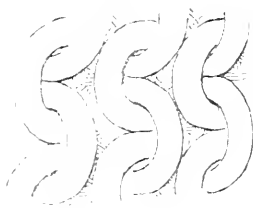
53



54



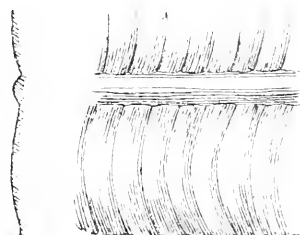
55



56

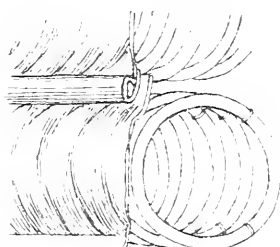
## BANDED MAIL.

## RESTORATION



166

NEWTON, SCOTNEY



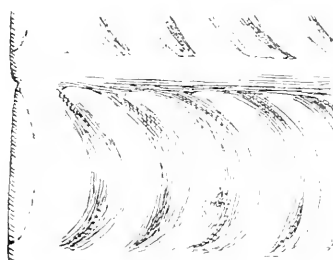
167



168

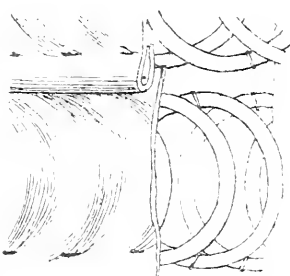


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170

TEWESBURY



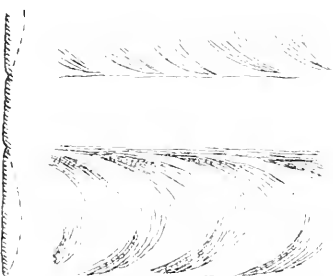
171



172

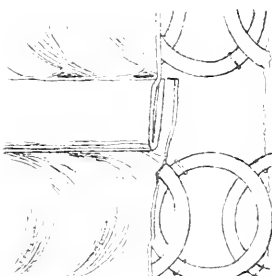


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174

GODFORD



175



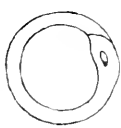
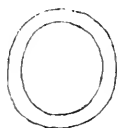
176



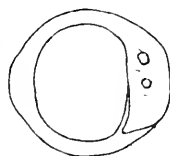
177



## EUROPEAN.



176



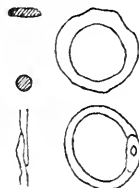
178



180



181



182



183



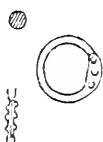
184



185



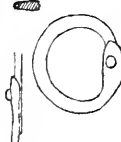
186



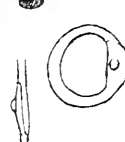
187



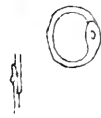
188



189

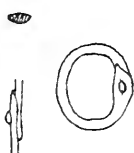


190

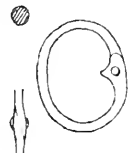


191

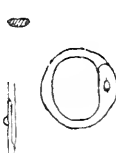
## ORIENTAL



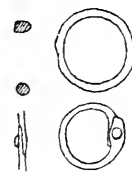
192



193



194



195



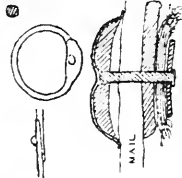
196



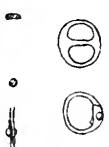
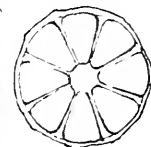
197



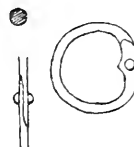
198



199



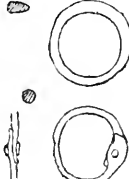
200



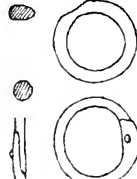
201



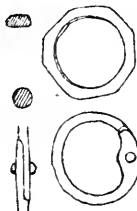
202



203

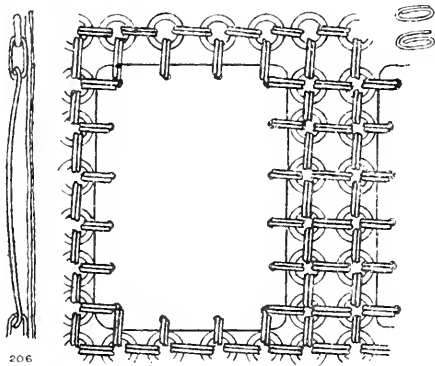


204

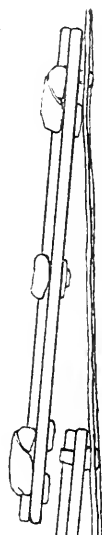
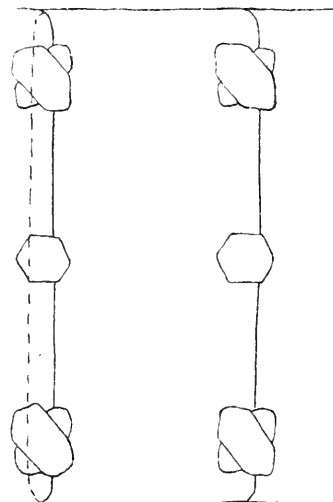
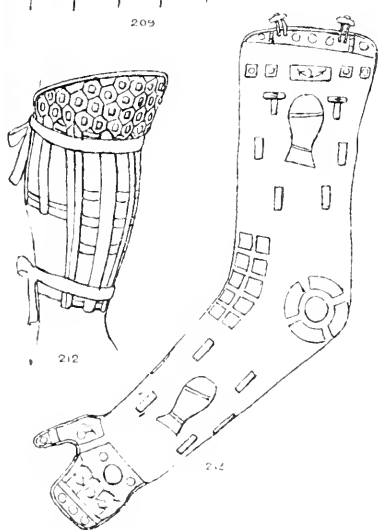
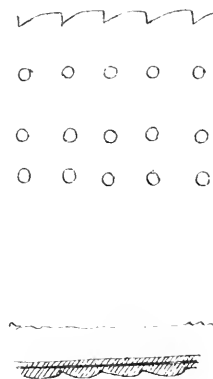
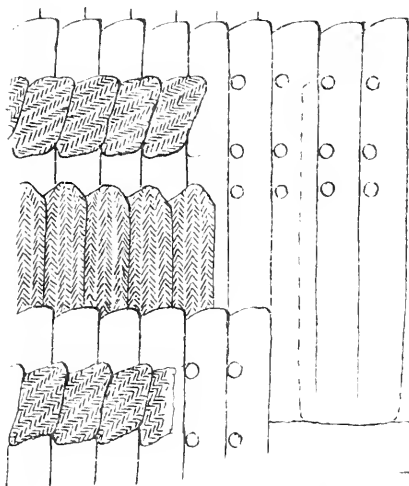
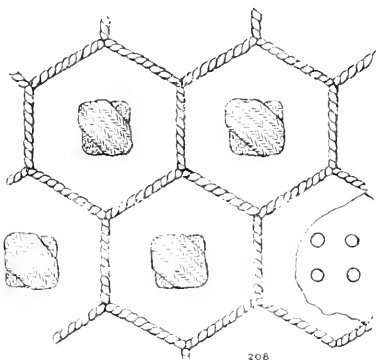


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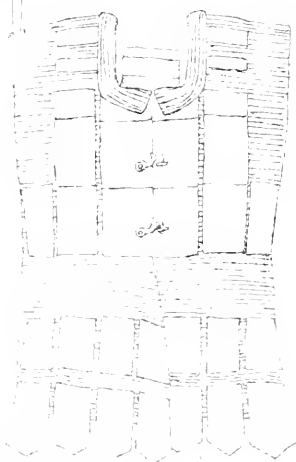
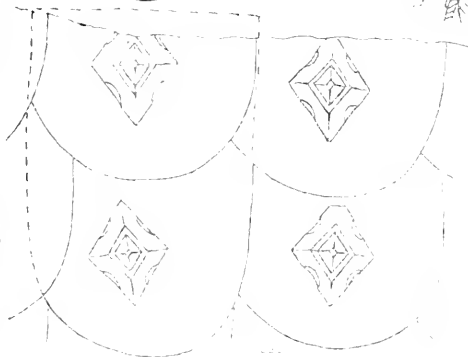
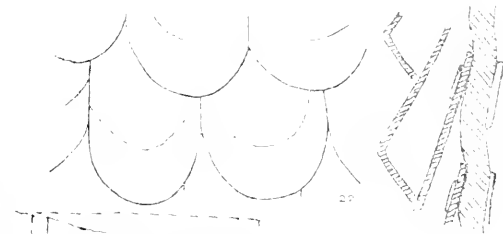
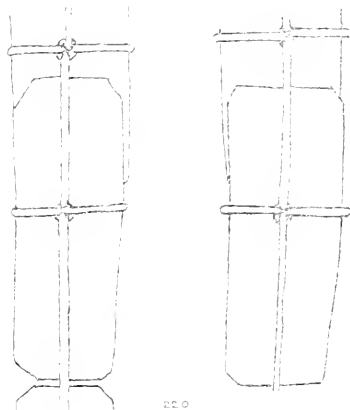
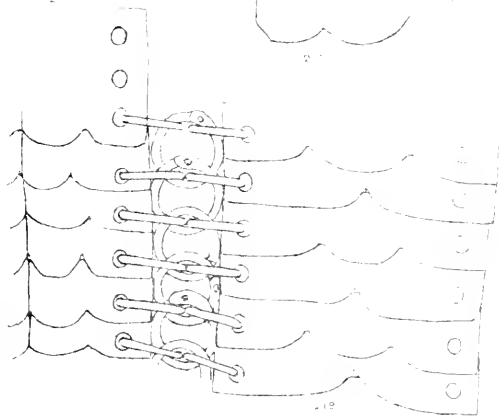
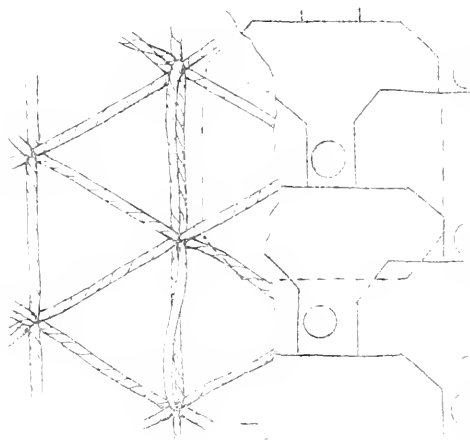
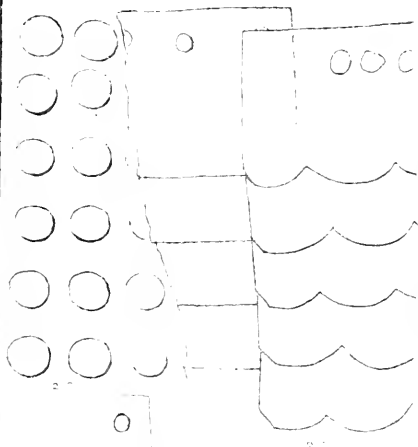


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thrown back on the head, the head also could be thrown back freely. This arrangement was not uncommon in German sallads of the end of the fifteenth century. The rivets in this instance were flush on the outside.

## No. 29. Fig. 25.

Mentonniere or Bavier of a Sallad. The upper plate could be lowered to allow greater facility in breathing and speaking. Date, 1450 to 1490. *The Baron de Cosson.*

This bavier retains the spring catch to keep the upper plate in its place. The lining was sewn in through the numerous small holes round the edges of the piece, which does not seem to have been fastened to the breastplate and probably was worn over a brigandine. It is thin like the bavier of No. 25.

## No. 30. Fig. 26.

Tilting Sallad of great strength and exceptional beauty of form. It retains part of its original lining. Its aiglette holes are edged with pewter. Date 1480 to 1500.

*Sir Noël Paton.*

This sallad, the surface of which is of a fine black colour, has belonged to a suit of tilting armour, such as is worn by many of the jousts in the "Triumph of Maximilian," and of which several actual examples exist in different collections.<sup>1</sup> These jousting sallads are generally heavier than those used in war, flatter in front below the slit for the eyes, as they were worn inside a mentonniere which was screwed to the breastplate and reached up to the eye slit, instead of *over* a bavier as in fig. 22; and they often have tails square at the back instead of pointed, but the present example is of the latter form. The rim, which extends round the edge of the tail of this sallad (but is discontinued in front on account of the mentonniere), is rivetted on instead of turned over. There is a reinforcing piece screwed on to the front of the helmet under the slit. On examining the interior it appears that the part of the helmet which this piece covers was not forged in one with the body of the sallad, but welded in afterwards, as if the sallad had originally been open in front, with a movable visor. This reinforcing piece served another purpose besides covering the welded piece, and that was to support the lower edges of those two plates in the form of a quarter of a circle, generally ribbed, which appear on all the tilting sallads in the "Triumph of Maximilian," and of which many actual examples still remain. At their upper joints they were held by a forked steel spring, the hole for the screw of which exists in the crest of this helmet, and at their lower edges they fitted in behind that portion of the reinforcing piece which projects up on either side of the slit and which is not close to the surface of the sallad. These plates

<sup>1</sup> Musée d'Artillerie, Ambras collection, Vienna, &c.

were easily displaced by a blow, and it was a particularly neat stroke to remove them with the point of the lance.<sup>1</sup>

There are two other holes with screw threads in the finely forged ridge of this sallad; but the most remarkable feature in the helmet is the presence of twenty-six aiglette holes mounted with pewter rims, one of which is drawn (half size) at D, on Plate II. There are ten of these on each side and a group of six at the back, three being on each side of the medial line of the helmet. In one of Albert Durer's celebrated tilting helms he represents aiglettes coming through holes like these and tied on the outside, and they must have kept the lining of the helm from flapping about the wearer's head. They were probably used for the same purpose in this sallad,<sup>2</sup> but their number is astonishing. Some of them may have served for fixing the plumes, wreaths, and mantling which appear in such profusion on the sallads in the Triumph of Maximilian. It must also be remembered that aiglettes were ornamental, and on some dresses of the period of this sallad, especially in Italy, they appear in a profusion which indicates fashion rather than use as their motive. The wadded lining itself, of which the greater part remains, has the same arrangement in its centre as the sallad No. 26, described by Mr. Burges in the *Archæological Journal* (vol. xxxvii), viz., it is made of four segments drawn together in the centre by aiglettes and thus allowing ventilation in the middle. The lining is sewn to a leather strap, the rivets of which appear on a level with the eye slit.

#### No. 31. Fig. 27.

Mentonniere, engraved and gilt, Italian. Date 1510 to 1520. *The Executors of the late Mr. J. W. Baily.*

The surface of this piece, where not engraved, preserves its original blued tint. The bands of engraving are gilt. The upper part of the mentonniere is jointed so that it could be lowered, and is kept in its place by a catch. The style of the engraving is Italian, and indicates the date given above. This is a very late example of this form of bavier. It may have belonged to a tilting suit. The piece is now in the collection of the author.

#### No. 32. Fig. 30.

Sallad screwed to its mentonniere, from a tilting suit of the time of Elizabeth. From the Brocas collection. Date about 1560. *The Executors of the late Mr. J. W. Baily.*

Several tilting suits are in existence<sup>3</sup> with this kind of helmet, which

<sup>1</sup> They are explained and illustrated from an example, formerly at Pierrefonds, by Viollet-le-Duc, "Mobilier," tome ii, page 404. The helmet there drawn is now in the Musée d'Artillerie where there are half-a-dozen of the finest tilting sallads in existence. The last time the author visited the Tower he noticed a suit of 15th century armour, on which was a tilting sallad with these movable plates, only they were hung to its sides like *chack-pieces*!

<sup>2</sup> See note to Helmet No. 43.

<sup>3</sup> G 124 in the Musée d'Artillerie has this form of helmet, and H 135 is a separate helmet and mentonniere of the same kind. In the Catalogue they are given to quite the end of the sixteenth or the beginning of the seventeenth century. The similarity of the workmanship of these pieces to that of the helmets Nos. 56 and 57, which are found on suits of the period of Henry II. of France, would seem to show that they are of the same date. Napoleon III. possessed a very fine sallad of the same kind, now in

is the latest form of the German visored sallad with a long tail. The mentonniere was firmly screwed to the breastplate. On its right side is a small hinged door, which could be opened for facility in speaking. This arrangement will be found in several close helmets of this date later on. (Nos. 58 and 59). The sallad, which has a high comb and a long tail at the back, was firmly fixed to the mentonniere by a screw and nut; and the original nut remains. The hinged visor could be raised without unfixing the sallad from the mentonniere, as it fits within the front part of the sallad. This helmet is now in the author's collection.

## No. 33. Fig. 29.

Sallad, Venetian, used for pageants. Beginning of the seventeenth century. *Mr. R. Hillingford.*

As under the previous number we have had the latest form of the sallad of German origin, here we have the latest form of the Italian sallad. It is thin and light, weighing only 3lbs. 0½oz. The body of it is of iron, covered with red velvet. The applied ornaments are also of iron, but they have been painted red and then gilt. These helmets were probably worn by the body guard of the Doge.

## No. 34.

Sallad, Venetian, used for pageants. Seventeenth century. *Mr. T. B. Hardy.*

A similar sallad to the last, also covered with red velvet, but without the gilt foliage ornaments. The lining, of stamped and gilt leather, did not seem to belong to it.

## No. 35. Fig. 28.

Italian skull cap. It was originally covered with stuff and was found near Rome with a skeleton, a dagger and fragments of a brigandine. Date 1450 to 1490.

*The Baron de Cosson.*

Most carefully modelled on the shape of the human skull, this is probably the form of headpiece called by the Italians *scuffia* or *cuffia*. It was covered both inside and outside with stuff sewed at the edges of the piece through a series of small holes. The rows of larger holes radiating from its centre were to give coolness and ventilation, very necessary in so close fitting a headpiece. Similar helmets are represented in many Italian pictures of the second half of the fifteenth century, notably in Carpaccio's picture at Venice.

the Musée d'Artillerie, which is entirely covered with engraving *painted* and gilt. The style of the engraving indicates the middle of the century. Prince Charles of

Prussia has a suit with this form of helmet.

<sup>1</sup> Hefner, "Trachten," vol. ii, pl. 169, or, better still, the fine photographs published by Naya at Venice.

## ARMETS AND CLOSE HELMETS.

No. 36. Fig. 32.

Armet, Italian. Armourer's mark, LIONARDO. The brass staples are for a camail of chain mail. Date 1450 to 1480. *The Baron de Cosson.*

Armets with staples are of the greatest rarity, and this is the only perfect example the author has met with. The armet, with its movable visor, is mentioned by Olivier de la Marche as early as 1443, and it appears about the same date on Pisano's Italian medals.

The one under consideration, from the resemblance of its staples to those of bassinets of the beaked type and from its form and workmanship, would seem to be the earliest type of the armet. The same pin and hinge arrangement found in the *bassinet*<sup>1</sup> secures the visor to the helmet. The slit for sight is not *in* the visor, but is formed by the space between the upper edge of the visor and the lower edge of a reinforcing piece on the forehead. This arrangement, common in Italy both to armets and visor sallads, is rarely found in helmets of German origin, where the slit is usually cut in the substance of the visor itself when the visor is made of a single piece.

The lower part of the armet consists of two cheek-pieces, hinged to the crown just under the pivots of the visor, which overlap in front and were strapped together at the bottom of the chin. At the back the skull has a sort of tail piece, over which the cheek pieces close, leaving however the central portion of the tail piece uncovered, and from the tail piece projects a short stem, to which was originally attached a disc somewhat like the one seen in Fig. 35.

The precise use of this disc is a matter of some doubt, but it is the typical characteristic of the early armet, and appears in all representations of it until the beginning of the sixteenth century. It probably was intended to guard the opening at the back of the armet, which was undoubtedly its weak point. The tail piece does not quite reach the lower edge of the armet, but is continued by a small piece fixed to it with rivets working in slots, so that when the head was thrown back it could slide slightly upwards. The staples, fifteen in number, are of brass, and to them was attached a camail much as in the stapled *bassinet*. Between the staples are rivets for the lining, which must have covered the whole of the inside of the helmet, and which was sewn in over the forehead through holes which exist behind the reinforcing piece. The armet is small but heavy, weighing 9lbs. 6ozs. At its summit is a hole to which the crest could be fixed. In early Italian pictures very magnificent crests are seen on such headpieces.

The armourer's mark is an L in a circle, and below, his name at full length—LIONARDO.

Helmets almost identical with this one, some with camails edged with brass rings, appear in Paolo Ucello's battle-piece in the Louvre, and those in another picture of the same series in the National Gallery, supposed to represent the battle of San Egidio, are very similar in character.

<sup>1</sup> See pl. I, fig. 12

An examination of the Italian pictures and monuments of the second half of the 15th century will show that these armets with discs, generally worn with a large mentonniere or bavier; and the *celata* or sallad of the form described under No. 17, were the head-pieces most in vogue in Italy at that period. The bavier served to prevent the visor (which has no catch or fastening to keep it down), from being forced up. This form of armet only disappears altogether about 1500.

### No. 37. Fig. 31.

Armet, Italian, the visor wanting. Fifteen staples for attaching a camail remain. From Rhodes. Date 1450 to 1480. *The Museum of Artillery, Woolwich.*<sup>1</sup>

This helmet is so similar to the one just described that only its differences need be noted. It has not, and appears never to have had, any reinforcing piece over the forehead. There are six breathing holes on the right cheek-piece. The opening for the face is still smaller than in No. 36. Curiously enough there is no trace of a disk or roundel at the back. The general arrangements for lining and camail are the same. The armourer's mark is a hand with the first and second fingers extended, but with the thumb and remaining fingers closed.<sup>2</sup>

### No. 38. Figs. 33 and 34.

Armet, probably Italian, and mentonniere (the visor is wanting), from the tomb of Sir George Brooke, K.G., 8th Lord Cobham, who died in 1558. From Cobham Church, Kent. Date 1480 to 1500.

*The Rev. A. W. Berger.*

The general construction of this helmet resembles that of No. 36, but its forms approach much nearer those of the close helmet of the sixteenth century. Its outlines are peculiarly delicate and beautiful. It has a reinforcing piece on the forehead. The cheek-pieces are hinged as in No. 36, and joined down the middle of the chin. The tail-piece at the back has a collar with a female screw thread for the stem of the disc or roundel. At the bottom this tail-piece, about an inch wide, is not jointed as in No. 36, but its extremity is turned out so as not to offer a cutting edge when the wearer threw back his head. Round the lower edge of the cheek-pieces is a band of iron about seven-eighths of an inch wide (broken away in parts) which covers a leather strap; the iron band being fixed by rivets with heads stamped with a rosette identical with those described under No. 19 and illustrated at Fig. 16 B. These rivets, together with the similarity of the helmet to examples known to be Italian, would stamp it as of Italian manufacture.<sup>3</sup> To the leather strap just mentioned originally hung a

<sup>1</sup> Woolwich Catalogue, Class xvi, No. 211.

<sup>2</sup> The author saw at Munich some years ago a similar helmet also without a visor. He cannot call to mind any other examples of the armet with staples.

<sup>3</sup> Viollet-le-Duc, in his "Mobilier," tome v, p. 65, describes and illustrates an almost identical armet in the Musée d'Artillerie. As the armet is drawn both open and shut, its construction is thereby rendered clear.

camail. With this helmet (and, when hanging in the church, fixed to it) is a piece, Fig. 34, which is composed of two distinct mentonnieres riveted together. The inner one is small, something like the one seen on the helmet, Fig. 37, and its principal object would seem to have been to prevent the visor from being driven up by a blow on the chin-piece of the helmet. The outer one is much larger, reaching almost up to the slit for the eyes. It was secured originally by a strap round the back of the helmet. But it is impossible now to say whether it belonged to the helmet as originally made, or was a later addition. It fits fairly well, and a similar mentonniere appears strapped on to the armet of the suit attributed to Ferdinand the Catholic, at Vienna, an armet of the same type as this one. On the helmet is a wooden Saracen's head (not represented in the engraving, Fig. 33) which may date from Sir George Brooke's funeral, but was certainly never worn on any helmet.

Original crests are of excessive rarity. The author believes the so-called helmet of Don Jaime the Conqueror, at Madrid, to be neither more nor less than the *crest* of a helm. It is made of canvas or pasteboard covered with gesso and painted, and represents the head, neck, and wings of a dragon. Why Mr. Planché<sup>1</sup> described it as "*all of polished steel*" is a mystery.

### No. 39. Fig. 35.

Armet, probably Italian, of remarkably fine form  
from Padua. Date 1480 to 1500. *The Baron de Cosson.*

This armet shows many advances towards the form finally adopted for the close helmet in the sixteenth century. The visor cannot be removed, the slit for sight is in it, not above it, and the reinforcing piece on the crown does not exist. There is also a spring catch on the right hand side to hold the visor down when closed, so that the mentonniere is not necessary. The metal and workmanship are remarkably fine. The crown-piece has a slight ridge, of which a section is given at A, Pl. III, and in it are two holes for fixing a plume or crest. The cheek-pieces, fixed together by a turning pin in front, are hinged just behind the pivot of the visor. The tail-piece of the crown has a stem for the roundel, which has been restored. Each cheek-piece has a set of holes opposite the ears for hearing through, and some small holes at the back which correspond with holes in the tail-piece, perhaps for lacing or for fixing plumes. Round the bottom of each cheek-piece is a plate of steel on which is rivetted with rivets stamped like the one drawn at B on Plate II, a leather strap at the lower edge of which the holes through which the rings of the camail passed can still be traced.

In Plates 41 and 42 of the "Triumph of Maximilian," Antony von Yfan and his knights wear armets identical with this one, all with camails and with crowns and huge plumes.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "Cyclopædia of Costume," vol. ii, p. 76. The Madrid catalogue says: "Es de cartón muy fuerte . . . Está dorado en parte, é interiormente cubierto de esponja." This lining of sponge is a very curious feature. The author has seen the

piece, so can be certain on the matter. The large photograph of it by Laurent also shows there is no polish on it.

<sup>2</sup> This helmet weighs 7lbs. 9oz., and has an armourer's mark H9R over a tilting shield.



## No. 40. Fig. 36.

Armet, English. Date about 1500.

*The Executors of the late Mr. J. W. Baily.*

All the general features of this head-piece are so similar to those of armets, already described, that a reference to Fig. 36 will show where it differs from them. It is rather damaged by rust. There is a reinforcing piece on the forehead; the breathing holes are principally on the right side of the visor, the pin and hinge arrangement for the pivot of which still exists, but it is concealed between the visor and the crown-piece of the helmet, thus being out of danger from an adversary's lance. There is a band of steel around the base of the helmet, but no leather remains beneath it, and the place of a disc or roundel is clearly indicated at the back.

The small close-fitting mentonniere or bavier (which here is not continued so far on the right as on the left side) is the peculiar feature of the English armet of about A.D. 1500.

It will be seen again in No. 37, and exists in a similar armet now in the author's collection, which was formerly in Rayne Church, Essex, and which will be mentioned under No. 80. Sir Samuel Meyrick obtained one with a similar bavier from Fulham Church,<sup>1</sup> and there are two or three in the Tower collection. Mr. Baily's armet is now in the author's collection.

## No. 41. Fig. 37.

Armet, English. Date about 1500.

*Mr. Seymour Lucas.*

This armet more nearly approaches the form of helmet common in the sixteenth century, for, instead of opening down the chin and back, it opens down the sides, and the same pivot which secures the visor<sup>2</sup> serves to hinge the crown-piece and chin-piece together. The small mentonniere here is of equal extent on both sides. A sort of rosette is hammered up on either side of the reinforcing piece just behind the visor pivot. The general form is good, but the workmanship, as in most pieces of undoubted English origin, wants that perfection and delicacy to be found in fine Italian or German work.

## No. 42. Fig. 38.

Helmet, fluted German. Date 1510 to 1525.

*The Baron de Cosson.*

The form of the visor in this helmet bears much resemblance to that of the armet, Fig. 35. The forging of the crown-piece is particularly fine. The helmet only weighs 5lbs. 2ozs.

It has been usual in England to assign these fluted helmets to the reign of Henry VII, but there is no evidence whatsoever that the fluted suits of armour to which they belong were worn even in Germany before 1510.

<sup>1</sup> "Engraved Illustrations," vol. ii, plate 76.

<sup>2</sup> At some time this visor has had the

pin and hinge arrangement like No. 40. The holes for the pins have been stopped, but they can still be traced.

The fashion of parallel, or almost parallel fluting on armour with globose breastplates seems to have come from Milan, whence it was taken into Germany by the Emperor Maximilian.<sup>1</sup>

Meyrick states that Burgmaier's portrait of that prince (dated 1518) is the earliest dated example of fluted armour, but he assigns one of his own fluted suits to 1495, and in the "Critical Inquiry" he speaks of fluted armour as the prevalent fashion of the reign of Henry VII.

#### No. 43. Fig. 42.

Helmet of fine form of the time of Maximilian, Emperor of Germany. Date about 1515. *Mr. W. Burges.*

Although not fluted this helmet belongs to the period and style of fluted armour. The visor shows that series of peaks or ridges so common in the helmets of fluted suits.

Part of the lining is original in this helmet, and Mr. Burges has restored the aiglettes which kept the lining in its place. It has been usual to suppose that the twin holes in the crown-pieces of these helmets were intended for fixing mantlings or lambrequins and plumes, and their very small size and their position in this and other fluted helmets would seem to favour that theory. Still in the tilting helms to be described later on, they will be found with brass rims on their outsides, and Albert Durer's celebrated print of a tilting helm shows the aiglettes tied through them just as in Mr. Burges's helmet, Fig. 42. In Sir Noël Paton's sallad, No. 30, Fig. 26, these aiglette holes are ornamented so that it would seem they were not intended to be covered up.<sup>2</sup>

#### No. 44. Figs. 39 & 40.

Helmet, fluted, of magnificent form and workmanship, partly engraved and with traces of gilding. Date 1510 to 1525. *The Museum of Artillery, Woolwich.*<sup>3</sup>

This helmet opens down the chin, somewhat after the fashion of the early armets, only the tail-piece of the crown is much broader.

The skill shown in the fluting of the crown and in the forging of the twisted comb are most remarkable. Along its upper edge are engraved various grotesque figures, and each of the rivets for the lining strap of the cheek-pieces forms the centre of an engraved six-leaved rose. The quilted linen lining of these cheek-pieces still exists. The small twin holes in the crown-piece of this helmet are differently disposed from those in the last helmet, there are two sets of them on each side of the comb, running parallel to it.

This head-piece also introduces us to that grooved rim round the

<sup>1</sup> As Italy was generally in advance of other countries in the fashion of armour, it is possible that the Milanese fluted armour may date from about 1500. The author has a fine example, the engraving on which might indicate that date, but he rather inclines to place it ten years later.

<sup>2</sup> Since writing the above the author

has obtained a fluted helmet of the type of No. 44, with its original lining; the fragments of the leather aiglettes which passed through the twin holes and kept the lining from flapping about the wearer's head still exist, Mr. Burges's restoration is thus quite confirmed.

<sup>3</sup> Woolwich Catalogue, Class xvi, No. 21.

bottom of the helmet which has erroneously been supposed to constitute the difference between the burgonet and other helmets.<sup>1</sup>

This grooved rim fitted closely on a salient rim at the top of the steel gorget or hausse-col. When the helmet was placed on its gorget and closed, it could not be wrenched off,<sup>2</sup> whilst it still moved round freely in a horizontal direction.

The gorget being articulated allowed of the head to be slightly raised or lowered, but to look really up or down must have been difficult with this system of helmet. Hence, notwithstanding its advantages, it never entirely supplanted the detached helmet.

#### No. 45. Fig. 41.

Helmet of a fluted suit. It opens down the centre of the chin. German. Date about 1520. *Mr. W. Burges.*

Although not so fine in workmanship, this helmet much resembles No. 43. The principal difference is in the form of the visor. A reference to the illustrations of these helmets on Plate III will explain this.

#### No. 46. Fig. 43.

Helmet, fluted, with triple comb. German. Date 1510 to 1525. *Mr. Warelorn.*

The remarkable features of this piece are its three serrated combs and the mode in which the visor fits *inside* the chin-piece of the helmet instead of over it. The large rosette of the pivot of the chin-piece and visor is also remarkable.<sup>3</sup>

#### No. 47. Fig. 45.

Helmet of a fluted suit. German. Date 1515 to 1530.

*The Baron de Cosson.*

There is a problem in connection with many helmets of this period and type which awaits a solution, and that is how their visors were fixed when down. In this helmet and the two next to be described, in common with the greater part of those of this type which have not been altered or vamped up at a later date, the only trace of a means of fixing down the visor is a small round hole on either side of it near its lower edge, which, when the visor is down, exactly corresponds to a similar hole on each side of the chin-piece of the helmet.

These holes only and always appear on those fluted helmets which have no other visible mode of fixing the visor when down, so they must be for that purpose, but they are so small (from one-sixteenth to one-eighth inch diameter) that it is not easy to understand how they were used.

#### No. 48. Fig. 44.

Helmet of a fluted suit, German, with mark of a Nuremberg armourer and an arsenal mark in Russian characters. Date 1515 to 1530. *The Baron de Cosson.*

Very similar to No. 47, but without any comb.

<sup>1</sup> See introductory notice on burgonet and buffe.

<sup>2</sup> We read in Olivier de la Marche of helmets being wrenched off the heads of

their wearers when tilting and leaving their faces covered with blood.

<sup>3</sup> The fluted suit, G 21, in the Musée d'Artillerie has a helmet identical with this one in form and construction.

## No. 49. Fig. 46.

Helmet of a fluted suit, said to have come from Poland. Nuremburg mark and arsenal mark in Russian characters. Date 1515 to 1530. *Mr. W. Burges.*

Almost identical with No. 48.

## No 50. Fig. 47.

Helmet, the visor in the form of a grotesque face. The visor belonged to a helmet of the Maximilian epoch; the rest of the helmet is of later date. From the Meyrick collection.<sup>1</sup> *Mr. W. Burges.*

The surfaces of the metal (which is unpolished) in the visor and the rest of the helmet are very different in this piece. There is also a hole in the former for the spring catch which originally fixed it down, but no corresponding catch exists in the helmet, besides which the form of the helmet belongs to the reign of Mary or Elizabeth, whilst these grotesque visors in the form of a human face with moustachios are frequently enough found on fluted suits of armour of the Maximilian epoch. There are two in the Musée d'Artillerie and one is at Vienna, whilst the Tower collection possesses a fluted helmet with this form of visor which came from the Bernal collection, and M. Spitzer in Paris has a magnificent puffed engraved and gilt suit with the steel bases of the Maximilian epoch and a helmet with a similar visor.

## No. 51. Fig. 48.

Helmet, Italian. Date 1520 to 1540. *The Baron de Cosson.*

The gorget plates are a restoration. The helmet is small, and the sharp form of the visor recalls that of the armet, No. 39, Fig. 35. Here for the first time we find the visor formed of two separate parts. The upper part fits inside the lower one and could be raised to facilitate seeing, without unfixing the lower portion. We shall find this system of visor prevalent throughout the last three quarters of the sixteenth and the first quarter of the seventeenth centuries.

## No. 52. Fig. 49.

Helmet, Italian, with engraved and gilt bands of ornament. Date 1520 to 1540. *Mr. R. Hillingford.*

A very small, but prettily shaped helmet. It appears to have been originally in the Uboldo collection at Milan, as an engraving in Uboldo's work on helmets exactly corresponds to it. The ornamentation consists of foliage.

## No. 53. Fig. 50.

Helmet, richly engraved, probably German. Date 1440 to 1460. *Mr. R. Hillingford.*

There is a piece riveted on to the lower back part of this helmet which has no engraving on it. It appears to be an old mend, the part of the

<sup>1</sup> "Engraved Illustrations," vol. ii, plate 75.

helmet covered by it being cracked. It is a head-piece of very fine workmanship, and the salient lines of the visor are well calculated to deflect the point of a weapon. The engraving consists of a grotesque figure, foliage, &c.

## No. 54. Fig. 51.

Helmet, probably Italian. Date 1540 to 1560.

*The Baron de Cosson.*

Helmets of this form were used in various countries, but, as this one came from Rome, it probably is of Italian make. The plates of the gorget are a restoration.

## No. 55.

Helmet, removed from the Ffarington Chapel in Leyland Church in 1816. Date 1550 to 1560. *Miss Ffarington.*

Similar to the last in type, this helmet was principally interesting from the fact that it had doubtless been worn by an ancestor of the lady by whom it was exhibited, Miss Ffarington of Worden, near Preston.

## No. 56. Fig. 53.

Helmet, German or French, with screw for tilting piece and straps inside to take the weight of the helmet.

Date 1550 to 1570.

*The Baron de Cosson.*

At the date assigned to this helmet a number of suits of armour were made, which could either be used as war harness, or by the addition of certain pieces become tilting suits. The screw on the front of the visor of this helmet was for the purpose of securing it to the *haute pièce*, a large guard which was fixed to the breastplate and covered the left side of the jousting from about the level of the elbow up to that of the eyes. When the helmet was screwed to this piece the wearer could neither turn nor move his head, and the existence of the rim at the bottom of this helmet shows that it was often meant to be worn without the *haute pièce*. There is a small door on the right side, which will be seen open in the next helmet, Fig. 54. As when the *haute pièce* was screwed to it, the visor could not be raised, this door was made in that side of the visor which was not covered by the *haute pièce*, so that by opening it the wearer could breathe more freely.

It has been absurdly supposed that the object of these doors was to allow the wearer to blow a horn! They are only found on helmets used for tilting. Meyrick states that it was through this door flying open that Henry II. of France was killed. Mr. Burges has disposed of that fiction.<sup>1</sup>

The door in this helmet is secured by a spring catch worked by a leather thong. The upper portion of the visor is secured to the lower in the same manner, whilst the catches which fix the visor when down and close the helmet are locked by means of hooks. On the right side will

<sup>1</sup> *Archæological Journal*, vol. xxxvi, page 78.

be seen some small holes opposite the ear, for hearing through. The most curious feature in this and the next helmet is the existence of two cross straps inside the top of it, riveted to the front part of the helmet and secured at the back by aiglettes. The existence of one of the original aiglettes in the next helmet gave a clue to the working of these straps, which took the weight of the helmet, and thus prevented the cap from pressing against the crown of the helmet or being wrenched from the strap to which it was sewn. The original leather lining of the chin-piece still exists.

No. 57. Fig. 54.

Helmet, German, of a suit that could be worn for tilting. It had a screw for tilting pieces. The original lining remains with cross straps above it to take the weight of the helmet. Date 1550 to 1570.

*The Baron de Cosson.*

Similar to the last helmet in construction, but heavier, weighing 10lbs. 10ozs. The original wadded and quilted lining cap and the wadded lining of the chin-piece exist, covered on their inside with red silk now almost colourless, and the cap is bound round with a strong binding also formerly red. The existing aiglette is made of this same binding, which is about an inch wide. The cross straps in the crown of these helmets intersected one another, and when tied by their aiglettes, which passed through slits in their free ends, formed a sort of spring against which the cap rested when the helmet was on. There are two holes, nearly a quarter of an inch in diameter, with female screw threads in the upper part of the visor, the use of which is not very apparent. Similar holes, much smaller and with no screw threads, exist in the visor of the last helmet.

No. 58. Fig. 55.

Helmet, probably Italian. Date 1550 to 1570.

*The Baron de Cosson.*

A strong compact head-piece somewhat similar to the last two, but not intended to be used with tilting pieces. It has, as will be seen in the representation of it, its original fastening at the side, the bar to keep the visor up when raised, and a spring catch to keep the visor down when closed. The upper half of the visor is secured to the lower with a spring worked with a thong as in the two preceding examples.

No. 59. Fig. 52.

Helmet, probably Italian, engraved with arabesques.  
Date 1550 to 1570.

*The Baron de Cosson.*

The comb in this helmet assumes much larger proportions than in those as yet noticed. The fashion of high combs will be found carried to a very great excess about this time in many morions. Until the end of the sixteenth century there is no join in these combs and their forging must have required much skill. The gorget plates of the

helmet are much spread out all round. They gradually increase in dimension until the beginning of the seventeenth century, when they often (as in Fig. 58) assume very large proportions. The engraving on this helmet is pure line.

No. 60. Fig. 56.

Helmet, Italian, richly engraved with bands of arabesques. Date 1560 to 1580. *The Baron de Cosson.*

The style of engraving on this helmet, viz., bands of trophies, grotesque animals, &c., on a ground etched down but with bright points like grains of seed left on it, is found on great quantities of Italian armour of this period, known amongst amateurs as Pisan armour, it being supposed (upon what authority the author cannot say) that a great manufactory of it existed in that town. The helmet under consideration is a very perfect example, and, like many of this period, it is kept together at bottom with a strap under the chin and a buckle, a rather unsightly mode of closing it. The visor is fixed, when down, with a hook, a fashion which henceforward takes the place of all the ingeniously contrived spring catches before in use. It will be seen in the engravings of the next two helmets.

No. 61. Fig. 57.

Helmet, probably French. Date about 1600. *The Baron de Cosson.*

Although very similar to the last in form, this helmet shows a marked decline in the armourer's art. The crown of it is formed of two halves brazed together down the centre of the comb. After the year 1600 scarcely any helmets are met with in which the crown-piece is forged in one piece, whilst in every genuine helmet of the fifteenth or sixteenth century which has come under the author's notice, the reverse is the case.

The fashion of high combs may have led to this decadence, but it is more likely that the indifference which began to be felt about armour at this time, and the feeling that it was no longer really needful, led to a decay in the art of producing it, for we shall soon find helmets with no combs (Figs. 63, 64 and 67), all of which are joined down the middle.

No. 62. Fig. 58.

Helmet, probably French, with reinforcing pieces on the crown and numerous brass-headed rivets. Date 1600 to 1610. *The Baron de Cosson.*

The total weight of this piece is 10lbs, and almost all the thickness is in the crown and its reinforcing pieces, the visor being very thin. That shows that the lance had by this time been completely abandoned as a weapon of war, for so long as it was used the visor was always one of the strongest parts of the helmet. The great strength given to the crown of this helmet would seem to indicate that it was intended principally to be worn when approaching ramparts in siege operations.

It is true the reinforcing pieces could be removed, being fixed on with screws. From this time forwards no studied beauty of line will be found in any helmet.

No. 63. Fig. 60.

Helmet, probably from Savoy, with circular apertures for the eyes. Date 1600 to 1610. *The Baron de Cosson.*

A number of helmets of this form in the Arsenal at Geneva are said to have been taken from the Savoy troops who, under Branaulieu Chaffardin, attempted to take that town by surprise in 1602.

This helmet is very heavy. It has had reinforcing pieces on the crown, like the last example. Without them it weighs 12lbs. 8oz. A particular form of helmet was known Germany during the Thirty Years War as a "todtenkopf," or death's head. This probably is the kind of helmet thus designated. It has a rough surface and seems never to have been polished. It may be noted that the upper portion of the visor here fits over the lower portion instead of inside it, as in the helmets already described.

No. 64. Fig. 59.

Helmet having belonged to a Marquis Duprat of the Limousin, with his escutcheon on the gorget. Date 1600 to 1610. *Mr. R. Hillingford.*

Similar to the last helmet in type, this one is superior to it in ornamentation, but it is inferior in form and has no comb whatsoever, the two halves of the crown-piece being simply rivetted together instead of one being rolled over the other along the summit of the comb, as in the last two helmets. It is kept closed by a strap and buckle under the chin. The engraving on it is remarkably good in style.

No. 65. Fig. 61.

Helmet, Italian, it has been partially gilt. Date 1620 to 1630. *The Baron de Cosson.*

Thin and light. The comb and the borders of the different pieces of it have been gilt. The visor is only pierced with holes for respiration on the right side, as if the helmet had been intended for tilting. An attempt was made in France to revive tournaments in the early part of the reign of Louis XIII, as will be seen by Pluvine's "Instruction du Roy en l'Exercice de Monter à Cheval," which contains plates of the armour and tournaments of that time.

No. 66. Fig. 62.

Helmet, Italian or French, with vertical slits in visor. Date 1620 to 1640. *The Baron de Cosson.*

The new features in this helmet are the sort of shade or peak projecting from the upper part of the visor and the fact that the slits for the eyes are cut out of the lower portion of the visor. The next two helmets will



both exhibit the same construction. These peculiarities already appeared to a certain extent in the Savoy helmets, Nos. 63 and 64, Figs. 60 and 59. There is no trace of a join down the crest of this helmet.

No. 67. Fig. 63.

Helmet. Date 1620 to 1630.

*The Executors of the late Mr. J. W. Baily.*

One of the finest examples of the helmet of this period. The crown and upper part of the visor are closely fluted. The holes for respiration in the visor are cut in elaborate forms and a profusion of rivets ornament the gorget. This form of helmet seems to have been common to England, France and Italy at the same period, but is rarely of such fine workmanship. This example is now in the author's collection.

No. 68. Fig. 64.

Helmet, English, time of the Civil War. Date 1630 to 1645.

*The Baron de Cosson.*

Similar in form to No. 67, but very inferior in workmanship.

No. 69. Fig. 65.

Helmet, English, time of the Civil War. Date 1630 to 1645.

*The Baron de Cosson.*

The visor here is in one single piece instead of in two portions.

No. 70. Fig. 66.

Helmet covered with engraving. It opens down the front. End of the reign of Elizabeth. Date about 1590.

*The Honorable Society of the Middle Temple,  
by Mr. C. Milward.*

In construction this head-piece is half way between a casque or burgonet and a close helmet. In fact, as it has no movable visor, it is really a casque with cheek-pieces that meet in front. Hence it has not been placed among the close helmets of its period. The crown-piece is joined down the middle of the comb. The late and lamented Mr. Bernhard Smith described in vol. xvii. of the *Archæological Journal* how he had drawn attention to a quantity of armour which lay in the Minstrels' Gallery of the Middle Temple Hall. Amongst it, and painted black, was this helmet and the breast-plate and back-plate belonging to it.

The engraving is very good, and traces of gilding still remain. Mr. Bernhard Smith thought 1575 to be about the date of the piece, but the fact that the crown of the helmet is formed of two pieces would indicate a somewhat later date, unless this bad system of construction began earlier in England than elsewhere, but the devices upon it point to its having been made after 1585. Mr. Bernhard Smith supposed the work to be Milanese. The engraving certainly appears to be the work of a

foreign artist, but there are reasons for supposing it might be of Flemish origin. Here is Mr. Bernhard Smith's account of the devices on the helmet and breastplate.<sup>1</sup>

"The helmet is covered with a design formed by branches of a briar rooted in a heart supported by two hands issuant from clouds. The briar blossoms with heraldic roses, whilst amongst its branches are snails, owls, goats and monkeys, crested serpents, flies and locusts, with a sun appearing here and there.

"On the upper portion of the cuirass (which is of the peas-cod shape) are three escutcheons charged respectively as follows :—1. A demi-lion crowned, issuant from water (the arms of Zealand) ; 2. A lion rampant ; 3. A lion rampant crowned ; the latter is ensigned with a coronet, and above is an open dexter hand, issuant from a cloud. Below on the centre of the cuirass appears the allegorical figure of a woman nude tied to a tree, her left hand chained to a branch. The inscription *BELGICA* appears on a tablet under her feet. On the dexter side is seen a lion rampant grasping a sword, apparently rescuing her from a sea monster ; on the sinister side is a dragon."

All these devices would seem to refer to Leicester's expedition into the Low Countries in 1586.

Coins of Elizabeth (to whom the sovereignty of the United Provinces had at one time been offered) are found countermarked with the arms of Zealand, arms which are found on the breastplate, and the author of these notes possesses a weight of the reign of Elizabeth, on one side of which is stamped the rose and crown of England between *L* and *C* for *Leicester Comes* and on the other the arms of Zealand, indicating that it was made for use in that country during Leicester's occupation of it. Of the other escutcheons on the breastplate, that with the lion rampant may be either Flanders, Brabant, Juliers, or Holland ; whilst the lion rampant crowned is the arms of Guelders.

As Leicester had weights for Zealand stamped with his own initials, may we not here have a helmet and cuirass made for the great earl himself during his occupation of the Low Countries ? The hall of the Middle Temple was built in his days. It is quite possible that some of his armour may have been deposited there either then, or after some of the masques often held in that hall during the seventeenth century.

#### No. 71. Fig. 67.

Helmet, with a curious form of ocularium. It opens down the front. Date about 1640 to 1656. *Mr. W. Burges.*

Somewhat similar in construction to No. 70, but in this helmet the projecting shade is hinged at the sides like the upper portion of the visor, in Figs. 63 and 64. Although this latest form of close helmet recalls the very earliest form of armet, in its mode of fastening down the chin, it is clumsy and debased in shape and workmanship.

<sup>1</sup> *Archæological Journal*, vol. xviii, page 154.

## No. 72. Fig. 68.

Miniature Helmet. Probably the "Capo d'Opera" of an armourer. The ornamental pattern, formerly gilded, is executed by punching. Date about 1580.

*Mr. W. J. Bernhard Smith.*

This is a charmingly made little piece, and the ornament done with a punch instead of being engraved is interesting. The miniature suits of armour occasionally met with, were either made by armourers as show curiosities, like the hundred-bladed penknives of modern cutlers, or more probably as toys for boys of noble birth to play with.

## No. 73. Fig. 69.

Helmet from a model suit of armour, Italian. Date about 1580.

*The Baron de Cosson.*

This belongs to a suit of steel armour, very well made and ornamented with some engraving. It is 13½ inches high and distinctly Italian in form. It was no doubt intended for a toy. In the "Life of Maximilian" the young emperor and another boy are represented playing with two little models of joustiers on horseback which they drive one against the other. In the Musée d'Artillerie are two miniature suits of tilting armour very perfectly made which were no doubt intended for the same purpose. They were formerly in the collection of the emperor Napoleon III at Pierrefonds.

## No. 74. Fig. 70.

Small model of a Helmet in brass, with face inside. Date about 1620.

*Mr. W. Burges.*

This belongs to a complete little suit of armour, of the period of Charles I, made in brass, and the face, with its pointed beard and re-troussé moustaches has the character of that time.

## TILTING, JOUSTING, AND TOURNAMENT HELMS.

## No. 75. Figs. 72 and 73.

Helm of Sir Richard Pembridge, one of the earlier knights of the Garter, who died in 1375 and was buried in the nave of Hereford Cathedral. It stood on a perch over his effigy there, until presented by the Dean and Chapter to Sir Samuel Meyrick. In 1786 this helm was described and figured, though with indifferent correctness, in Gough's "Sepulchral Monuments." It has likewise been engraved in Skelton's work on the Meyrick collection.<sup>1</sup> In general form and certain details

<sup>1</sup> Plate xi.

of workmanship, this helm closely resembles that of the Black Prince in Canterbury Cathedral. In both, remains of the original leather lining are traceable round the internal rivets, but in this specimen the *spiracula* occur on both sides of the *mezzail*, while this part (probably at one time the whole of the helm) proved, on the removal in 1872 of three thick layers of oil paint, to have been silvered. The dent behind was probably made by the fall of part of the roof of the southern aisle in 1786, when the right leg of the effigy was shattered. Date, fourteenth century.

*Sir Noël Paton.*

Genuine helms of this period are of such rarity that three only are known to the author, that of the Black Prince,<sup>1</sup> that found with a bassinet and part of a suit of armour under the ruins of the Castle of Tannenburg,<sup>2</sup> and this one. Demmin says that No. 570 of the Copenhagen museum is almost identical, and that a similar helm is preserved in the Francisco-Carolinum museum at Lintz.<sup>3</sup> There is also one in the Tower which appears to be genuine. With the open bassinet, like No. 13, fig. 9, over which it was worn when on the battle field or in tilting; it formed the typical defence for the knight's head in the second half of the fourteenth century.

It was, in Italy at least, worn slung over the back, and was generally surmounted with a large and fanciful crest. It did not fit closely down to the cuirass, like the helms of the fifteenth century, the bottom curve of it not being sufficiently arched for that purpose. This is very apparent, if we examine the statue of Mastino II at Verona, who wears a helm of this kind<sup>4</sup>. It will be seen there not to rest on his shoulders, and it was probably wadded inside, so as to fit closely to the bassinet.

In a fresco, representing a number of knights of the Lupa family, in the Chapel of St. George at Padua, each man wears a small bassinet on his head and his helm slung to his back; and Can Grande in his statue at Verona<sup>5</sup> wears his in a similar fashion.

That Sir Noël Paton's helmet was not a funeral helmet, but one really intended for use, is proved by its admirable workmanship. From a very close and careful examination of it, it would appear that the statement contained in Sir Noël's account of it, that it had once been silvered, is an error, caused by the very beautiful quality of the metal of which it is made. The hardest English penknife blade will not produce the slightest scratch on the bright parts, which are consequently not silvered, but retain the original polish, which in the vertical parts of the helmet had been preserved by the three coats of paint removed in 1872. No silver would resist a hard steel point, but here we have a metal superior to it in hardness.

In the Black Prince's helmet the lower or cylindrical portion of the

<sup>1</sup> An electrotype copy of this helm was exhibited, and is described under No. 142.

<sup>2</sup> Hefner's "Trachten," vol. ii, plate 149, and Hefner's "Die Burg Tannenburg und ihre Ausgrabungen."

<sup>3</sup> "Guide des Amateurs d'Armes," p. 271, No. 37.

<sup>4</sup> Conte Pompeo Litta "Famiglie Celebrate Italiane," vol. i; and Bonnard, "Costume," plate 63.

<sup>5</sup> Also engraved in Litta's book.

helmet is composed of a front and a back piece riveted together at the sides, but in the Pembridge helm each of the three pieces (the cylinder, the conical piece, and the top piece) of which it is formed is so deftly welded that no trace whatsoever of a join can be found. These three portions are fixed together, not with rivets, but with *nails* with hemispherical heads (three-sixteenths of an inch in diameter), the points of which are turned down on the inside. Every third nail of the row on a level with the occularium or slit for the eyes has a diamond shaped washer, which formerly secured the leather strap to which the wadded lining was sewn. The edges of the metal, turned outwards round the occularium, are exceedingly thick, thus effectually protecting the eyes. There are a number of twin holes in the helmet, which served for the aigletts by which the crest and lambrequin were attached.<sup>1</sup> The bottom edge of the helm is rolled inwards over a thick wire, so as not to cut the surcoat. In the front of the helm, near the bottom, are two + shaped holes, through which passed a T bolt, affixed by a chain to the cuirass.<sup>2</sup> There are two holes at the back of the helm for lacing, or, perhaps, for a leather strap to affix it to the back of the cuirass. That prolongation of the bottom plate which divides the slit for sight into two halves (a characteristic of the helm until nearly the end of the century) is engraved on a larger scale at A on plate vi.

#### No. 76. Figs. 74 and 75.

Helm of Sir Nicholas Hawberk, who died in 1407.

From Cobham Church, Kent.

*The Rev. A. W. Berger.*

This helm is almost identical in form with the one attributed to Henry V in Westminster Abbey,<sup>3</sup> except that it has not got the ornamental brass border, which was probably an addition made to render that helm more ornamental at the funeral pageant of the sovereign. At the time when these helmets were worn, the *visored* bassinet was in vogue as the fighting head piece of the knight. It was therefore no longer necessary to put a helm over it on the battle field, and it is probable that henceforward the helm properly speaking was only used in the tilt yard or tourney, the lighter bassinets, sallads, chapels and armets being used in actual warfare. This helm is made of five pieces, instead of three, like the Pembridge one, and it is of very much greater weight. At the lower edge of the eye slit the metal is a full quarter of an inch in thickness, the plates at the back part of the helmet being very thin and light. The heads of all the rivets are flush on the outside, so as to leave no projection against which the point of a lance could catch. The summit of the helmet is formed of an egg-shaped piece nearly flat, let in from the inside, and on it are four staples for fixing on a crest.<sup>4</sup> The bottom edge of the helmet is rolled outwards, but not over a wire, and just above this rolled edge, round the front and the right rear of the helm, is a series of twin

<sup>1</sup> They will be found in numerous monuments representing helms of this type, notably the Scaliger and the Lupa monuments, already referred to.

<sup>2</sup> This arrangement will be distinctly seen in the monument of Conrad von

Sawensheim (died 1369) in Hefner's "Trachten," vol. ii, pl. 159.

<sup>3</sup> A cast from Henry V's helmet was exhibited and is described under No. 144.

<sup>4</sup> Similar staples are seen on a tournament helmet at Signaringen, engraved by Hefner, "Trachten," vol. ii, plate 137.

holes for sewing in the lining, but they are not continued round the left rear. There is a ring in front for strapping the helmet to the breast-plate. The ring here seems very inadequate to the strain it would have to support, and the same is observable in the helmet of Henry V, but in both cases these rings may not be the original ones; indeed the mode in which the ring is attached is so clumsy and rough that there can be little doubt on the point. Various holes in the upper part of the helm were probably intended for the aiglettes which secured the lambrequin or mantling. It has been supposed that the hook found at the back of this helmet and on that of King Henry V was intended for hanging the helm at the saddle bow. But the make of the hook, its very sharp point, and its position in the helmet, all point to its having been put there when the helmet was used for the funeral, so that it could be hung to the wall over the tomb.

It is exceedingly probable that this helmet and the next, both belonged to the knights to whom they are attributed, as the date corresponds very well with the fashion of the piece.

#### No. 77.    Fig. 76.

Helm of Sir Reginald Braybroke, who died 1405.

From Cobham Church, Kent.

*The Rev. A. W. Berger.*

Quite similar to the last in type and character, this helm was in its original form much less deep. It has been subsequently lengthened, but it would seem very doubtful whether it was lengthened for *use*, as no holes in the additional piece exist either for attaching the helmet to the cuirass or for fixing in a lining, whilst the holes for the ring in front and the laces at the back are traceable at the bottom of the original helmet. It was probably merely lengthened when it was selected for the funeral to make it match the one just described. It has at the back a long handle like a saucepan,<sup>1</sup> which is likewise an addition. It may be mentioned as a conclusive proof that the piece added to the bottom of the helm was not intended for actual use, that it is very weakly joined *in front* as well as at the back. There is a round hole in the centre of the top of the helmet for fixing a crest.

#### No. 78.    Figs. 79 and 80.

Tilting helm of the time of Henry VII. A very fine specimen, from the Brocas collection. Date 1480 to 1520.

*The Museum of Artillery, Woolwich.*<sup>2</sup>

This helm, perhaps the grandest jousting helm in existence, has been described and very well engraved in the *Archæological Journal*.<sup>3</sup> It is formed of three pieces (of different thicknesses, as is the case in all genuine helms), which are fixed together by strong iron rivets with salient heads half an inch in diameter. On these rivet heads are soldered thin brass caps, which have in places been worn off through friction in cleaning, and this has led the writer of the notice in the *Archæological Journal* to say the rivets are curiously composed of three metals. All the

<sup>1</sup> Not represented in Fig. 76.

<sup>3</sup> Vol. xxi, p. 60.

<sup>2</sup> Woolwich Catalogue, Class xvi, No. 20.

rivets used in armour, which appear to be of brass, are really made in this manner, as will become evident if we look at the reverse side. The front piece under the opening for sight has been rolled back for about one inch to give it additional strength, whilst the upper plate is reinforced just above the opening by a strong piece riveted inside it. There are four pairs of twin aiglette holes in the crown, probably for holding up the lining, which at its lower edge was secured by rivets which appear round the neck, or perhaps for fixing the crest, and two inches below the most salient point at the back of the helm is a hole with a screw thread, which may also have served to secure the crest. There are eight holes punched just behind the line of rivets on each side of the helm. These were probably made for ventilation after the helmet was finished, as they are most roughly executed. The arrangements for fixing the helm in front and behind are very complete and curious.<sup>1</sup> A small piece has been taken out of the left side of the lower part of the helmet by the blow of a lance.

This helm is probably an English one, for it much resembles in form two others which are presumably of English make, one being in Petworth church (not by any means so fine an example);<sup>2</sup> and the other having been found in the triforium of Westminster Abbey, where it had probably remained since the days when so many "solemn justs" were held at Westminster, as Hall and other chroniclers relate. This last helm is now in the Artillery Museum at Woolwich.<sup>3</sup> In Ashford church is another tilting helm not unlike the Westminster Abbey example. The German jousting helms were generally elegantly fluted on their crowns and backs like the piece next to be described. There is a detailed account of the jousting helms in use in France in the middle of the fifteenth century in that MS. describing the armour worn in 1446-8, which has before been referred to, and it so exactly reproduces the kind of helm now under consideration that it is worth quoting:—"Et tout premièrement vueil commencer au harnois de teste, c'est assavoir au heaume, lequel est fait en ceste facon, comme cy après me orrez déclairer; et premièrement lesdiz heaumes sont, sur le sommet de la teste jusques à la veue, fors et espes et un pou sur le rondelet, par facon que la teste ne touche point encontre ançois y pent avoir espace de troiz doiz entre deux.<sup>4</sup> Item, de dessoubz de la veue du heaume, qui arme par devant tout le visaige depuis les deux aureilles jusques à la poitrine et endroit les yeulx qui s'appelle la veue, avance et bonte avant troiz bons doiz ou plus que n'est le bort de dessus et celuy de dessoubz ny a bonnement despace que ung bon doiz et demy pour y pouvoir veoir,<sup>5</sup> et n'est ladiete veue, tant dun costé que dautre, fendue que environ dun espan de long, mais volentiers vers le cousté sénestre est ladiete veue plus clouse et le bort plus en bonte, dehors que n'est de l'autre costé droiet.<sup>6</sup> Item, et ledit dessoubz ladiete veue marche volentiers sur la piece de dessus la teste deux

<sup>1</sup> The buckle at the back is shown on a larger scale at B, plate VI.

<sup>2</sup> Recently exhibited at a meeting of the Institute.

<sup>3</sup> Deposited there as a loan by the Dean of Westminster in 1869, and engraved and described in the *Archæological Journal*, vol. xxv, p. 224.

<sup>4</sup> The summit is to be slightly rounded

and a space of three fingers left between the top of the head and the helm.

<sup>5</sup> The front plate of the helm is to project three fingers further forwards at the opening for sight than the crown piece and the opening to be a finger and a half wide.

<sup>6</sup> The opening for sight in the example before us is of equal length at both sides but helms exist in which it is unequal.

bons doiz, tant dun cousté que dautre de la veue, et cloué de fors clox qui ont les uns la teste embotie et les autres ont la teste du clou linée affin que le rochet ny pregne.<sup>1</sup> Item, la piece dessusditte qui arme le visage est voluntiers large et destendant presque dune venue jusques à la gorge, ou plus bas, affin quelle ne soit pas si près des visages quant les cops de lance y prennent. Ançois que le veult faire à point faut quil y ait quatre doiz despace du moins entre deux.<sup>2</sup> Et à ceste diete pièce, du costé droiet de la lance, endroit la joue, deux ou trois petites veues qui viennent du long depuis le hault de la joue jusques au collet du pourpoint, affin que l'en nait schault dedens le heaulme, et aussi affin que on puisse mieulx ouir ou veoir celui que le sert de la lance.<sup>3</sup> Item, l'autre piece dudit heaume arme depuis les aureilles par derrière le long du coul jusques trois doiz sur les espaulles par bas, et par hault, aussi jusques à troiz doiz sur la nuque du coul. Et vient faczonnée une arreste aval qui vient en estroississant sur le collet du pourpoint, et se relargist sur les espaulles en deux; laquelle pièce dessus dicte nest jamais faicte forte ne espesse, ançois la plus legière que on la peult faire est la meilleure;<sup>4</sup> et pour conclusion faire ces trois pièces dessus dictes font le heaulme entier."<sup>5</sup> This description so exactly corresponds to the jousting helmets of the type of Figs. 79 to 82 that it is clear the fashion of them did not much change during the second half of the fifteenth century. If armour be carefully studied it will be found that the changes in jousting and tournament harness were much less rapid than those in war harness. War harness always followed the form of the civil dress of the day, but jousting harness being made for a specific purpose was much less variable in its fashion.

#### No. 79. Figs. 81 and 82.

Helm for jousting of great strength and beauty of design, German, of the Maximilian period. Date 1480 to 1520.

*Sir Noël Paton.*

There is a wonderful series of German jousting harnesses now in the Musée d'Artillerie, mostly having all their original straps, buckles, targets, and various contrivances for rendering them of immense resisting power, and it is to a suit of the same type that Sir Noël Paton's helm has belonged. It is made like the preceding one of three pieces, but the rivet heads are not covered with brass caps. At the bottom of the back piece are three holes for riveting on the buckle. The lower part of the front of the helm has been cut off, so that the means of attaching it to the breastplate no longer exists. The perforations at either side for

<sup>1</sup> The front piece is to be turned over the crown piece at each end of the opening for sight for a width of two fingers. It is so in our helm but the heads of the rivets are neither sunk nor filed off as directed. The "rochet" is the coronal of the lance.

<sup>2</sup> The front piece is to be kept broad and straight, leaving four fingers between it and the face, so as to leave a good space between it and the head when it is hit by the lance.

<sup>3</sup> Small apertures are to be pierced in

a vertical line on each side of the helm so that it may not be too hot inside and so that the wearer may see and hear him who hands him his lance. These holes will be seen pierced in very pretty shapes in Fig. 81.

<sup>4</sup> The line of this ridge exactly corresponds to the ridges in Fig. 82 getting narrow at the neck and widening out at the shoulders. The back piece is always to be made as thin as possible.

<sup>5</sup> René de Belleval, "Costume Militaire des Français en 1464," p. 6.



ventilation and hearing are cut in beautiful shapes, as will be seen in Fig. 81.<sup>1</sup> There are also three pairs of aiglette holes on each side (one pair in the crown-piece and two by the perforations just mentioned) edged with brass, which were used for securing the lining from flapping about in the helmet. In the two splendid jousting helms in Albert Durer's well-known prints, these aiglettes are represented tied in bows. The lower edge of the slit for sight is not turned back in this helm, but is very thick, and there is no re-inforcing piece inside the upper edge as in the last example. There is a hole three-quarters of an inch in diameter at the summit of the helm for fixing a crest and two small holes in rear of it. The fluting of the crown and back pieces is particularly graceful as will be seen in Fig. 82.

## No. 80. Fig. 78.

Tournament helm of Sir Giles Capel, one of the knights, who, with King Henry VIII, challenged all comers for thirty days at the Field of Cloth of Gold. This form of helm was used for the combat on foot and perhaps for the tourney. It hung over the tomb of the Capels in Rayne Church until 1840, when the church was pulled down. Date 1510 to 1525. *The Baron de Cosson.*

The history of this helm is singular. Until old Rayne Church was pulled down, it hung there over the tomb of the Capels, Earls of Essex. On the destruction of the church it was included with another helmet, amongst the old iron sold to the builder of the new church, in whose yard it lay for years, until the artistic fancy of a very young lady was attracted by it and its companion, and she bought them; thus probably saving them from destruction. The second helmet is of the Elizabethan period, and only interesting from its associations, but upon learning that the large helm was a very remarkable and rare specimen, its owner, now Madame Courtauld Arendrup, most generously insisted that the author should add it to his collection. The same church of Rayne contained two other helmets in the belfry tower. These were obtained by a gentleman in the neighbourhood, before the destruction of the church. One is now in the Saffron Walden Museum, and the other, an armet of the time of Henry VIII has now passed into the author's collection.<sup>2</sup> These four helmets probably all belonged to the Capels, who lived at Rayne Hall, and were patrons of the church.

The reasons for identifying this form of helm with the bassinet, so often mentioned in the accounts of combats on foot in the second half of the fifteenth century and the first years of the sixteenth, have already been given.<sup>3</sup> Just such a helm is shown in the miniature of the manuscript, entitled "How a man schalle be armyd at his ese when he schal fighte on foote,"<sup>4</sup> and is there called a bassinet.

The visor in the Capel helm is of great strength and thickness, and the

<sup>1</sup> Another use for these holes has just been referred to in the description of No. 78.

<sup>2</sup> The Saffron Walden helmet is of

rather late date, the armet is of the type of Nos. 40 and 41, Figs. 36 and 37.

<sup>3</sup> See preliminary notice on the Bassinet.

<sup>4</sup> *Archæological Journal*, vol. iv, p. 226.

numerous apertures are very small, so that no blow or thrust even with the sharp point of an estoc could injure the wearer, who at the same time could see well in whatever direction he turned his head. The pins and hinges which secure the visor are here ingeniously placed beneath the visor itself, so as not to be exposed to a blow. We often read in the accounts of tournaments that the hinges of the visor were carried away by an adversary's blow, hence this contrivance. "Le diet de Vandrey donna tel coup au clou de la visière du Comte, qu'il rompit le diet clou et demoura ladite visière desclouée et pendant à l'autre clou, et avoit le Comte le visage desouvert."<sup>1</sup>

The original pins remain in this helm, but the spring catch to secure the visor when down is gone, only the holes for it remaining. It is quite possible that a tilting visor could be used with the helm instead of the one that is on it. With the exception of the visor, it much resembles several helms that have tilting visors; the one next to be described for example.

There is a hole at the summit for fixing a crest and aiglette holes at the sides rimmed with brass, for securing the lining in its place. A helm of a similar type, but possibly earlier in date, with a ribbed visor and uncovered hinges, and a small bavier as in the next one to be described, hangs over the tomb of John Beaufort Duke of Somerset in Wimborne Minster. It was recently exhibited at the Institute, and will be shortly engraved in the *Archæological Journal*. There is a suit in the Tower attributed to Henry VIII and clearly made for fighting on foot, the helm of which is very similar to this one, and the Ambras collection contains several suits for fighting on foot with helms of this type.

No. 81. Fig. 77.

Helm of Sir Thomas Broke, seventh Lord Cobham, who died 1522. From Cobham Church, Kent.

*The Rev. A. W. Berger.*

Various helms of this type (which would appear to be peculiarly English, as it is not found in continental armouries) have been preserved in churches in England. The most beautiful and complete of them is the one in Broadwater Church, so carefully described and illustrated by Mr. Burges in a recent number of the *Archæological Journal*.<sup>2</sup> It is quite possible that this helm very much resembles the "heaulmet," or little helm, of Olivier de la Marche, and the "Challange de Phillip de Bouton,"<sup>3</sup> for it partakes of the nature of the jousting helm and of the armet. It was doubtless intended for the tilt (or course with sharp or blunted lances) and not for jousting. The slit for sight is here cut out of the body of the visor, and above the slit is a reinforcing piece, which may have been put on to narrow the opening as it overlaps the upper edge of it. The lower edge of the slit is turned inwards to give extra strength. The pin and hinge arrangement at the sides of the visor is similar to that in visored bassinets and Italian armets.

As before said it is quite possible that different visors could be used with a helm of this kind, according as it was required for tilting, fighting

<sup>1</sup> Olivier de la Marche, p. 202.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. xxxvi, page 78.

<sup>3</sup> See Introductory Notice on the Armet.

on foot, or the tourney. A small bavair below the visor protected the lower edge of it from an upward blow, but this has now been riveted on so tightly that the visor can no longer be raised. The lower part of the helm, both in front and behind, bears evidences that the mode of fixing it to the cuirass has undergone alterations, a horizontal slot in the front, through which a staple originally passed, is now partly covered by one of the rough hinge-shaped pieces of iron which are fixed with great clumsy rivets to the front of the helma, and which have served to secure it to the breastplate. The chin piece, as in the preceding helm (and also the Broadwater one) is hinged to the crown piece somewhat below the point where the visor is hinged. A finer helm of a very similar type, from the tomb of Sir John Gostwick in Willington Church, Bedfordshire, was exhibited at the meeting of the Institute, 4th November, 1880.

## CASQUES, BURGONETS, AND BUFFES.

No. 82. Fig. 83.

Casquetel used by Archers. Date about 1500.<sup>1</sup>

*Mr. R. Hillingford.*

Mr. Hillingford has followed Meyrick in the name he has given to this form of helmet, but Meyrick does not say on what authority he used this word casquetel, nor has the author been able to discover whence he got it.

Meyrick's attribution of his own example to the reign of Henry VI.<sup>2</sup> (1422 to 1460) is as manifestly wrong as Demmin's idea that the piece dates from the seventeenth century.<sup>3</sup>

The style, workmanship, and form of the piece all point to the first years of the sixteenth century as the period of its production, and Mr. Hillingford is probably ten years too early in his date. A helmet identical with this one in general form, only ornamented with engraving and with diamond-shaped projections hammered up on its crown, exists with the half-suit of armour to which it most unquestionably belongs in the Bargello at Florence. The breastplate is globose with long tassets, and belongs to what is commonly called the Maximilian period of armour, its date being between 1505 and 1515. It is one of the best examples of that Milanese armour from which Maximilian probably borrowed the idea of the armour which so suddenly superseded the beautiful so-called *Gothic* German armour of the last quarter of the fifteenth century. Another helmet, plain and exactly like Mr. Hillingford's, only more perfect in preservation, is in the Brussels collection.

There are two casques of a similar form at the Musée d'Artillerie which came from Rhodes. In one of them the umbril or peak is fixed. The other more closely resembles Mr. Hillingford's, only the plates at the back being fewer and more salient, and the umbril not being so flat, it more approaches the form a sallad. Both have ribbed or fluted crowns, and clearly belong to the first years of the sixteenth century or possibly quite the end of the fifteenth.

<sup>1</sup> Now in Mr. Burges's collection.

<sup>2</sup> "Critical Inquiry," vol. ii, p. 128.  
In the "Engraved Illustrations" the same

piece is given to the reign of Edward IV.  
vol. i, Plate xvi.

<sup>3</sup> "Guide des Amateurs d'Armes," 293.

This form of helmet would seem to be the prototype of all the casques which will be found on Plate vii, its distinguishing features being a salient umbril in front and a slight curve outwards at the back of the neck to protect the nape. The face was exposed except when a separate vizor was strapped or otherwise fixed on to it. The reasons for identifying this helmet with the burgonet, and its movable visor with the buffe have already been given.<sup>1</sup>

No. 83. Fig. 84.

Casque, German; the bavier could be removed. Helmets similar to this in form occur on some fluted suits of the Maximilian type. Date 1515 to 1530.

*The Baron de Cosson.*

Similar in general form to the last helmet this one has in addition two cheek-pieces which meet under the chin.<sup>2</sup> It has also a moveable and separate guard for the face and chin, which, when fitted on, was held in its place by a button and turn-buckle arrangement. Both the helmet and this separate visor or chin-piece have been lined throughout. The whole probably represents the "burgonet with a buffe or chin-piece" mentioned as belonging to the foot armour of Henry VIII. in the "Survey of the Tower," written in 1660. It is a light kind of head piece, the whole only weighing 3lbs. 15½ozs., and yet it forms a very perfect defence against a sword or light lance and was eminently adapted for lightly armed cavalry, "*caragli leggeri*," such as composed the celebrated "*bande nere*" of Giovanni de Medici, who for lightness and convenience armed them with "*celate alla borgognona*."<sup>3</sup> There is a very fine Italian half suit in the Musée d'Artillerie which came from Pierrefonds (where it was called a light horseman's suit) with just such a helmet as this one, only the moveable chin piece is replaced by bars fixed to the umbril. The breast is globose and the suit which is repoussé in a most beautiful design, is of the same make and date as the one in the Bargello just referred to.

No. 84. Fig. 85.

Casque, Italian, engraved. The engraving is gilt, the ground russet. Date 1530 to 1540. *The Baron de Cosson.*

On one side of the crest of this gracefully formed helmet are the following characters Io Ia<sup>4</sup> PEDIENVS. On the other side MILITVM DVCTOR, and to this some one has added in a rough way SVB KAROLO. V, but the addition instead of being etched like the original inscription is hammered in with a chisel. It might be the work of a soldier to whom the piece belonged, but is more probably that of a modern dealer.

The rivets have brass washers of pretty design, one of which is drawn half size at A near Fig. 85.

<sup>1</sup> See introductory notice on burgonet and buffe.

<sup>2</sup> It is quite possible that the previous helmet had very small cheek pieces, a space for them seeming to exist between the umbril and the tail piece but no trace of a hinge was to be seen. If they

existed they were only fixed by a leather riveted to the crown-piece,

<sup>3</sup> See introductory notice on burgonet and buffe.

<sup>4</sup> The I traverses the o forming a monogram resembling the Greek Φ. The Ia also are formed into a similar monogram.

## No. 85. Fig. 86.

Casque, Italian, engraved with arabesques. Date  
1530 to 1540. *The Baron de Cosson.*

The form of this helmet is particularly graceful and classic and its execution very good. There is a figure of Cupid on each side of the comb and the arabesques are well designed. The engraving is pure line, not as in later Italian work thrown up by a deeply etched ground. Many rich suits of armour had one of these light open helmets as well as a close helmet, a fact proved by existing examples at Madrid and elsewhere.

## No. 86. Fig. 87.

Casque of steel repoussé work, Italian; subject Mars with Peace<sup>1</sup> and Fame holding his moustaches. Date  
about 1540. *The Executors of the late Mr. J. W. Baily.*

This and the following helmet were the only specimens of the famed Italian repoussé work of the sixteenth century in the exhibition. The taste for this highly ornate kind of armour having existed much longer than that for simpler pieces, very little of it is to be found out of public or princely collections.

Two helmets of similar design to this one, but finer in execution, are the one at Madrid and the other at the Musée d'Artillerie in Paris.

The Paris example<sup>2</sup> is of the very finest style and execution and is ornamented with small arabesques of inlaid silver. The principal difference in design is that the tablet on the front of Mr. Baily's helmet is replaced in the Paris one by an escutcheon whereon is the inscription ΤΑΥΡΑΙΝ ΗΠΟΣ ΑΣΤΕΗ inlaid in gold. The meaning of these character is not at all clear. The female figures also extend their arms holding the palm branch and trumpet downwards, instead of outwards. There is also more life and energy in the head of the warrior, or Mars as Mr. Baily terms him.

The helmet in the royal collection at Madrid is thus described in the catalogue of the Armeria Real (1867) where it is numbered 2323. "Burgonet or Casque of the Emperor Charles V. On the front part of this beautiful piece are Victory and Fame holding the moustaches of a Turk wearing a lorica and lying on his back, who fancifully forms a crest. . . . On the front between the two said figures is a shield on which is written in letters inlaid in gold SIC . TVA . INVICT . E . CESAR. Inside the umbril of the helmet is the inscription F . ET . FRA . DE . NEGROLIS . FACI . A . MDXXXV. Sic tua invictissime Cæsar. Filippus et fratres de Negrolis faciebant. Anno 1535. It is in many parts damascened in gold and weighs 4 lbs. 9 ozs. Spanish." The warrior here wears a turban, and the female figures sit facing the front of the helmet and are draped, nor do they end off in fishes' tails as in the Paris and Baily helmets. Still the general design is the same. It is most probable that all these casques came from the workshop of the brothers Negrolis who were the most celebrated Italian armourers of their day. The design being admired was repeated with slight variations. The Madrid and Paris casques are the work of the Negrolis themselves, but Mr. Baily's, inferior to them in its

<sup>1</sup> Victory more probably; she holds a palm.

<sup>2</sup> Musée d'Artillerie Catalogue, II. 133.

execution, was probably the work of an apprentice or less skilful workman than the great Milanese master himself. Paolo Morigia<sup>1</sup> says that Filippo Negroli made "celate e rotelle" miracolose" and that he had two brothers who worked with him, the "Fillipus et fratres" of the Madrid casque. The Paris helmet has been published in photography by Franck, the Madrid one by Laurent, both of Paris.

Mr. Baily's helmet is now in the collection of the author.

### No. 87. Fig. 88.

Casque with three combs, and embossed with the Florentine fleur de lys. From the Brocas collection. Date about 1550.

*The Executors of the late Mr. J. W. Baily.*

This finely designed and ornamented helmet has at some time or other been wilfully damaged, an embossed grotesque head on the front part of it having been flattened down and a portion of the brim at the back having been broken off. Otherwise it is in fine preservation, all the parts in relief having their original gilding and the ground being a fine russet. In the armoury of the Kings of Naples, formerly in the Palazzo Reale and now at Capodimonte near Naples, are nineteen helmets all alike and of similar design to this one. Mr. Baily, Junr., says that another exists in Lord Londesborough's collection, but it is quite impossible to identify it in the feeble and miserably arranged catalogue published when that collection was exhibited at the Alexandra Palace and the Aquarium.<sup>3</sup> It is possible Mr. Baily's recollection may refer to a similar helmet in the Meyrick collection which with the half suit of armour belonging to it is represented in the "Engraved Illustrations" of the Meyrick Collection.<sup>4</sup> If the drawing of it there be correct the helmet although of the same design as Mr. Baily's was less graceful in form. The suit is there attributed to the body guard of Cosmo de Medicis, and the date 1568 assigned to it. The date appears rather late, but the attribution to the body guard of Cosmo seems very probable, as he reigned as Duke of Florence from 1537 to 1569 when he became Grand Duke of Tuscany, dying in 1574.

How so many of these beautiful helmets got into the royal armoury at Naples is not clear. Mr. Baily's example has passed into the author's collection.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Nobiltà di Milano, 4to, Milan, 1595.

<sup>2</sup> That is casques and round shields.

<sup>3</sup> The author does not remember seeing any such helmet in Lord Londesborough's collection.

<sup>4</sup> Vol. i, plate xxxii, the letterpress states that there was a fleur de lys on the breastplate of the suit, but although the work on it is carefully drawn, no fleur de lys is apparent. Did the suit really belong to the helmet?

<sup>5</sup> Since writing the above the author has had this helmet cleaned. With the varnish with which it was covered came

away a quantity of black paint, leaving the ground of the helmet a brilliant silvery steel, whilst the fleur-de-lys and scrolls are a russet brown, and the oval mirrors on the combs and the corded edges of these last are gilt. The effect of the three tints, bright steel, russet, and gold, is very charming. The piece has traces of having had a nasal and lobster tail affixed to it in the 17th century to convert it into a helmet, like fig. 95. Hence its mutilations. The black paint probably dated from the same period, when black armour was much worn.

## No. 88. Fig. 89.

Casque with three combs. The cheek-pieces retain their original lining. Armourer's mark a pine and tilting helm. From the Meyrick collection.<sup>1</sup> Date about 1550.

*Mr. W. Burges.*

This is probably a helmet of German make, and the perfect forging of the three serrated combs is a work of very great skill. It would certainly puzzle a modern workman to form the crown piece of such a helmet out of one single piece of steel.

No. 89. Fig. 90.<sup>2</sup>

Casque with bright bands on a black ground. German 1560 to 1580.

*The Baron de Cosson.*

This helmet which bears the Nuremburg mark belongs to one of those half suits with bright bands on a black ground, of which so many remain, and which Meyrick has identified with the Allecret of old writers.<sup>3</sup> He, however, correctly observes that the "hallecret" was also the half suit of a light horseman,<sup>4</sup> and it probably was applied to all those half suits with long tassets and open casques so much in vogue in the sixteenth century. After a tournament at the Chateau de Nozeroy in 1519 (o. s.) in a mock assault on "ung bastillon de guerre à quatre tours devant, à pont levy derriere," &c., "le Seigneur Prince d'Oranges accompagné de ses compaignons, entrepreneurs, et de cinquante nobles hommes avec luy, bien arméz d'*alerests*, la dague au costel, et la pique au poing, se sont mis dans le dit bastillon."<sup>5</sup>

Black and white suits were made in vast quantities in Germany, and, as the varied shapes of their breastplates show, for a considerable period. Meyrick says that some at Vienna are dated 1535 whilst some are found which cannot be much earlier than 1600.

## No. 90. Fig. 91.

Movable Mentonniere for a black and white casque. Date about 1570.

*Mr. R. Hillingford.*

These pieces were strapped to the casque, or as in Fig. 93, were hooked on. They were no doubt the "buffe or chin piece" mentioned in different writings of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth centuries. The reasons for this attribution have already been given. They were jointed so that the upper plate could be lowered without removing the buffe. Sometimes there were a number of plates in the buffe and each one had a spring to keep it in its place when up.

<sup>1</sup> "Engraved Illustrations," vol. i, Plate xxv.

<sup>2</sup> The small section near the figure represents one of the bright bands on the crown which, as will be seen, are slightly sunk.

<sup>3</sup> "Critical Inquiry," vol. ii, pp. 206 and 207, and "Engraved Illustrations," vol. i, Plate xxv.

<sup>4</sup> "Critical Inquiry," vol. ii, p. 226.

<sup>5</sup> "Traicté des Tournois," Paris, 1578., p. 254.

## No. 91.    Fig. 92.

Casque, with pointed crown.    Probably German.  
 Date 1560 to 1590.    *The Baron de Cosson.*

Similar in construction to No. 89, this one is entirely polished. The figure will show all its differences in form.

## No. 92.    Fig. 93.

Moveable chin piece of an open Casque.    Date 1560 to 1590.    *The Baron de Cosson.*

The perforations are slits in this case instead of round holes as in Fig. 91. This buffe is entirely bright.

## No. 93.    Fig. 94.

Casque with hinged cheek pieces.    Date 1560 to 1590.    *Mr. W. Burges.*

The umbril moves on pivots in this helmet and overlaps the cheek pieces a little so that when down it keeps them closed at the top.

The summit of the helmet ends in a sort of pine-apple.

## No. 94.    Fig. 96.

Helmet of the kind known as "lobster tailed," ornamented with brass studs.    Probably Polish.    First half of the seventeenth century.    *Mr. W. Burges.*

This head piece belongs to a gorget and coat covered with scales, described by Mr. Burges under the No. 50 in the catalogue of mail and which are ornamented with the same brass studs one of which is drawn half size near the helmet at B. The head piece is of good workmanship and has had a nasal like Fig. 95. This is probably the type of helmet to be worn by the new cavalry mentioned by Richelieu in a letter to the Cardinal de la Valette, and which he describes as "une bourgingnote couvrant les deux joues, avec une barre sur le nez."

The "lobster tailed" helmet so much in use for cavalry during the first half of the seventeenth century although certainly described as a burgonet at that time, and bearing very much resemblance to the type of casque with an umbril and cheek pieces known by that name in the sixteenth century, was probably not derived from it at all but came from Eastern Europe with regiments of horse levied in Poland or Hungary. Many varieties of it existed in those countries and are described in Russian works. The prototype of the lobster tailed helmet was the oriental head piece of the form shown in Figs. 113 and 116 and described under Nos. 148 and 149 and the intermediate forms leading from that type to the lobster tail of the Civil Wars will be found in the great work on Russian antiquities published by command of the Emperor at St. Petersburg in 1852, tome iii, part I of the atlas of plates.



## No. 95. Fig. 95.

Helmet, lobster tailed, of the time of the Civil Wars. German.  
*Mr. W. Burges.*

Many of these helmets have been sold in England of late years as English head pieces of the time of the Civil Wars, but as a French dealer recently obtained several hundred *exactly* of this type from the Arsenal at Munich together with several hundred morions like Fig. 109, it is probable that they are all German. The real English type will be seen in the next example. These German helmets all have six raised ridges radiating from the centre of the crown where there is a small ring. This was probably the helmet of the famed German Ritters, but it is very exactly described by Fr. Lod. Melzo in his "*Regole Militari*," &c., published at Antwerp in 1611, "*I capitani degli archibugieri sogliono armarsi di petto e schierna a prova di archibugio, e di un morione leggiero e basso con quattro fili, con l'orrechie e con un ferro davanti, che guarda la faccia delle coltellate.*"

The ridges on the crown, the cheek pieces and the nasal are all described here. In the survey of the Tower in 1660 "*Dutch horseman's head pieces, with single barrs*," are mentioned. The English form generally had triple bars.

## No. 96. Fig. 97.

Helmet, black, with lobster tail. From the Brocas collection. English *Temp.* Charles I.

*The Executors of the late Mr. J. W. Baily.*

This piece is of the same type as so many that are to be seen in old houses where armour of the time of the Civil Wars still remains. With breast and back plate it formed the mounted arquebuser's armour and without them was worn by the dragoons of the time of the Civil Wars. This one is now in the author's collection.

## No. 97. Fig. 112.

Helmet known as a "spider helmet," said to have belonged to a regiment of horse formed by Henri Quatre.  
*Mr. W. Burges.*

The above origin is attributed to one of these curious helmets in the Tower. At the Musée d'Artillerie a similar piece is described as an infantry helmet of the middle of the seventeenth century.<sup>1</sup>

Its form would certainly appear to belong to a later reign than that of Henry IV. of France, but it would seem much more suited to a horseman who would often be in hand to hand encounters with the sword than to a foot soldier. The series of bars hanging from the skull of the helmet forming a very good defence against a sabre cut. When not in action the

<sup>1</sup> The same date is ascribed by the Comte de Bellevall to a similar helmet in his own collection: "*La Panoplie du XV<sup>e</sup> au XVIII<sup>e</sup> Siècle*, Paris," 1873. page 161.

The Comte de Bellevall's fine collection passed into the Emperor Napoleon's, and is now in the Musée d'Artillerie.

wearer could raise them and fit their ends under the circular plate seen at the top of the piece, which when pressed down held them in their place. On raising the plate again, the whole of the bars were released and fell round the wearer's head.

## CHAPELS-DE-FER, MORIONS, AND CABASSETS.

No. 98. Fig. 98.

Chapel-de-fer. Date 1475 to 1500. *Mr. R. Hillingford.*

This helmet has unfortunately suffered much from rust and ill usage, part of the medial ridge being broken and flattened.

In form it is almost identical with the pikeman's helmet of the seventeenth century, Fig. 110, but the metal and workmanship of it prove it to belong to a much earlier date.

In the National Gallery is a picture of the death of St. Peter Martyr, ascribed to Giorgione, in which one of the soldiers wears a helmet exactly like Mr. Hillingford's, only it has a steel covered chin strap like Fig. 110. This picture was probably painted in the very first years of the sixteenth century. The two sets of small twin-holes round the head-piece under consideration show that the lining extended to the edge of the brim of the helmet. "On his hedde a Chapeau Montabin with a rich coronall the fold of the chapeau was lined with a crimsen satten," says Grafton.<sup>1</sup>

The helmet only weighs 2lbs. 12½ozs. One of exactly the same form as Mr. Hillingford's, but much thicker and better preserved, and with a large separate chin piece or bavier bearing the same armourer's mark as the head piece, is in the Brussels collection. It has no small holes round its brim for securing a lining to the "fold of the chapeau."

No. 99. Fig. 99.

Chapel-de-fer, or Morion of early form. Armourer's mark a fleur de lys. From Rhodes. Date 1475 to 1500.

*The Museum of Artillery, Woolwich.*<sup>2</sup>

It is difficult to say by what term such a head-piece as this would have been described at the time it was worn. In the Woolwich Catalogue it is called a sallad, but its affinity with the recognised forms of sallad is slight. The workmanship of it is particularly good, the edges of the brim are boldly turned in, there is a slight ridge running from front to back of the crown, and it has had chin straps placed rather to the rear of the helmet which was worn slanting on the head. The rivets for them appear under those for the lining. The whole piece is remarkably long (15½ inches) and narrow. Just such a head piece is seen on a portrait of Phillip the Fair at Brussels with a crown or "coronall" and the "fold" lined with red, in fact it quite illustrates Grafton's text.

<sup>1</sup> Henry VIII, ann. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Woolwich Catalogue, Class xvi, No. 202.

## No. 100. Fig. 100.

Morion, Italian, with the arms of Bologna. Date 1530  
to 1550. *The Baron de Cosson.*

Almost identical with this was a piece in the Meyrick collection with the arms of Lucca, which is described in the "Engraved Illustrations"<sup>1</sup> as an "archer's salade." Although the word sallad was late in the sixteenth century applied to almost any kind of helmet, this one certainly has much more analogy to the morion than the sallad. Two rivets near together rather towards the back of the helmet have their broad heads on the inside of the piece, showing that they secured chin-straps like those on Fig. 110.

## No. 101. Fig. 101.

Morion, combed, covered with rich engraving, Italian.  
Date about 1550. *Mr. W. Burges.*

The engraving is particularly good in design and the piece well preserved. The style of the heads and ornaments decidedly indicate an Italian origin.

## No. 102. Fig. 102.

Morion covered with rich engraving, the comb remarkably high and the arabesques of bold design, Italian.  
Date 1550 to 1570. *The Baron de Cosson.*

To forge such a helmet out of one single piece of steel shows most remarkable skill in the armourers who produced these pieces. The Italians were particularly celebrated for their manufacture. Brantôme says that the French "ne les vuidoient pas si bien et leur faisoient la crête par trop haute." The engraved morions gilt with "or moulu," which Strozzi got from Italy for his soldiers, cost 14 crowns each. Finding this too much he caused his morions to be sent from Milan, engraved but without gilding, and then gave them to a French gilder and they thus only cost him 8 or 9 crowns each. The same author tells that "à une revue de Monsieur" (afterwards Henri III) "il se trouva 10,000 morions gravez et dorez, et n'étoient pas si commun comme depuis." The engraving on the morion under consideration is particularly deep and bold in design.

## No. 103. Fig. 103.

Morion, with comb. *Temp. Elizabeth.* *Mr. W. Burges.*

A plain soldier's morion. The brass washer of one of the rivets is drawn half size at A.

<sup>1</sup> Vol. ii, Plate 74.

## No. 104. Fig. 104.

Cabasset or peaked morion, richly engraved, probably Italian. Date 1555 to 1575. *The Baron de Cosson.*

It is probable that all the so-called peaked morions ought to be styled cabassets whether they have a flat brim or not, the term morion being reserved for what are usually called *combed* morions. The cabasset first appears in an ordonnance of Francis I, who orders that men at arms wear the armet, light horse the sallad, and "les arquebusiers seulement le cabasset pour viser mieux et avoir la tête plus délivre." The cabasset did not impede the aim, and was therefore the proper head piece of the musketeer. All the perfect peaked morions end at the top with a curious little spike drawn out towards the rear of the headpiece. The washer of one of the rivets of this one is drawn at c. The engraving although not so bold as that on Fig. 102 is somewhat in the same style.

## No. 105. Fig. 106.

Cabasset, engraved. Date about 1560. *Mr. W. J. Bernhard Smith.*

This is similar in form to the last, only it is not entirely covered with engraving. It preserves its original plume holder. A rivet is given at e.

## No. 106.

Cabasset or morion, engraved, Italian. Date about 1560. *The Executors of the late Mr. J. W. Bailly*

Almost identical with Mr. Bernhard Smith's. This piece which is now in the author's collection was not photographed for engraving.

## No. 107. Fig. 107.

Cabasset, engraved. Italian. Date 1560 to 1580. *The Hon. Society of the Middle Temple by Mr. C. Milward.*

This is a very finely engraved piece and was found with the helmet described under No. 70, Fig. 66, and a quantity of other armour in the Minstrel's Gallery of the Middle Temple Hall.<sup>1</sup> On one side of it is a representation of Mucius Scaevola before Porsenna, he holds a big sword and is armed with helmet, lorica, and shield. Above, on a scroll, is written MVCIO. A dog is in the act of jumping into Porsenna's lap. On the reverse side is a female figure holding a glass in which her face is reflected. One of the beautiful gilt brass washers of the rivets is engraved half size at B.

<sup>1</sup> *Archaeological Journal*, vol. xviii, p. 151.

## No. 108. Fig. 105.

Cabasset or flat brimmed morion. Italian, with gilt bands richly engraved. Date 1560 to 1580.

*The Baron de Cosson*

On each engraved and gilt band is an oval medallion with a figure in it engraved with much spirit. One of the rivet washers is drawn at D. A second row of rivets close to the edge of the brim shows that the lining extended that far. These flat brimmed cabassets originally had chin straps. The piece is in fine preservation.

## No. 109.

Cabasset, Italian, engraved. Date 1560 to 1580.

*The Baron de Cosson.*

Similar in shape to the last, but much inferior in execution; this piece has not been illustrated, as it offered no feature of special importance.

## No. 110.

Cabasset, Italian, engraved. Date 1560 to 1580.

*Mr. H. Hippiisley.*

In form similar to Fig. 107 but with the engraving in bands like Fig. 105; this helmet was not photographed as it had been repaired at its summit and offered no new features.

## No. 111. Fig. 108.

Morion, with three corded ridges or combs. Flemish.  
Date 1570 to 1590.

*Mr. W. J. Bernhard Smith.*

Mr. Bernhard Smith stated in the *Archæological Journal*,<sup>1</sup> 1858, that this helmet had formed part of the collection exhibited a few years previously in Leicester Square together with another now in the Tower.

## No. 112. Fig. 109.

Morion, with bright fleur-de-lys on black ground, probably from Munich. Date about 1600.

*Mr. W. Burges.*

Morions like this one, of which a great number still exist, would seem to have belonged to the civic guard of Munich, or to regiments of pikemen having their head quarters in that place. The fact that several hundred were recently obtained from the arsenal at Munich by a French dealer, has already been mentioned in describing No. 95. The fleur-de-lys in this instance would not appear to have been heraldic, but an emblem of the Blessed Virgin, to whom the town guard was dedicated.

<sup>1</sup> Vol. xv, p. 166.

## No. 113.

Morion, black, with bright fleur-de-lys. German.

Probably belonged to the Civic Guard of Munich.

Date, 1600 to 1610.

*The Baron de Cosson.*

Being very similar to the last, this helmet has not been engraved. A considerable number of small varieties are found in these morions, scarcely any two being exactly alike.

Not so the lobster tail helmets from Munich (No. 95, fig. 95), which are almost all identical in form and make.

## No. 114. Fig. 110.

Pikeman's helmet. English. Date about 1620. *Mr. W. Burges.*

An examination of Plate VIII will show the curious fact that the earliest helmet engraved in the plate of morions, fig. 98, and the latest, fig. 110, were identical in outline. But in the workmanship and material the difference was immense. The early one was delicately forged in one piece of thin hard steel. The late one was clumsily joined down the middle, heavy, and apparently of much coarser metal. Numerous half suits exist with these helmets, and old prints of the pikeman's drill, some of which have been reproduced by Grose in his "Military Antiquities," show that they were distinctively pikemen's suits.

## No. 115. Fig. 111.

Pikeman's helmet and gorget, painted brown with gold stars. English. Date 1620 to 1630. *The Baron de Cosson.*

Same type as the preceding. Perhaps an officer's helmet. Some helmets of this type are prettily ribbed. A complete pikeman's suit and some varieties of helmet are represented in plate xxxix of Meyrick's "Engraved Illustrations."

## HELMETS VARIOUS.

## No. 116.

Siege Cap, middle of the seventeenth century.

*Mr. W. Burges.*

This piece was imperfect, only the bason-shaped skull piece remaining, which was of very great weight and strength.

## No. 117.

Helmet of massive steel with brass studs. For the use of stormers. From the armoury of the Tower of London. With original lining. Date about 1700.

*Mr. W. J. Bernhard Smith.*

It was probably an error to describe this very heavy siege cap as being

of *steel*. Iron appeared to be the material it was made of and the skull piece was in two halves riveted together. A number of these helmets still exist in the Tower.

## No. 118.

Privy cap of defence, constructed to fold up. It formed the framework of the coife of a French Judge, who feared assassination. Date, about the reign of Henri Quatre.

*Mr. W. J. Bernhard Smith.*

The following description of this piece, by Mr. Bernhard Smith, will be found in volume vii of the *Archaeological Journal*, p. 197, "also a rare piece of armour, a *secretum* or steel frame used as a cap of fence, being very ingeniously fabricated and hinged together, so as to be carried in the pocket and on any sudden emergency placed in the crown of the cap or hat. Date sixteenth century. A similar *secrette* was formerly in the armoury at the Chateau de Rocherolles in Normandy." The engraving of this piece faces page 305 of the same volume.

Where Mr. Bernhard Smith got the story of the judge, which he wrote on the card which accompanied the piece at the exhibition, the author cannot say, but he feels sceptical about it, and prefers the account given in the *Archaeological Journal* with the one exception of the date. Assassins do not usually attempt the lives of judges through the tops of their heads. This piece is a defence against a sabre cut only. Two specimens identical with this one exist in the Musée d'Artillerie in Paris. The description given of them in the catalogue is "Armature en fer, servant de calotte intérieure de chapeau. Règne de Louis XIV." The Uboldo collection at Milan also possessed an identical piece.

Now there is no question that in duels in the sixteenth century head pieces called *secrettes* were used. Brantôme relates that at Milan "ou tuait dans les duels beaucoup d'Italiens, bien qu'ils fussent armés de jaques de mailles, gantelets, et *secretta in testa*." Also that in one of these combats "ou choisit deux *secrettes* et deux rapières bien tranchantes."

An "ordonnance" of Francis I, dated 1534, orders that arquebusiers should wear "grands gorgerins de mailles et la *secrette*." Brantôme also says that Bayard and Sotomayor arranged to fight a sword and dagger duel, armed with "gorgerin et *secrette*." But the piece exhibited by Mr. Bernhard Smith being only a skeleton cap would have been quite useless in a duel, except it were fought with broadswords, and those weapons were not used in affairs of honour. The *secrette* was probably a thin skull cap, like No. 35, fig. 28, and the piece now under consideration may have been used by officers, when going into battle, to put inside the felt hat worn in the reigns of Louis XIII and XIV, or, perhaps, under the ordinary hat when going about at night in uncanny places.

## No. 119.

Skull cap from Tangiers. Date end of the fifteenth century.

*The Museum of Artillery, Woolwich.*<sup>1</sup>

There is no clue to the date of this very curious piece, which has been

<sup>1</sup> Woolwich Catalogue, cl. xvi, No. 17.

described and illustrated in the *Archæological Journal*, vol. xxiv, p. 316. The most singular feature of it is the double cross engraved on it, this double cross being exactly like the one on the Union Jack. So unusual is this kind of ornament in Moorish work, that it is difficult to believe it to be of Moresque origin. There is a band of thin brass riveted with iron rivets round the outside of the base of the cap. The cap itself is almost hemispherical, and has none of the beautiful and delicate curvature found in the Italian specimen, No. 35, Fig. 28.

## No. 120.

Helmet from the mural tablet of Colonel Kyrle in Walford Church, Herefordshire. Date seventeenth century.

*The Rev. A. Stonhouse.*

A very thin helmet, so thin that it might be supposed to be a funeral helmet; but if so, why should it have all the rivets for the straps to which the lining could be sewn? These would be needless in a helmet merely made to be hung in an achievement. In fact, their presence in a piece would seem almost a proof that it was intended to be worn. This helmet is ribbed, and almost exactly resembles those ribbed helmets worn by Louis XIII and Monsieur de Pluvinel in Plates 44 and 49 (3<sup>me</sup> partie) of the work on horsemanship written by M. de Pluvinel (ed. of 1629). These two plates represent combats on horseback, in armour and with swords.

## No. 121.

Helmet, from the mural tablet of Sir Edward Bullock in Faulkbourne Church, Essex. Sir E. Bullock died in 1644.

*The Rev. F. Spurrell.*

The fashion of this helmet was of the end of Elizabeth's reign or the beginning of that of James I. It was much damaged.

## No. 122.

Helmet found under the ruined portion of Cromer Church, Norfolk. Middle of the seventeenth century.

*The Rev. G. Cardew.*

So corroded as to be of little interest. Appeared to date from the reign of James I.

## No. 123.

Helmet roughly made. Date perhaps Charles II.

*Mr. W. J. Belt.*

A good helmet, spoilt to make it serve in the Guoco del Ponte at Pisa. Hundreds of helmets have had their vizors replaced by rough bars, and been otherwise mutilated to serve in those games, an account of



which will be found in Meyrick's "Critical Inquiry," vol. ii, p. 67. Mr. Weekes possesses the remains of a very fine armet of the fifteenth century, which had been treated in the same manner.

## No. 124.

Pikeman's helmet. *Temp.* Charles I. *Mr. R. S. Ferguson.*

This helmet and the next were of the same type as Nos. 114 and 115, figs. 110 and 111, but so much corroded that they were not included in the chronological series. They came from Carlisle.

## No. 125.

Pikeman's helmet. *Temp.* Charles I. *Mr. R. S. Ferguson.*

## No. 126.

Part of an Elizabethan Cabasset, with very long  
point at apex. *Mr. F. Weekes.*

A portion of one of those Italian helmets half cabasset and half casque of which unfortunately no complete specimen was exhibited. Such a helmet from Venice in its complete form (except that the cheek pieces seem wanting) is engraved in Grose's "Ancient Armour," plate 32, No. 3. One with cheek pieces at Geneva is engraved by Demmin, "Guide des Amateurs d'Armes," page 291, No. 124.

## No. 127.

Face guard of a lobster tailed helmet. *Temp.* Charles II.  
*Mr. F. Weekes.*

A helmet, with an almost identical nasal, is engraved by Grose, "Ancient Armour," plate 47, only, in Mr. Weekes's example there were two of the waved cross bars instead of one. More probably *temp.* Charles I.

## No. 128.

Steel vizor. *Temp.* James II. *Mr. W. J. Bernhard Smith.*

Probably belonged to a helmet of the type of 65, only here the vizor was fixed to the unbril. Might date from the Civil Wars.

## No. 129.

Mask for disguising prisoners. Spanish.  
*Captain A. Hutton.*

All that can be said concerning the supposed use of this iron mask formed in the shape of a human face, is that it is just as probable as any other that might be put forward. No mode of attaching it in any way was apparent.

## No. 130.

Lion-faced vizor of steel. From Madrid. Late fifteenth century. *Mr. W. J. Bernhard Smith*

A finely repoussé piece of ironwork. But if armour at all it seemed rather to be part of a shoulder guard in the style of those on the so called "armure aux lions," in the Musée d'Artillerie.<sup>1</sup> It was too thin for a vizor, which until the seventeenth century was always one of the thickest parts of the helmet. Might it not have belonged to some ornamental ironwork of the sixteenth century?

## No. 131.

Heaume. Date ? *Mr. W. J. Bernhard Smith.*

A very curious piece, certainly not a *modern* forgery, and yet never intended to be worn as a defence, as it was joined right down the middle of the front in a very rough way and was exceedingly thin. Probably a real specimen of the funeral helmet, but of what date? In form it exactly resembled the helm of the end of the fourteenth century.

Mr. Bernhard Smith described this piece in the *Archæological Journal*, vol. xvi, page 182.

## No. 132. Fig. 71.

Armet with comb and plated with scales of solid iron. Without occularia. From Florence. Early sixteenth century. *Mr. W. J. Bernhard Smith.*

An account of this remarkably heavy piece will be found in the *Archæological Journal*, vol. vii, page 197. Mr. Bernhard Smith was of opinion it might have been used as an instrument of torture, but the author much suspects that it was made for some monumental trophy of arms in the classic taste of the end of the renaissance in Italy, either for an entrance gate or perhaps to be carried in some pageant or ceremony; he does not believe it was ever meant to be put on a human head. It is difficult in any way to explain the use of the round holes (three on each side), which will be seen in fig. 71. The scales are all riveted through on to the iron body of the helmet. Mr. Bernhard Smith related that a former possessor of this piece had exhibited it as the helmet of a blind knight!

## FORGERIES.

## No. 133.

Flat topped helm, stated to have been found in Northumberland with other fragments of harness of the Transition period; much corroded. Thirteenth century. *Sir Noël Paton*

This was certainly the ablest forgery exhibited, in fact the only really

<sup>1</sup> Engraved in Paul Lacroix's book on the "Arts of the Middle Ages."

clever forgery of them all. Its form was good, nor was there anything in its construction absolutely incompatible with its authenticity. It was condemned by its metal, its surface, and its rust. There was a bright yellow colour and general appearance about the rust, which suggested some chemical process rather than the action of time. The inside surface flaked off and had a burnt scaly look. Some soft yellow earth or sand appeared to have been rubbed into the crevices. If compared with any of the thousands of fragments of iron work which have come down to us from very early times, the difference was at once apparent between this modern powdery rust and that oxide produced by the combined action of time and either air, earth, or water.

The author believes there are other forgeries in existence of helmets of a similar type.

#### No. 134.

Flat topped helm with hinged ventail, from Long Wittenham Church, Berks. Much corroded. Thirteenth century. *Sir Noël Paton.*

On the 25th September, 1880, Mr. W. J. Bernhard Smith wrote as follows to Mr. Albert Hartshorne—"I have received a letter from Mr. Clutterbuck, Vicar of Long Wittenham, about Sir Noël Paton's helmet. As I expected, he says that nothing like it has been in his church for fifty years, so that genuine or not, its history is pretty evidently a lie with a circumstance."

This helmet was a most impudent forgery, and it would seem from an observation of many of the numerous forgeries that have appeared in this country during the last thirty years, that as a rule, the more impudent the forgery, the more circumstantial was the story with which it made its appearance.

The different portions of this particular piece exhibited totally different surfaces and amounts of corrosion. The cylindrical or tubular part was deeply corroded, but with a blotchy, burnt surface, which strongly suggested that it had been made of a piece of worn out stove pipe. The top or crown piece was totally different in surface from the tubular part, being very little corroded, whilst *all* the rivets in the piece were *quite uncorroded*. Explain who can how the rivets happened to escape the action of time, or whatever other cause had made so deep an impression on the body of the helmet.

Again, in the centre of the top piece was a cross inclosed in a circular piece of metal, the edges of which were as smooth and new looking as if just made. The ventail or hinged vizor had a different surface and colour from either the crown or the cylinder of the helmet. It was perforated on the right side with numerous holes, punched from the inside, and the burrs round the holes had been filed off on the outside, leaving an *almost bright* ring round the holes. This ventail was fixed to the helmet by a common ironmonger's hinge of the nineteenth century, and the arrangement for fastening the visor was quite unpractical and could not have worked. The outer surface of the whole seemed to have been coated with brown oil or varnish, whilst the rust on the inside was soft and modern looking.

## No. 135.

Helmet of the early part of the fourteenth century. The crown of it is of conical form, with a *croix-fleurie* on the top. The visor is hinged on the left side, and closes with a spring on the right; it is pierced with numerous small holes for air. The ocularium is a narrow horizontal slit above the visor. The helmet is very much corroded, but weighs at present 9·6 lbs. *This very rare specimen was acquired by purchase March, 1866.*  
*The Museum of Artillery, Woolwich.*

The above description is quoted verbatim from the official catalogue of 1874.<sup>1</sup> A further description of this helmet, accompanied by an engraving of the piece will be found in the *Archæological Journal*, vol. xxiv, p. 315, but a more glaring forgery the author has never met with. It is simply made of sheet iron, and the corrosion, which is considerable, is of the most transparently modern kind. It is unpractical in all its details, and the most marked feature about all these English forgeries of early helms is their complete inapplicability to the purposes for which they would have been intended, whilst the more genuine specimens of the armourer's art are studied, the more will it be found that the *use* for which the piece was intended was never lost sight of for a moment by the craftsman who formed it, every curve having its *raison d'être*, and the thickness of each part of the piece being regulated by its probable exposure to an enemy's weapon. It is unnecessary to say that in the sheet iron example before us nothing of the kind was to be found. The edges of the ocularium, which in all real helmets are strong and turned outwards, were here flat and weak. The form of the opening behind the visor was quite meaningless, being copied from the opening left for the *whole* face in helmets which have *no* slit for the sight: that is to say that when the visor was closed the wearer seemed intended to look out of the slit, and when open it would have been much simpler for him to have looked out of the big opening which had a double arch as if for the eyes. It was really a helmet with a double ocularium!

The bottom edge of the helm was straight all round, nor was any means of fixing it either before or behind traceable. This bottom edge not being rolled or turned in,<sup>2</sup> would have been singularly cutting and unpleasant as the cumbrous unfixed helm wobbled about its wearer's head.

<sup>1</sup> Class xvi, No. 19. The italics are in the catalogue and not the present author's, but in justice to the authorities of the Woolwich Museum of Artillery, it must be stated that it was at the author's special request that the helm now described was sent for exhibition. One of the principal objects Mr. Burges had in view in promoting the idea of an exhibition was to prove how vast a number of forgeries had been current in this country for years past, and have found

their way even into the best collections. On finding what appeared a flagrant instance in a museum like that at Woolwich, the author at once applied for it, so as to be able to satisfy himself that his suspicions of the piece were not unfounded.

<sup>2</sup> In genuine helms, the lower edges are not turned in except when the helm was *sewered* or bolted to the breast, and back plates and the sharp edges could consequently do no harm.

## No. 136.

Heaume of Sir John de Berkeley, who died in 1346, or of his son who died in 1374.

Along with it is the crest of the Berkeleys, a clumsy piece of work—probably of the seventeenth century, which surmounted the heaume where it stood in Wymondham Church, Leicestershire.

A similar crest surmounts the heaume under the head of the effigy of Sir Thomas de Berkeley, father of Sir John, in Wymondham Church, figured by Gough in his "Sepulchral Monuments."

The ventacular perforations in the *mezail* assume the form of a *cross-pâtée*, one of the charges of the Berkeley coat armorial. Fourteenth century. *Sir Noël Paton.*

Before this helm passed into the collection of Sir Noël Paton it was seen by the author in a quarter not calculated to inspire unlimited confidence in its authenticity, and it has all the defects common to the forgeries exhibited. In form and detail it appeared to be a copy of the genuine example from Hereford Cathedral, also in Sir Noël Paton's collection,<sup>1</sup> but its metal was common lustreless sheet iron instead of the intensely hard silvery steel of the original. The peculiar markings left by the rollers on the surface of sheet iron were distinctly traceable, the metal never having been properly polished and remains of the black oxide appearing in specks all over it; these roller marks were especially clear at the back, whilst the front part showed an attempt at corrosion. This helmet also was weak where it should have been strongest, namely round the slits for the eyes. In the Pembroke and Black Prince's helmets, especially in the latter, the edge of the metal which in this part is particularly thick, is turned boldly out round these apertures, thus protecting them from a glancing thrust; but in the forgery the metal there faded to a thin weak edge, which a vigorous blow would have driven in like paper. All the "ventacular perforations in the *mezail*," or breathing holes, were punched *outwards* and the burrs filed off, leaving a bright and uncorroded ring round each hole.

An examination of the holes in the original shows them to have been made in quite a different fashion. Punching may have been the first part of the process, but if so no trace of the punching is now visible, the whole plate having been hammered perfectly flat after the holes were made and each hole being slightly countersunk on the outer side.

The gilt wooden crest exhibited with the spurious helmet appeared ancient, possibly of the seventeenth century, and most probably suggested the whole helm and its very circumstantial history to the mind of its maker.

<sup>1</sup> Described under No. 75, figs. 72 and 73.

## No. 137.

Helm of Sir Robert Tresilian, hanged at Tyburn 1389,  
from Tremandart Manor, Duloe, Cornwall. *The Rev. C. Bicknell.*

## No. 138.

Helm of Sir William Osmunderlowe, Sheriff of Cumber-  
land, from Langrigg Church, *temp.* Henry IV and V.  
*The Rev. C. Bicknell.*

## No. 139.

Helm of Sir John Drayton, from Dorchester, Oxon.  
*The Rev. C. Bicknell.*

## No. 140.

Helm of the fourteenth century. *The Rev. C. Bicknell.*

The above four helmets may all be noticed together, as they evidently all came from the same source. They exhibited most conspicuously all the defects already mentioned in describing spurious examples of the armourer's art. The rolling marks and the file marks were here left in their full perfection, and the rust inside was of the most transparent kind. They were too light for helms and too big for helmets. Their lower edges would have been strangely cutting and unpleasant to their wearers, whilst to see at all out of two of them was almost impracticable. The rivets placed here and there, were for the most part meaningless, and in two of the helms there was no provision at all for fixing in a lining.

The more closely we examine all real armour of the fourteenth and fifteenth century, the more admirably does it seem fitted for its use, whilst these clumsy forgeries are one and all ugly and unpractical.

## No. 141.

Funeral helmet, late seventeenth century. *The Rev. W. Dyke.*

This was a modern French imitation, made either for the theatre or for a modern trophy of arms, and was probably never intended to be passed off as ancient.

## COPIES.

## No. 142.

Model (electrotype) of the heaume of the Black Prince  
in Canterbury Cathedral. *Mr. W. Hayshe.*

A comparison of this model with the helm of Sir Richard Pembridge (No. 75), to which it was quite similar in form, was very instructive.

## No. 143.

Models of the cap of estate and crest of the Black  
Prince in Canterbury Cathedral. *Mr. W. Hayshe.*

The cap was modelled from the original, the crest from the one beneath the head of the effigy.

## No. 144.

Cast of the heaume purchased for the funeral pageant  
of King Henry V in Westminster Abbey. Early  
fifteenth century. *Mr. W. Hayshe.*

Although the original of this cast is perhaps the helmet which it is recorded was purchased of Thomas Daunt with a crest for thirty-three shillings and four pence for the King's funeral in 1422,<sup>1</sup> yet it is unquestionably a real tilting helm of the period, and the cast of it afforded an interesting comparison with two helms from Cobham Church of quite the same type. (Nos. 76 and 77.)

## No. 145.

Copy in cast iron of a sallad in the Royal Armoury at  
Madrid, attributed to Boabdil-el-Chico, the last Moorish  
King of Granada. End of the fifteenth century.  
*The Baron de Cosson.*

The original of this piece is one of two very beautiful sallads attributed to Boabdil in the Armeria Real. This one is of German fashion, but may be of Italian make, as the honey-suckle ornament round its base recalls the ornamental border round the Italian sallad No. 19, and would seem to have belonged to the helmet before it was put into the hands of

<sup>1</sup> Rymer's "Fœdera," vol. x, p. 256,

the Moorish workman who executed the beautiful Moresque pattern with which it is covered. The whole of this engraving is thickly plated with silver. The other sallad of Boabdil is of Italian form, and likewise covered with beautiful Moorish engraving and silvering. The old inventories of the Armeria record that this last one once had a pomegranate of gold at its summit, and it would seem to have been enriched with precious stones. There can be little doubt that the ornamentation on both these pieces was executed at Granada, whilst the helmets themselves were of foreign make and fashion.

C. A. DE COSSON.

#### NOTE.

As there are several editions of some of the works quoted in the foregoing pages, it may be of use to mention those to which they refer.

Meyrick, "Critical Inquiry," 3 vols., 1842. Meyrick, "Engraved Illustrations," 2 vols., 1830. Olivier de la Marche, "Memoires," 1 vol., small 4to, Bruxelles, 1616.

It will also interest the reader to know that almost all the helmets described as belonging to Mr. W. Burges are now in the British Museum.



## Eastern Helmets.

### INTRODUCTION.

With regard to this subject the student will find an excellent book in the "Illustrated Handbook of Indian Arms," by the Hon. Wilbraham Egerton, published by order of the Secretary of State for India, in 1880, and sold at the South Kensington Museum at a nominal price. It was published as a classified and descriptive catalogue of the arms exhibited at the India Museum.

Since this publication was issued the India Museum has been handed over to the authorities at South Kensington, who have thought fit to rearrange it, so that the numbers in Mr. Egerton's book are perfectly useless. It is, therefore, to be hoped that a new edition may be forthcoming with the correct and actual numbering, whereby the work will be made twice as useful as it is present.

Mr. Egerton first gives a sketch of the military history of India and describes the various means by which Indian arms and armour are decorated, and finally proceeds to catalogue ethnologically the contents of the Museum. These he divides into twelve groups, the catalogue of each group being prefaced by a short description and accompanied by illustrations.

With regard to the helmets, and even the armour, the Persians appear to have furnished the prevailing type, viz., an ovoid or hemispherical skull cap, with spike, plume holder and nasal. Attached to the skull cap is a canail of unriveted mail, more or less vandyked at the bottom.

Occasionally the form varies very strangely, as we see in the Mahratta helmet, marked fig. 27, p. 119. Some years ago Mr. Wareham<sup>1</sup> had for sale an iron hat of the usual chimney-pot shape covered over with the ordinary surface damascening in gold, and Mr. Valentine,<sup>2</sup> one in the form of an exaggerated Glengarry cap; both of these being evidently copied from textile originals.

Mr. Egerton remarks that few or any of the Indian weapons we possess are older than the time of the Mogul Invasion or the beginning of the sixteenth century, and the same presumably holds good with regard to the armour.

An inspection of the collection at South Kensington is sufficient to show how almost all the industrial arts have been pressed into the service of the armourer, and to give us some idea of what we possessed in the Middle Ages. Such was the bascinet mentioned by Froissart as belonging to the King of Castille at the Battle of Aljubarota, and which, we are told, was worth 20,000 francs of that period.<sup>3</sup>

It is much to be hoped that some day the India Department of the South Kensington Museum may receive the Oriental arms now in the

<sup>1</sup> Well-known dealers in works of art.  
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<sup>2</sup> Say £12,800.

Tower and in the British Museum ; for nothing causes more trouble to a student than to have the national collections divided ; all that could then be wanted would be explanatory labels and an enlarged edition of Mr. Egerton's excellent work. Thus, in the Tower, there are several specimens of Saracenic helmets and mail, to say nothing of the Tong suit for man and horse, which used to be known in our early days as the Norman Crusader. A comparison of these with other ancient Asiatic armour, which might be given or acquired, would perhaps help us to solve the mystery of the so-called kettlelid suits.

But, alas ! the Asiatic armour in the Tower is now not even accessible, it has been put away to make room for sundry rifles ; very useful, no doubt, but which surely could have been housed without hiding part of a national collection.

A collection ought also to be made of Japanese armour, as the fashion of wearing it is going out in that country, and the manufacture, consisting of thin laminae of iron covered with lacquer and bound with laces, is not calculated to sustain neglect like a good sound Elizabethan or Carolean pikeman's suit.

## Turkish Helmets.

### No. 146. Fig. 114.

Conical Helmet with nasal, bearing the mark of the armoury at Constantinople. *Mr. W. J. Bernhard Smith.*

This is one of the helmets which are supposed to have formed part of the kettlelid armour, and to have been imported at the same time.

This specimen has not the elongated apex to the same extent as the one which follows (Fig. 116), but on the knob at the top are two holes opposite one another, evidently for the purpose of fitting a ring, as in the Tartar helmet (Fig. 119). The plume-holder has a modern look, and the same may be said of the reinforcing piece to which the nasal slot is attached. Round the bottom edge is a series of small holes about three-quarters of an inch apart. As there are no traces of wear in them they could not have had the rings of a camail inserted, but it is quite possible that they may have received the vertvelles for the camail; as in the Eastern armour these staples are much slighter than in Western examples. After all they may have been used to rivet a strip of leather, to which the lining was attached.

### No. 147. Fig. 115.

Saracenic Helmet of the time of the taking of Constantinople, with the mark of the Constantinople armoury. *Mr. W. Burges.*

This is another example of the same type as the preceding, but it is of a more elegant shape, the apex being a great deal higher. (There is, however, a third helmet in the Tower collection, the point of which is still more elevated). This helmet, which is one foot two inches in height, has been forged in one piece like the bascinets of the fourteenth century, but there is a distinct trace of welding about four inches below the top of the spike. There is a very extensive repair on the sinister side towards the back which looks very modern. The nasal, like that of Mr. Bernhard Smith's example, wants its lower extremity, and about half-way up, on the sinister side, is a small hook which may probably have been used to hold up the camail. About half-an-inch above the lower edge are a series of holes from three to four inches apart; these were for the wire vertvelles or staples, through which a cord ran to secure the camail; one of them still remains. Lower down are another series of holes in which some of the rivets remain; these may have been the means of securing a band of leather upon which to fasten the lining. On the sinister side are four holes forming a square about an inch apart, perhaps for the attachment of a plume-holder; and on the dexter side two holes about one-and-a-half inch apart, perhaps for the same purpose.

Since the exhibition took place in New Burlington street some other Turkish helmets have been offered for sale in London and along with

them some of the canails, which were secured by wire vertvelles as in the present instance.

These canails were circular in plan, coming right up to the eyes; but in this case there were two arches in the helmet, on either side of the nasal, for the purpose of vision. The depth of the canail was only about six or seven inches, and the mark of the Constantinople armoury, being stamped upon thin copper, was worked into the rings.

#### No. 148. Fig. 113.

Helmet from Constantinople, bearing the armoury mark. It seems to have been partially restored.

Fourteenth century (early). *Mr. W. J. Bernhard Smith.*

This is a very curious puzzle. The solution would appear to be that the head piece itself has originally been a basinet of the fourteenth century (indeed, the visor holes can yet be traced). In later times it was cut and adapted in Hungary or Poland to the prevailing fashion, perhaps of the sixteenth century; and, finally, being captured by the Turks, preserved in the armoury as a trophy.

The principal points are the compound cheek pieces pierced with small holes for the convenience of hearing, and the suspension of the neck piece by means of three small chains. There is a nasal with the lower extremity simply turned up and a single plume-holder on the sinister side.

There are some very peculiar rivets on the outer edge of the peak, which also occur again on Figs. 115 and 116, the top of the rivet being shaped with three blows of the hammer.

#### No. 149. Fig. 116.

Helmet with nasal and cheek pieces. Probably Polish or Hungarian. Date uncertain.

*Executors of the late Mr. J. H. Bailey.<sup>1</sup>*

In this example we have the same characteristics as in the preceding helmet, but the head piece is here original and not converted out of a basinet. We find the same large cheek pieces only in single plates, not built up. The same projection round the indentation for the eye, and the same way of suspending the neck pieces, in this instance with two chains and a double hinge.

The top ends in a ball, surmounted with a perforated piece of metal for the purpose of attaching some ornament, as in the Tartar helmets, Figs. 119 and 120, and Mr. Bernhard Smith's Saracenic helmet, Fig. 114.

#### No. 150. Fig. 120.

Tartar Helmet with chain canail. The iron part seems to have been much prized, as it has been very curiously mended and mounted with silver partially gilt.

*Mr. W. Burges.*

The basis of this helmet is a very old iron head piece of a conical shape, not unlike those shown as being worn by the Normans in the Bayeux Tapestry. Upon it is very rudely chased an incised reticulated

<sup>1</sup> Now in the collection of the Baron de Cossen.

pattern, such as we see in Late Decorated windows; each division contains a flower and leaves roughly executed. This old head piece has been mended by iron plates placed beneath it and secured by silver rivets. A border of iron runs round the bottom inside; outside is a similar band, but of silver, about two inches deep and turned in under the interior iron border. It is covered with a Tartar pattern gilded, between two small borders of niello-work, but the lower edge is pierced with holes for the rings of the camail; these holes are much worn at the bottom which is a very certain test of the purpose of such holes when the camail has been removed.

At the cardinal points of the Tartar engraving are four irregular circles of silver with niello inscriptions. The top part of the helmet has a similar band of silver with the Tartar ornament (gilded) between two small borders of niello. On the apex is a knob on which works an ornamental ring, and to the latter is attached a double piece of red cloth six inches long edged with silver lace.

The camail, which is one foot two inches long, ends quite straight without any of the points we see in Persian and Indian work.

The rings resemble those of the coat of mail bought with the helmet, and are riveted with the pyramidal rivet. There are two small hooks on the front edges about three inches from the bottom.

### No. 151. Fig. 119.

Small Tartar Helmet with camail.

*Mr. W. Burges.*

This is simply a skull cap (six inches diameter and one-and-a-half inch deep), made of iron and plated outside with silver, with engraving, and an inscription. At the top is an apex of silver, gilt and engraved; this finishes like the large helmet with a button and ring, the latter having a double cloth ornament about three inches long. In this case half is covered with cloth of silver and the other with red leather, the whole being lined with green silk. The camail is exactly like that attached to the other helmet, but has the curious addition of sundry rings hanging freely, so that a cord could be put through them. The line of the cord would run round the back of the head and descend to about the mouth.

With these two helmets and the coat of mail were bought two vambraces of iron with mountings of silver, engraved with the same sort of Tartar ornament as we see in the helmets. The iron is engraved with an ornamental Arabic inscription. The strips of leather for fastening on these vambraces, the buckles, &c., are all in a good state of preservation.

It would appear that we have here the remains of an ancient suit of armour in the shape of the helmet and vambraces, which at some later period have been carefully repaired and made serviceable with silver mountings and new mail. The whole is so perfect that it could hardly have undergone any considerable wear. It was purchased from the late Mr. Valentine.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Rien has very kindly looked over the inscriptions on these two helmets. The small one bears the date of 1161 (of the Hegira). The four inscriptions of the larger helmet are :—1 (on front), Sahib (the owner) Arslan Beg Beg son of Shoonak

Beg; 2 (behind), Nooh (Noah) Beg made it—1169 (of the Hegira); 3, the names of the seven sleepers of Ephesus, and that of their dog; 4, a text from the Kur'an. These helmets would, therefore, be about 140 years old.

## Indian and Persian Helmets.

No. 152. Fig. 117.

Hood of Mail. Indian.

*Mr. W. Burges.*

A modern work, probably Sikh, consisting of a thin circular crown piece three inches in diameter, to which is attached a hood of small unriveted rings, made of very thin wire. The hood is semé with lozenges executed in brass wire, and is finished with the usual vandykes, viz., two at the back and one on either side. The crown has a beaten up star of eight points, and a hole in the middle to attach a spike or plume-holder.

The holes at the edge of the crown piece, through which the rings of the mail pass, are hardly worn at all, another proof of recent manufacture.

No. 153. Fig. 118.

Hood of Mail. Oriental.

*Mr. W. Burges.*

This also consists of a hood of mail attached to a skull cap of iron, but here all the conditions are altered. In the first place the skull cap is tolerably thick and the diameter much larger—about seven inches; in the centre is a hole for the plume-holder or spike. The holes on the circumference for the attachment of the hood are much worn and out of shape. The hood itself is comparatively short and ends quite squarely without vandykes; the rings being three-eighths in diameter, of a flattish section, and with the pyramidal rivets.

This hood belongs to the coat of mail described in No. 25, and has very much the appearance of an early thirteenth century equipment. It is, however, in all probability of Eastern origin, but by no means modern.

No. 154. Fig. 125.

Early Indian Helmet of peculiar steel, enriched with ornaments in relief.

*Mr. W. Burges.*

This helmet, which has a very ancient appearance, is remarkable for its great diameter (about nine inches). It is of a stilted semi-circular section and made out of a very silvery-looking steel. The various bands of ornament have been chiselled out of the body of the work. At the lower edge is a row of holes very nearly three-quarters of an inch apart. These were probably for the lining, as they do not exhibit any signs of wear, which would have been the case had a mail hood been attached. Immediately above these holes is a bead and reel projecting moulding riveted on, and above this occurs the first band of ornament; then comes a plain space and another band of ornament, which is again repeated. The apex is also worked in a very excellent manner. The whole finishes with a knob divided into compartments like an orange.

When first obtained this helmet was partially covered by a vitrified substance as if it had been in some fire. Altogether it is very beautifully executed and a fine specimen of iron work.

## No. 155.

Indian Helmet with velvet check and neck pieces.

*Mr. W. Burges.*

This is a plain iron helmet with no ornament beyond a brass crest of acorns and oak leaves round the lower edge. This crest is stamped out of thin metal and has very much the look of the European brass work of the end of the last century.

On the top there is a reinforcing plate of about three inches diameter with a scalloped edge, and above this a small quadrangular spike. There are two crest holders and a nasal piece, the latter working with a spring behind. The two extremities of the nasal, which expand considerably, are fixed on to the shank. At the edge of the lower rim is a series of holes, to which is affixed the lining, which is wadded in the usual way, the whole edge being covered with a silver lace.

There is a neck-piece and two ear-pieces of red velvet lined with striped silk, and outside these latter two iron chains covered with red velvet, which terminate in ribands for the purpose of fastening them under the chin. Above these, chains are attached to iron split rings, which again work in iron fastenings riveted to the helmet.

## No. 156.

Persian Helmet with cannail.

*Mr. H. Hippiusley.*

This follows the usual shape of Persian helmets. There is a damascened band round the lower edge, but above there is a raised pattern worked out of the metal itself. At the top is the usual four-sided spike, and below a nasal and two plume-holders. The hood is composed of small unriveted links, and may, probably, be more modern than the helmet itself.

## No. 157. Fig. 127.

Helmet composed of laminae and mail. Indian.

Date uncertain.

*The Executors of the late Mr. J. W. Bailey.*<sup>1</sup>

There is a helmet very similar to this in the India Museum at South Kensington, which is thus described in Mr. Egerton's work (p. 125):—

"Helmet 'top' composed of plate and chain mail, and armed with a large crescent-shaped nose guard of steel sharpened on its lower edge. Taken at the siege of Seringapatam. Worn by the Mogul heavy cavalry in the time of Hyder Ali Khan. Tippee Sahib retained only 1000 men thus armed as a body guard."

There is another helmet of this description at the Rotunda at Woolwich, and two are drawn in Skelton's work on the Meyrick collection. They all differ in minor particulars, and principally in the size of the laminae. Thus, one of those in the Meyrick collection has an entire cap

<sup>1</sup> Now in the collection of the Baron de Cosson.

of steel, all below being jazerant; that in the India Museum has entire divisions of plate connected by mail. Mr. Baily's example has the tops of the divisions in plate and the rest in laminae. Fig. 128, on the contrary, is entirely composed of laminae, and is remarkable as retaining its original lining. Sometimes the neck pieces are very long and sometimes very short. Some examples have enormous nasal pieces, while others have none. It may be observed that these sort of helmets are generally in bad condition on account of the multiplicity of their parts and the thinness of the laminae.

## No. 158. Fig. 128.

Indian Helmet, composed of small plates and chain mail, with the original lining. *Mr. W. Burges.*

The same remarks refer to this example, but there are three points of interest.

The first one consists in the longitudinal splints which go round the edge, laminae being rarely used in this position.

The second is the junctions of the mail rings, which are not flattened out and riveted, but simply spliced, the ends being brought over one another as in the Assyrian mail in the British Museum.

The third point is the lining, which is composed of several thicknesses of old coarse linen quilted down, as in the French jaques of the fifteenth century. Another instance of the processes of the Middle Ages surviving in the East.

There is no nasal to this helmet, and there are no traces of the attachments of the slot in which it would work.

## No. 159.

Indian Helmet, inlaid with gold, and camail of brass and steel rings. *Mr. W. Burges.*

The section is a semicircle; there is a plume holder at the apex, and two others at the usual place; the nasal has disappeared, but the rivet holes of the attachment still remain. The band of surface damascening is very carefully and beautifully done, the pattern consisting of six lobed roses with leaves between. There is no lining, and the camail is now simply attached by string to a series of holes in the bottom edge. The camail is in very small iron unriveted links about one-eighth of an inch diameter, upon it is a lozenge pattern in similar brass links. The damascening resembles that on a helmet in the India Museum which comes from Lahore. The helmet under consideration forms part of a complete suit of armour consisting of helmet, coat of mail (No. 26), breastplate (the four mirrors), vambraces and shield, all ornamented with similar damascening, except the coat of mail.

## No. 160. Fig. 121.

Helmet, elaborately ornamented, with camail.  
Persian. Seventeenth century. *Mr. J. Latham.*

This, in the general manufacture, is very like the helmet belonging to Mr. Tucker, the great difference being that it is surmounted by a bird's



head, neck and wings as a crest; the eye of the bird is in gold and the feathers are damascened. Over the forehead is a circle with a human face embossed out of it. There is a band at the bottom, and the rest of the surface is occupied by figures of horsemen, jinn, &c., rather coarsely engraved by acid.

The camail is of the usual vandyked shape, the rings being alternately of the Theta form and circular; these latter have rivets of copper.

No. 161. Fig. 122.

Helmet with double spike, inlaid with silver and engraved by acid. Persian. Seventeenth century.

*Mr. S. I. Tucker, Rouge Croix.*

This is a very singular design; the surface is covered with a tracery pattern containing in its compartments warriors and animals engraved by acid. The lines of the tracery have central fillets damascened in silver. The figures are not particularly well drawn. Instead of the usual four-sided spike at the apex there are a couple of small scythe-shaped blades. On the front compartment of the tracery a man's features are beaten up; there are two plume holders, but no nasal. The date is comparatively modern.

No. 162. Fig. 123.

Helmet, Persian, inlaid with gold, with figures engraved by acid.

*Mr. W. Burges.*

This presents the usual ovoid shape of the modern Persian helmets, and possesses the common four-sided spike at the apex, two plume holders, and the usual nasal. The camail is attached by little holes in the lower edge, and consists of the ordinary unriveted small mail with a pattern in brass; it is very strongly vandyked. It has evidently been made in two pieces and joined at the back. It is said to have been bought in the Arms bazaar at Constantinople.

So far there is nothing to distinguish it from any other modern Persian work, but it is curious as having its whole surface engraved with men, animals and horses by means of acid. These figures are contained in the tracery which divides the surface into compartments. The centre line of the tracery contains a gold line of surface damascening. These animals are very spirited, and decidedly better drawn than the modern work we generally see.

No. 163.

Helmet, figured with arabesques in gold, and with camail of brass and steel rings. Persian. Eighteenth century.

*Mr. A. Pfeiffer.*

This is the ordinary Persian helmet, and is probably not very old. It has the nasal, the two plume holders, and the spike at the apex, also the vandyked camail of iron, with a pattern on it in brass. The space between the front and back vandykes, instead of being straight, is again subdivided into other and smaller vandykes; round the bottom of the head piece is a band of ornament chiseled out of the solid iron; the rest is covered with gold damascening.

## No. 164. Fig. 124.

Persian Helmet, inlaid with gold. Modern. *Mr. W. Burges.*

This belongs to one of the modern suits of Persian armour, of which so many appeared in the market some few years ago. There were all sorts of stories current about them, one of them being that they had been plundered from the armoury of the Shah during some commotion; more probably they were made in Ispahan by a family of armourers for the purpose of exportation.

This particular helmet is ovoid in form, and has a square spike on the top, three crest holders, a nasal, and a camail of small unriveted mail with a brass pattern. There is a good deal of damascening all over the helmet, but of rather a coarse description. The gold is not inlaid, but is fixed on to a roughened surface by means of burnishing.

The lining consists of linen and twill with cotton work between, the whole quilted through. This lining is simply glued to the inside of the helmet, one proof among others that it has not been intended for actual use.

## Japanese Helmets.

## No. 165. Fig. 129.

Old Japanese Helmet. Seventeenth century.

*Captain Oldfield.*

The first place is due to the helmet exhibited by Captain Oldfield, as it was by far the most perfect specimen in the collection. It is constructed upon the same principle as all the rest, viz., built up of various plates of iron riveted together. The jazarine camail and neck piece are made of thin splints of iron covered with lacquer and tied together with silk laces, instead of connected with rings as in India. The only part beaten out is the visor, which possesses a moustache of horseshair. The body of the helmet is covered with a rich brown varnish, and the accessories with black lacquer; some of the ornaments are silvered and others gilt. Inside two strips of leather cross one another, as we sometimes find in the sixteenth and seventeenth century European helmets, to prevent the iron from pressing on the head. These straps are attached to the four buttons whereby the camail is fastened to the helmet.

This example possesses its crest in the shape of a half moon, and is remarkable for the stick at the apex, to which is attached two cords finishing in tassels, and lower down a large tassel made of strips of paper.

## No. 166. Fig. 132.

Japanese Helmet, all black.

*Captain Oldfield.*

This is similar to the last example, except that it has no crest or stick at the apex. It is covered with a black color, and could never have been intended for actual wear, as it is made of papier maché instead of iron.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The mask marked C is used (I understand) for the purpose of showing off a helmet when in an armoury.

## No. 167. Fig. 131.

Japanese helmet, with mask for child's suit. *M. W. Burges.*

This is entirely made of papier maché and lacquer, the only metal used being the gilt crest and the copper receptacle for the stick on the apex.

It is covered all over with dead black lacquer, but the peak over the eyes, the two ailettes and the bottom rim of the camail are gilt, there being a raised pattern in some parts. The laces which bind together the pieces of the camail are blue.

## No. 168. Fig. 134.

Japanese Helmet of steel, of peculiar form, with mask and gorget. *Mr. W. Burges.*

This helmet, which is built up, like the others, of various pieces of iron, is distinguished by the extra height given to the back part so as to make a ventilation chamber, which admits air by means of the perforated cinquefoil in front. There remains the attachment of a crest in front and a double spring behind. On the peak is a rude representation of the eyebrows and the wrinkles in the forehead to correspond with the visor below. The latter is in two parts, the nose and moustache being capable of removal. The whole is in iron, but lacquered inside with a beautiful red color. The teeth are represented in copper, and there are also representations of the ears; the latter are pierced with little holes in a sexfoil for the purposes of hearing; the nostrils are also pierced, and there is a hole underneath the chin. There are no traces of either the visor or the helmet ever having been coated externally with lacquer. The camail is formed in the usual manner of thin plates of iron, covered with raised lacquer, tied to each other in the most elaborate manner with laces, white, green, and red. The top piece is attached to the helmet by four ornamented studs, and the lining is sewn to a border of leather (in the mediæval fashion), which is again sewn to the inside of the laces in the top splint of the camail. There are no ailettes, but the top splints turn up at either end. This helmet belongs to the Japanese suit described under No. 42.

## No. 169. Fig. 133.

Ancient Chinese head piece. *Mr. F. Weekes.*

This is not a Chinese helmet, but simply a Japanese one deprived of all its belongings.

It is built up in the usual manner, and the lower parts bear evidence, from the number of holes close together, that a good deal of alteration has taken place in the arrangements of the camail, &c. The only point of interest is the provision for ventilation which is made between the top pieces and that which forms the back. It is very rough, and, for a Japanese helmet, a heavy one. Now in Mr. Burges' collection.

## No. 170. Fig. 130.

Japanese Helmet of copper, silvered. *Mr. W. Burges.*

This helmet is exceedingly light, and has probably been part of a uniform of a fireman, as it is much too fragile for actual warfare.

A ground of papier maché or thin wood is covered with very thin plates and ribs of copper, which are attached to the ground by a large quantity of nails. The whole has been very thinly silvered, except the upper surfaces of the ailettes and the ornament in front, which have been bronzed. It has had a stick at the apex like Fig. 129, which has disappeared.<sup>1</sup>

No. 171. Fig. 135.

Japanese war hat.

*Mr. W. Burges.*

Made of wood, covered with black lacquer, and some parts silvered.

No. 172, Fig. 136.

Helmet worn by the Commander-in-Chief of the Chinese forces in the campaign of 1860.

*General Sir Dighton M. Probyn, C.B., V.C.*

This is a very splendid head piece, being composed of a ground of some light material—wood or papier-maché lacquered black, with gilt metal ornaments superposed. The ornaments on the top, those on the peak piece over the eyes, and on the tube that runs up the back, are most exquisitely executed. They consist of dragons and foliage delicately chased, the ground being cut out. Among these ornaments are inserted circular pieces of coral, lapis lazuli, &c.

The camail consists of sundry thicknesses of silk and linen with wadding in between, the outer silk being green and gold and the inner light blue. The whole being edged with silver braid and studded with round and square gilt nails; the shanks of these latter do not go right through but are turned down on a pith washer after they have passed the wadding.

It is most probable that this helmet belonged to the Manchou division of the Chinese army, and in shape it is not very unlike the Tartar helmet No. 120.

Mr. A. W. Franks possesses a helmet which is almost a fac-simile of the one under consideration, and, having had the inscription investigated, he has kindly communicated the result:—"The letters are a repetition of three Sanscrit words very ill-written in a corrupt style used by the Manchous, SRI-HUM-HUM."

Mr. Franks' helmet has preserved the silk tassel and spike on the apex which is given at E. This is wanting in that belonging to General Probyn.

In the India and United Service Museum is a helmet of the same form but without any ornament. It evidently belonged to a private soldier, the dress which accompanies it is semé with metal studs, as is also the dress belonging to Mr. Franks' helmet.

W. BURGESS.

<sup>1</sup> Another similar helmet in my possession has an elaborate hood of silk with

embroidery and feathers. It is said to be an officer's helmet of the fire brigade.

## Mail, &amp;c.

## INTRODUCTION.

The history of mail may be summed up in a single sentence, viz. : that it has been used in all times and by all people.

Thus Layard found it among the ruins of the Assyrian palaces, and the good citizens of Birmingham at the present time, among other mysterious manufactures, produce ringed coats for the African market.

Unlike the helmet and the breastplate, where the material and form varied continually, the links of the mail remained substantially the same, while the fashion of the manufactured article (the hauberk) varied as little. The sleeves might be long or short, or conspicuous by their absence, still the body or shirt itself remained the same in all ages and in all countries.

In the basement of the British Museum are shown two masses of oxidised iron, which on closer inspection turn out to be mail regularly riveted, only the points of junction had not been flattened out as is usually the case, but simply spliced together. These were found by Layard at Nineveh. There is also in another room a helmet of iron, not unlike a bascinet ; on the sides are sundry links of mail, which may possibly be the remains of a camail.

The Roman mail is shown on the column of Trajan, of which there is a cast in the South Kensington Museum.

The Persian use of mail is manifest in many of their sculptures, while the effigies of the middle ages offer almost innumerable examples. At the present day brewers make use of mail in the form of mops to clean their vats.

Some writers endeavour to show that the linked hauberk was imported from the East during the progress of the Crusades, and also that it was only riveted at the end of the thirteenth century. But there is no proof of anything of the kind. An unriveted coat must have been exceedingly liable to get torn by hostile weapons, unless the rings were very thick, and then the hauberk must have been exceedingly inconvenient to wear. There were several places which had manufactories of mail during the middle ages, foremost among them were Chamblly (Oise) in France, and Milan in Lombardy. Thus in the inventory of the arms and armour of Louis le Hutin<sup>1</sup> we find several instances of the names of these places :— "*Haultes gorgières doubles de chamblly* ;" "*Un haubert entière de lombardie*." The former quotation probably refers to the mail with double links ; the gorget and camail being often of stronger work than the hauberk. In after times strength was obtained by expanding the ends of the rings where the rivets passed, the rings themselves becoming elliptical, not circular, thus effecting the same object as the double mail. The rep<sup>n</sup>ations of

<sup>1</sup> See Ducango 'Armatura.'

the double mail are exceedingly rare, the most distinct being in an effigy formerly in York Cathedral, and now at Goodrich Castle. Is it too much to hope that it may soon be restored to its proper place?—See *Archæologia*, xxxi, 248.

In *Le Hutin's* inventory we also meet with the terms, “*mailles rondes de haute cloïeure*,” probably resembling the rings of the *Sini-gaglia* coat, with its prominent rivets, and also with “*mailles rondes demy cloées*,” i.e. composed with an equal quantity of riveted and continuous rings, as occurs also in the coat in question.

Some writers have gone so far as to hint that all the mail that has come down to us is of Eastern origin; but the reader of the ensuing catalogue will, it is to be hoped, discern that there are certain peculiarities attaching to both European and Oriental hauberks which enable the expert to make a tolerably shrewd guess as to the question of their origin.

It is true that in consequence of the substitution of plate armour for mail many of the old hauberks were doubtless cut up for gussets or used to stuff jacks, but still an immense quantity of new mail must have always been made for new gussets and gorgets.

The “*Triumph of Maximillian*” shows a considerable quantity of mail at the beginning of the sixteenth century, and the use of the secret coat continued to the times of Cellini, and even to those of Louis XIV., as in the case of *Monaldeschi*. Even at the present day we occasionally read of an Irish landlord or an English squire ordering coats of mail—the former for himself, the latter for his gamekeeper. In one of these cases the modern armourer made the hauberk of split steel rings, but it was so heavy that the gamekeeper declined to wear it, and preferred taking his chance.

#### THE MANUFACTURE.

The Dublin coat of mail being in a very dilapidated state, its construction was with little difficulty ascertained, and it thus afforded information as to the manufacture of mail in general.

The first thing is to procure the wire with which the rings are to be made. Sometimes we find very rough wire used, as if it had been made of thin strips of metal rounded by means of the hammer, but generally it is perfectly round, and has evidently been drawn in the usual way. *Beckmann*<sup>1</sup> places the discovery of drawing iron wire in the middle of the fourteenth century, but as we find two corporations of wire drawers in the *Livre des Métiers* of *Etienne Boileau*,<sup>2</sup> it can certainly claim an earlier date, in fact it is one of those manufactures, like mail itself, which the more we investigate the further back we are obliged to place the discovery.

The wire having been obtained was wound round a stick of the diameter that the ring required (Fig. 137). It was then cut off into rings, the ends overlapping (Fig. 138). Then these ends are flattened by hammering (Fig. 139). The next operation is to pierce these flattened parts with a steel punch (Fig. 140). Into this hole a small triangular piece of iron is driven (Fig. 141), and lastly the whole joint is finished off between two punches, an upper and a lower (Figs. 142, 143). The

<sup>1</sup> Bohn's edition, i, 417.

<sup>2</sup> “*Règlements sur les Arts et Métiers*

à Paris.” Paris, 1837, pp. 60, 61. “*Trefiliers de fier*,” “*Trefiliers d'Archal*.”

object of the last process is to rivet the little triangular piece of iron, to make the under side of the joint quite a smooth surface, and to take away any asperity from the apex of the rivet, which almost always stands up some little distance from the outside surface.

The above is, of course, only a general description ; in actual working many things would have to be attended to. Thus if the iron of the wire were not very good it would want frequent annealing in the fire. If, on the contrary, the iron were good much less annealing would be required. Again, it is very possible that a pair of pliers might be substituted for the punches.<sup>1</sup>

In Eastern mail we frequently find round wire employed to make the rivets instead of the little triangular piece of iron ; while in the very large rings, such as occur in the Meyrick piece of mail, where there are two holes instead of one, the rivet is formed of a small cramp of iron, square or round, turned up at both ends (Fig. 144). These large rings, if anything, are easier made than the small ones. By using good iron Mr. Barkentin was enabled to make them without passing them through the fire at all.<sup>2</sup>

Very often it was found desirable to make certain portions of a coat of mail, such as the collars or the edges of the sleeves, stronger than the other parts. This was done by lengthening the ends of the rings, as Fig. 145, bending them back, as Fig. 146, and then flattening them so as to form a large space for the rivet, out of all proportion to the size of the ring. Sometimes the rings which constitute these reinforcements to the piece of mail are larger or smaller than those which are used in the rest of the work ; but in any case they are enlarged at the riveting juncture, and are often elliptical in shape (Fig. 147). Occasionally the edges of a coat of mail are ornamentally finished with brass rings which are often riveted with iron.

The rings were not always riveted, modern Eastern mail is often made with the two ends of the rings butting up against each other. This is also the case with the thirteenth century hauberks of mail exhibited at Ironmongers' Hall, and now at Parham, but the authenticity of these has been more or less disputed ; suffice it to say that nearly every specimen at the late exhibition at the Archaeological Institute was riveted ; so much so was this the case that in one instance no less than three rivets were shown on each ring. Two of these, after a close inspection, were found to be false, and only the one in the middle to be real, the false heads being produced by the punch or pincers used in the final operation of completing the riveting.

In some mail the alternate rows are punched out of sheet iron by a double punch, and we often see gaps in the outer circumference caused by going too near previous punchings. This was probably for the sake of cheapness, as the riveting of half the links was saved. Occasionally it would appear that a single punching was used for the inside, the outer circumference being made with a chisel and file (See Figs. 148, 149, 150). Sometimes the rings assume a flattened section instead of a round,

<sup>1</sup> See woodcut in *Archæological Journal*, vol. xxiv, p. 318. Armourers at Work on Mail.

<sup>2</sup> I owe Mr. Barkentin, the well-known goldsmith of 291, Regent street, very

many thanks for the information he has kindly given me on the practical part of the subject and for the actual making of several rings.

and occasionally Eastern coats of mail are met with where not only are the sections of the ring quite flat and thin, but they are also impressed with inscriptions, as in the case of Fig. 197.

#### ARRANGEMENT OF RINGS.

Almost every coat of mail will be found to consist of a series of four rings going through a centre one (Fig. 151), but there is another way of arrangement which occurs in classic and Japanese work. See (Fig. 152), a piece of Etruscan work now in the Musée d'Artillerie at Paris.<sup>1</sup>

It will be observed that the rings are double in this case, and may perhaps represent the *lorica bilix* of the ancient writers. But although double mail is mentioned in the mediæval romances, and although it even occurs in a certain effigy formerly in York Cathedral, before mentioned, no actual specimen is to be found if we except a coat of mail in the armoury at Lucerne, where the rings are in couples, side by side; the ends are not riveted, but joined by solder (No. 154). The coat of mail (Fig. 192) belonging to the Tartar helmets has the rings doubled in one part; another form of link is in the form of the Greek letter  $\Theta$ . This occurs only in oriental work (Fig. 200.)

#### METHODS BY WHICH COATS OF MAIL ARE STRENGTHENED AND ORNAMENTED.

The plan of enlarging the rivet joinings of the rings was often carried to such an extent that these portions of the hauberk, where it was employed, lost a good deal of their flexibility. Thus in the British Museum there is a standard of mail of which the rings at the top edge are exceedingly close and stiff, and the usual arrangement of the links being altered, so that six rings go through the seventh, not four into the fifth.

Some gussets are found made entirely with these strengthened rings, but they are very rare. Frequently the last one, two, or three rows of the rings adjoining the edges of the hauberk are of brass, finishing up with very small ones formed out of the solid; frequently, also, the edges of the skirt were Vandyked with brass rings as in the Sinigaglia coat.

There is yet another way of strengthening mail, which was first pointed out by Mr. Waller; this is by putting strips of leather through the rings. In the example referred to by that gentleman (No. 156), the strip of leather goes through every alternate row of rings, and when they are pulled up very tightly sideways the intermediate row of rings through which the leather does not go, disappears, as in Fig. 155, and the rings appear to go all one way. If, however, this arrangement is pulled from top to bottom the back row comes into view, and the result is Fig. 156. If we proceed further, and put the leather through the intermediate links, we get Fig. 157, which very nearly represents what Sir S. Meyrick imagined was edge mail, and which occurs in all the early effigies, and frequently in the later ones, the only difference being that a portion of leather is seen between each ring, which is not the case in the effigies. This arrangement would make the coat and chausses of mail more self supporting,

<sup>1</sup> This piece of mail is remarkable for links. The whole is in bronze, and the certain pendants attached to some of the links are cast in lengths.



and prevent them from unduly clinging to the body, and also hinder the links from getting entangled or kinked.<sup>1</sup>

The system of leather thongs can be carried yet further by inserting them vertically; in this case a very stiff garment is produced almost like plate armour, Fig. 158, and very suggestive of banded mail. The only actual examples of leathern thongs inserted into mail are in oriental work, and those only in the collars.

It should be remarked that the leathern strips in all cases are double, so as to obtain the same appearance on both sides.

Many modern Eastern garments of mail are made of rings of various materials, and arranged in patterns. Thus we have iron, brass, and copper. How these are employed, the cannails of the Eastern helmets in the late Exhibition afford good examples. It should however be mentioned that the rings are very small and unriveted, and the work modern.

#### VARIOUS WAYS OF REPRESENTING MAIL IN A CONVENTIONAL MANNER.

It is evident that a correct representation of a piece of mail with all the interlacing of the rings would be a most troublesome labour, and one only fit for a Chinese workman. We therefore find various ways of representing the effect in a sort of shorthand. The early mail on the effigies is rendered by little longitudinal rolls, cut up again with the representation of rings Nos. 159, 160. The width of the band varies from three-quarters to one-quarter of an inch. Sir S. Meyrick thought this represented rings sewed on leather or cloth, but the weight and insecurity of this arrangement is a sufficient evidence of its absurdity. Let anybody who doubts sew rings in this manner upon leather, and its utter impracticability becomes at once obvious. It might represent strips of leather interwoven in the mail as above described, or rings between two layers of leather, but all things considered we may, with Mr. Albert Way and other distinguished antiquaries, be satisfied that it was simply a conventional manner of representing the ordinary interlinked mail. In the Bayeux tapestry, where the figures are small and the materials coarse, the rendering takes the form of rings drawn on the surface of the coat of mail. Many writers have imagined from this that the armour was actually composed of rings sewn on to a cloth or leather. It may be asked how long would any of the stitches last in actual use when the weather had oxidised the iron. A proof that these flat rings represent ordinary mail, is afforded by one of the plates in Grose's *Treatise on Armour* (Plate 54), where a coat of mail is actually engraved by drawing small rings by the side of one another. The fact is that mail is a very difficult thing to conventionalise. Mr. Hartshorne has directed attention to the fact that in many of the effigies in Dugdale's *Warwickshire* the mail is shewn by the engravers as scale armour, in order to simplify the difficulty of rendering it.

It is to be observed, however, when it became a case of rendering the mail in gesso by means of stamps instead of carving that a very tolerable representation of mail is produced, as in the tomb of Edmond Crouchback (Fig. 161). In the effigy at Ash the rings are shewn as interlacing (Fig. 162), and in that of Sir Guy de Brian at Tewkesbury the links of the mail are very small, in fact nearly as small as in some of the modern Eastern examples.

<sup>1</sup> In trying to follow up Mr. Waller's friend, Mr. C. Holmes, obtained the theory concerning banded mail, my above results.

One peculiarity of these gesso representations of mail is that they are all done in lines for the convenience of using the stamp. Afterwards we find the mail gets much larger, and we have very tolerable naturalistic renderings in the early part of the fourteenth century ; in fact very like the antique renderings in the Trajan column. (See Fig. 165, from the Despencer tomb at Tewkesbury). Very often in later works we find the naturalistic rendering of the mail on the standard or gorget, while the haubergion or the skirt of mail, which shows under the tassets is executed in the straight lines and cut rings, as we have seen in the effigies of the thirteenth century. (See 163, 164, from the Matthews' effigy in Llandaff Cathedral.) What are we to understand in such a case where we have a naturalistic and conventional rendering of the same material on the same statue? May not this be a case of presuming that the lower parts of the haubergion were stiffened by the strips of leather?

### BANDED MAIL.

Antiquarian researches would hardly be the fascinating study they are were there not certain unsolved points upon which everybody agrees to differ ; but as soon as one question is answered another is sure to arise, and it probably takes many years before we are fully informed about it. Thus the two great questions for a long time past have been :—1, The murrhyne cups ; and 2, The banded mail.

We now know that the murrhyne of the Romans was a species of our fluor spar, or, as it is called, Blue Jack, but the banded mail still awaits a satisfactory solution. Frequently in the MSS. and other art works of the latter part of the thirteenth century we meet with a species of armour in which the lateral rows of links are divided from each other by small bands, the mail itself being what Sir S. Meyrick called edge mail. It should be observed that inside and outside are alike, and that, to a certain extent, like simple mail it was capable of forming folds. M. Violet le Due, in his *Mobilier*, v, 240, identifies it with the Broigne, and perhaps we should also be warranted in viewing it as the Curie. Various guesses have been made concerning its construction, the result being that we are better acquainted with what it was not, than with what it was.

The solution given by M. Violet le Due, which is not very unlike that in M. de Vigne's work,<sup>1</sup> is very unsatisfactory, in fact almost more so than Sir S. Meyrick's edge mail. A model on this plan in actual leather and iron was to be found in the case—B—in the late Exhibition at New Burlington Street, and spoke for itself. Not only was it not the same at the back as in the front, but its weight and inconvenience put it altogether out of court.

In preparing for the Exhibition it was thought desirable to obtain casts from the only four sculptured effigies which show this sort of armour, viz. :—(1), the effigy at Tollard Royal, Wilts ; (2), that at Tewkesbury (Fig. 170) ; (3), Dodford, Northamptonshire (Fig. 174) ; and (4), Newton Solney, Derbyshire (Fig. 166). When obtained the three first certainly presented an unusual appearance, and while they were under consideration Mr. W. G. B. Lewis, to whom the reader owes the draughtsmanship of

<sup>1</sup> De Vigne, "Recueil des Costumes du Moyen Age," 1835-40.

the illustrations of this paper, came forward with a new solution of the mystery.

According to his idea this banded mail was made by sewing rings on linen, so that they overlapped one another in rows, like the edge mail of Sir S. Meyrick (some examples having the rings closer than the others). It was then covered on both sides by sewing on strips of leather, the stitching passing between the rows of rings, and the lower edges of the leather being turned up and covering the upper edges of strips beneath, thus increasing the thickness of leather between the rings to six folds.

Sometimes cords are inserted in the bands when they are very narrow, as in Newton Solney effigy.

When the surfaces had been a little handled so that the impressions of the rings showed through, an almost exact resemblance to the casts was obtained (Figs. 167, 171, 175.)

The only objection to the theory of Mr. Lewis is the unnecessary amount of sewing involved in attaching together the various strips, more especially when we consider the liability of deterioration in the wear and tear of a campaigner, but it hardly appears necessary to make the garment in strips, inasmuch as it is perfectly possible to make the surfaces exterior and interior of two continuous pieces of leather gathering it up, with or without cords, at the intervals between the rows, as in Figs. 169, 173, 177.

On consideration this system results in a lighter, and certainly cheaper, species of armour, than the ordinary riveted coat of mail. It is really in principle the edge mail of Sir S. Meyrick, with all its inconveniences corrected. Thus the rows of rings cannot open because they are between two thicknesses of leather. A sword point could not find an entrance between the rows of rings because the two coats of leather are there gathered up in six thicknesses, besides being perhaps strengthened with cords or flat strips of leather inside the said gatherings.

Mr. Lewis's solution of the difficult question as to the construction of banded mail is here given for what it is worth, but at all events it is reasonable and practical, as may be seen by the restorations which were placed side by side with the casts in this Case (Case B).

### MIXED ARMOUR.

This may be described as a number of small pieces of steel, sometimes separate, sometimes in the form of splints connected together by means of mail (Fig. 219). In eastern countries, where the atmosphere is hot, lightness had to be carefully considered in defensive armour. In the west, as a general rule, the supplemental plates for the elbow, the knees and the shins were buckled on over the mail. In the east they were embedded into it, and this fashion continues down to the present day. Witness the coat (Fig. 223).

There are, of course, exceptions to the rule, where the breastplate, consisting of hinged plates, buckles over the coat of mail, as in No. 26; but the mixed armour appears always to have been a favourite mode of defence in the east. It admitted of an infinite means of ornament. The small plates of the splints may be made of various metals. They can be damascened or engraved with ornaments or inscriptions, or even jewelled. In short hardly any armour presents so much ground for decoration. The

Japanese suit, No. 42, is an exceedingly curious specimen of mixed armour, containing specimens of almost every variety of mail and splints. These latter, however, are not riveted, but are tied together in the most ingenious manner with strong silk tape (Plate 14).

### JASERANT.

Sir S. Meyrick derives this name from the Italian *Ghiazerino*, a clinker built ship. However this may be, we find the term used at an early period; thus, in the inventory of Louis le Hutin, we find:—"Uns pans et uns bras de jazeran d'acier." And again, we read of "L'hauberk Jazerant."<sup>1</sup> Modern writers, and indeed Sir S. Meyrick himself, have often confounded the jazerant with the brigandine. The facts appear to be thus. The jazerant seems to mean what is called splint armour, viz., a series of overlapping plates fastened together with rivets or else attached to cloth or leather at the back.

The effigy at Ash church, figured by Stothard,<sup>2</sup> Pl. 61, 62, shows the jazerant hauberk, which, in this case, extended down to the middle of the thighs, and was worn over the haubergion of mail; and here it may be remarked that mere names are apt to be exceedingly deceptive. Thus, the hauberk originally meant the long coat of mail which descended down below the knees; the haubergion being supposed to represent the shorter variety which descended only to the middle of the thighs; but in the fourteenth century, and even perhaps before, the name hauberk began to be applied to something worn over the haubergion. Thus, we have the "hauberk jazerant" of the Ash effigy and Chaucer's "fine hauberk" which is described as put over the haubergion and being full strong of plate (probably jazerant).

Whether this jazerant armour was composed entirely of laminae, as in the splint armour of later times, or whether several series of splints were connected by means of mail, as in the oriental suits, is a doubtful point, as no actual early mediæval specimen of this sort of construction has come down to us, the effigies generally showing the bainbergs and other additional pieces of plate as being put over the mail, not imbedded in it, as in eastern work. The only example, viz., the legs of one of the suits exhibited at Ironmongers' Hall, and now at Parham, being of very doubtful authenticity.

Splint armour doubtless came into vogue on account of the trouble in forging the breastplate, whereas a few steel or iron hoops could easily be put together either by fixing them on to a ground of stuff or by riveting them to each other, so as to make them movable or immovable, according to the tightness of the rivets.

The use of splint armour was continued in the tassets of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and some of the later suits of armour were almost entirely composed of them, greater liberty of movement being obtained by the invention of the so-called almayne rivet.

<sup>1</sup> Meyrick, "Critical Inquiry," vol. ii, p. 7.

<sup>2</sup> The figure of St. George at Prague

also shows the same defence buckled at the back. See Planché, *Cyclopædia*, ii, 22.

## SCALES.

This armour, which consists of small overlapping plates of metal riveted on to leather or linen, has the same antiquity as mail. It is found in the Assyrian sculptures, in the classic monuments, such as the Trajan column; and indeed is used by savages down to the present day.

The most common form is where the edges of the little plates are rounded and where they overlap like tiles, as in the Assyrian and Egyptian examples. Another arrangement was to let them overlay on two sides, and in this case there is often a ring or stud on the other and covered side. Very often the scales are rectangular instead of being rounded at the lower edge. The scales themselves were made of all sorts of substances, iron, bronze, horse hoofs, horn, bone, &c.

The advantages of scale armour, which is only a species of jazarine, were that it could be manufactured out of a variety of substances; that it involved no particular shaping as in jazarine, nor riveting, as in mail, while it allowed a little play and movement, but at the same time it was always open to an upward thrust of the sword. In some of the Assyrian figures we see the scales reversed in pointing upwards, perhaps to avert this objection. Used as a breastplate, it would give considerably more play than if the scales were in a downward position.

There were only two specimens of scales in the late Exhibition, viz., part of the Japanese suit (Fig. 214), and the Polish coat (Fig. 222). They both overlap vertically and laterally, and both are described under their respective numbers 42 and 50. The gorget of the Polish coat is particularly curious as presenting scales with a raised section (Fig. 221).

## THE BRIGANDINE.

The brigandine was the reverse of the jazarine. The latter, as already explained, was composed of splints riveted to one another, or to an inside lining. In the brigandine, on the contrary, the splints were inside, and the velvet or other stuff on the outside. As this outer covering was exposed to view it was made of beautiful material, such as silk, velvet, or cloth of gold, strengthened by a lining of thick linen. As the rivet heads were also visible on the outside of these rich materials, they were gilt or tinned, and occasionally made of fantastic shapes, such as crescents, &c. In the old inventories the covering of the brigandine is almost always described. Thus in Sir J. Falstoff's inventory,<sup>1</sup>—"item, 1 payres brigandines with rede felfet;" "White payre of brigandines." The brigandine was much worn, inasmuch as it allowed a certain amount of movement to the body, and was besides a very gorgeous piece of dress, but it was not quite so strong as a breastplate when it came to lance thrusts or blows with a serrated mace.

The insides of the late fifteenth century brigandines, such as were in the late Exhibition, consist of rows of small splints, which follow the body in vertical lines from the neck to the waist, round the neck and arm-holes were placed double rows following the shape, and there was generally a continuation of the vertical rows of the splints for some three inches below the waist. These splints overlapped each other on two sides,

<sup>1</sup> See "Archæologia," p. 270.

so that there were always two thicknesses of steel in every part, and they were tinned to preserve them from rust, which would be liable to ironmould and destroy the velvet and canvas to which they were affixed by rivets (see Figs. 216 outside, and 217 inside). As a general rule these splints are of an oblong shape with the corners cut off, but in some rows the upper edges where they overlap upwards are cut into patterns. In one case, viz:— in the piece of brigandine belonging to Mr. Bernhard Smith, the upright rows of splints are divided by unriveted mail.

It would almost appear that the earlier examples of brigandines had the splints longer than was afterwards the case. This occurs in an example in the Musée d'Artillerie, at Paris, where the plates average six inches in length, and the breast and back of splints found at the Tanneberg excavations are composed simply of half hoops.

That the practice of covering splint armour with velvet is of a comparatively early date is shown by the description of two suits of armour for the Dauphin in the *Compte d'Etienne de la Fontaine*,<sup>1</sup> made in the year 1352. We there find two pairs of plates (probably like the Tanneberg ones), one of which was covered with blue velvet and the other with green velvet embroidered. For these two pairs of plates six thousand of silver nails, one half of which were in the shape of a crescent and the other round and gilt, evidently intended for suns and moons. The whole of the rest of the armour was treated in the same manner, as five thousand five hundred nails of crescent shape were wanted besides bosses and buckles for the *garde-bras*, *avant bras*, *coutes* (elbow pieces), *cuisse*s, *grèves*, *poulains* and *souliers*. The *coutes* and *poulains* do not appear to have been covered, as they are described as "*poinconnez de feuillage nervés*."

Altogether it would be difficult to imagine a more beautiful suit of armour than this must have been. It is not improbable that the whole suit, including the legs and arms, was made of splints.

The immense number of nails need scarcely surprise us when we consider that in the brigandine, No. 43, formerly in the Meyrick collection, 5500 may be counted.

## JACKS.

In the Middle Ages it did not fall to everybody's lot to wear plate and mail; these latter belonged to the rich man. The poor man had to content himself with various substitutes, principally made of linen or leather. The linen cuirass was well known in antiquity, and in the British Museum is a piece of very thick linen, which Dr. Birch thinks may probably be a portion of this kind of armour of Egyptian origin.

In MSS. and other documents we meet with many examples of these substitutes for coats of mail. Thus, in the paintings of the lower chapel at Assisi there are several armed figures in quilted jacks, which were probably not very different from the gambesons worn under the coat of mail in order to deaden the pressure both of the mail itself and of thrusts directed against it.

<sup>1</sup> See "*Comptes d'Argenterie des rois de France*," Paris.—Renouard, 1851.

Sometimes the quilted garment was worn over the mail or by itself, and became what was called a pourpoint, as in the Shurland effigy.<sup>1</sup>

The garment of the Black Prince, preserved at Canterbury, is most probably a pourpoint, for the short sleeves do not occur in the cote d'arms of the effigy. There is also a pourpoint preserved at Chartres, in the museum. It is covered with figured damask, and was formerly in the cathedral. Its size and that of the various pieces of plate armour which come from the same place show that it must have belonged to a child. But other substances than cotton or silk were used in the manufacture of the jack. In the inventory of Sir J. Falstoff we read of "1 jakke of blakke linen clothe stuffed with *mayle*; iv jakkes stuffyd with *horne*; 1 jakke of blake clothe lyned with canvas *mayled*." In some cases the jack was stuffed with folds of old linen, as many as thirty, a deer skin included. In fact, the word jack applied to any defensive garment, which was made of two folds of leather or linen, with something between them.

A few pourpoints have come down to us, but no jacks, consequently there were none in the late exhibition. They were, however, represented by their legitimate descendant the "stele cote" of Elizabeth's time. That sent by Miss Ffarington is a very fine example, inasmuch as it possesses its sleeves, which are wanting in the other example from the Meyrick collection.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Stothard, Pl. 41.

<sup>2</sup> Fig. 218 shows the construction of the Meyrick coat, where the iron scales are kept in their place by the string going

through holes in their centres. Fig. 220 shows part of the sleeve of Miss Ffarington's coat.

## European Mail.

In the following Catalogue, to avoid confusion, the tickets have been rendered verbatim, so as to afford facilities to those who have taken notes during the past exhibition.

Thus the coats of mail have been designated "hauberks," although it is exceedingly probable that "haubergions" would have been the proper designation.

Again, the division of the mail into European and Oriental is, to a certain degree, arbitrary, and it is quite possible that an object described as in one division may really belong to the other.

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### No. 1. Fig. 178.<sup>1</sup>

Shirt of Mail from Sinigaglia. Fourteenth century.

*Sir Noël Paton.*

This is one of the few coats of mail which has any decided history. In Meyrick's "Critical Inquiry," we are told that "it had been purchased by a Jew from an ancient family at Sinigaglia, near Bologna, in whose possession it had been beyond any of their records." A note further informs us that "the Jew bought it by the ounce and paid for it forty guineas."

Sir Samuel also observes that it corresponds to the coat of mail on the statue of Bernabo Visconti at Milan.<sup>2</sup>

It may be described as a simple coat of mail with no slits and no reinforcement. It measures 2ft. 9in. from the top of the collar, and has sleeves which are 10in. long from the armpit. It is wider at the bottom than at the waist, two gussets being inserted for this purpose.

The rings average a good half inch in their interior diameter; half are riveted and half are continuous, the latter have a pear-like section, the rounded part being on the inside circumference. The riveted rings appear to have been made of circular wire but have become rather flattened, probably by wear. The rivets are of the pyramid shape, like those of the Dublin coat of mail, but much bolder and larger.

There is a row of brass rings round the neck, and the bottom of the edge and sleeves are finished by vandykes, also in brass rings, riveted with iron. This is probably the finest coat of mail that has come down to us.

<sup>1</sup> It should be noticed that the *sections* of the rings are twice the usual size.

<sup>2</sup> See "Archæologia," vol. xviii.



## No. 2. Fig. 179. (In Case A.)

Piece of very fine large-ringed Mail with double rivets, from the Meyrick Collection. *Mr. W. Burges.*

The history of this piece of mail, as told by Sir S. Meyrick, is to be found in vol. i, p. 141, of the *Journal* of the Archaeological Association. One of Sir S. Meyrick's tenants procured this and another piece, the latter much broken, from the son of a rope-maker, who had used them for the purpose of rubbing down the projections in his work. The account given being that the entire piece, before it was cut into two portions, came from a church in Gloucestershire. Sir S. Meyrick assigned it to the reign of Edward II.

The Figure 179 shows the size and construction of the rings. The wire is circular, and the points of junction are flattened out very greatly; at the opposite side of the rings are equally traces of the hammer, but not by any means to the same extent as at the points of junction. The rivet has been formed in the shape of a mason's cramp, viz., with two ends turning up.

## No. 3. (In Case A.)

Portion of large-linked double-riveted Mail. *Mr. W. Burges.*

A similar piece to the above, only the diameter of the rings is a little smaller; it has also the cramp rivet, but there is no history attached to it.

## No. 4. Fig. 180. (In case A.)

Piece of large-ringed Mail, unriveted, of doubtful origin. *Mr. W. Burges.*

This is said to have belonged to one of the coats of mail exhibited at the Ironmonger's Hall in 1861, and now in the Parham collection.

According to the notice in the catalogue of that Exhibition there were found two entire suits (Hoods, Hauberks and Chausses,) of mail, and a portion of a third. They were at one period in the possession of the late Mr. Eastwood of the Haymarket.

The accounts of their origin vary considerably. According to one authority they were found in a church chest; according to another in a vault in a church in Oxfordshire.

It may here be observed that there is hardly any authentic instance of mediæval armour being really found in tombs or vaults. The fact is that it was a great deal too valuable to be thus thrown away, and any account to the contrary must always be looked upon with great suspicion.

The interior diameter of the rings is about half-an-inch, the section of the wire triangular, and there is no rivet, the ends simply meeting one another.

In the same case is a restoration by the well-known Mr. Francis, who presented it to Mr. F. Weekes, the latter eventually giving it to the present possessor. It must be confessed that the appearance of the original rings points to the action of fire rather than to the oxidation produced by age.

## No. 5.

Hood of Mail, the upper part formed of large rings.

*Mr. W. J. Bell.*

The crown of this hood is formed of rings very similar to No. 3, and also riveted with the cramp rivet (*i.e.*, on one side presenting the appearance of a double rivet.) The rest is composed of much smaller and lighter rings, not riveted, but simply jumped.

There can be no doubt about the authenticity of the mail which forms the top, but whether it originally formed part of a hood is open to doubt, and the same may be said as to the age of the lower part.

## No. 6. Fig. 181.

Part of a Hauberk found in Phoenix Park, Dublin. An armorial badge of silver, which was found with the Hauberk, is shown in one of the glass cases near the window. Fifteenth century.

*Mr. Robert Day.*

This is in a very dilapidated condition, but enough remains to show that it reached to about the middle of the thighs, opened up the front, and had short sleeves reaching to the middle of the humerus.

The decayed condition enables us to detect the structure of the rings and their mode of riveting. The wire is round and the rivet pyramidal, the bottom presenting a parallelogram shape.

There are no reinforcing links, but there are some slight indications that the bottom edge may have been vandyked.

This coat of mail was found in June, 1876, and a full description of it will be found in the *Journal* of the Historical and Archaeological Association of Ireland, 4th series, vol. iv, p. 494, Oct. 1878.

## No. 7.

Armoial Badge of the O'Neills found, together with a hauberk shown in the next room, in the Phoenix Park, Dublin. Fifteenth century.

*Mr. Robert Day.*



This is about 1½ in. high in the shape of a reversed shield, with a number of little rings soldered round the edges to afford means of sewing it on to a garment. The material is bronze, plated with silver; in the middle is another reversed shield charged with an uplifted right hand; on either side are two very rudely executed animals (lions) as supporters (not reversed). The work is exceedingly rough not to say barbarous, and is beaten up from behind.

The bloody hand indicates the possessor to have belonged to the O'Neill sept. Mr.

Day has, in the kindest manner, lent the Archaeological Institute the wood block of this badge which is here reproduced.

## No. 8. Fig. 182.

Hauberk of Mail, probably of the fourteenth or fifteenth century. *E. India U. Service Museum.*

This coat of mail is two feet long from the bottom of the collar, the latter standing up two inches. It has long sleeves but no slits in the skirt. The neck is fastened by a diagonal flap. The original buckle and another fastening still remain. A similar buckle and fastening occur in the Musée d'Artillerie, C. 1, 44. Half the rings are riveted, and the other half are continuous, made in a single piece, and of a flat section, probably punched as regards the inner diameter, the outer circumference being very rough.

The section of the riveted rings is circular, and the rivet is a circular wire. The reinforcement consists in making the collar of smaller rings which are all riveted, except the top row, which are of brass and continuous.

## No. 9. Fig. 183.

Hauberk of Mail, with remarkable reinforced collar edged with brass rings, fifteenth century. *Mr. R. H. Wood.*

This hauberk has no sleeves, it opens down the right side and is longer behind than in front; it is slit up the back for six inches; it is difficult to say much about the rings, as the hauberk is in an exceedingly bad condition. This mail is light, the wire being of a round section, and the inner diameter is about three-sixteenths of an inch; the rivet is pyramidal.

The reinforced collar is the most curious point in this hauberk. It is not only strengthened for the usual two inches downwards, but the centre descends as far as three-and-a-half inches from the top edges. In it the rings become smaller and heavier, the outermost row being of brass riveted with iron; beyond this again are sundry small rings of no more than one-eighth of an inch internal diameter. They are cut out of the solid and have a very irregular outline. This hauberk was purchased some years ago in Vienna.

## No. 10. Fig. 184.

Waistcoat of Mail from the collections of Sir W. Temple and Lord Palmerston; fifteenth or sixteenth century. *Mr. H. Hippiusley.*

This may be described as a waistcoat of mail. It opens right down the front; it has no slits and no sleeves; it is 2ft. 5in. long including the collar. At the bottom edge the back is cut away to the height of 4in., probably for convenience on horseback. The rings are comparatively small having an interior diameter of a bare quarter inch. The section is a parallelogram in the steel rings, in the brass ones it is a circle.

The collar is reinforced to the depth of one inch by means of smaller rings, the two uppermost rows being brass; the lowest of these has a circular section and is riveted with iron rivets of pyramidal form; the uppermost are very small solid rings, one-eighth of an inch diameter. A similar arrangement occurs at the bottom of the waistcoat.

## No. 11. Fig. 185.

Sleeveless Coat of Mail with fringe of brass rings.  
 Fourteenth century. *Museum of Artillery, Woolwich.*

This is longer before than behind, being 2ft. 2in. and 1ft. 9in. below the collar. It opens down the left side and is slit in front and on the right side for a short distance.

The section of the rings which are riveted is a flattish oval, as if the wire had been made with cut strips of metal. The rivet is triangular, as in the Dublin example. Round the neck the first six rows of rings become larger and broader; round the armholes are two rows of brass rings. There is also a row at the bottom of the skirt; these latter are jumped.

## No. 12. Fig. 186.

Waistcoat of Mail, probably German; the collar is reinforced and edged with brass rings. 1500 to 1520.  
*The Baron de Cosson.*

This garment opens right up the front, there are no sleeves and no other slits; it measures 1ft. 10in. from the bottom of the collar.

The links are alternately riveted and continuous, the latter being flat, but the former are of a circular section and riveted with pyramidal wire.

The collar is reinforced by means of smaller rings with larger welding surfaces. There are two rows of brass rings round the top of the neck, the lower one riveted with iron; the upper ones are much smaller, their inner diameter being barely one-eighth of an inch.

## No. 13. Fig. 187.

Sleeve of Mail trebly riveted, the cuff of very close mail edged with brass rings. Fifteenth century.  
*Mr. F. Weekes.*

This sleeve is formed of very strong and heavy mail. It weighs five pounds; the rings are apparently closed with three rivets, but upon examination it is discovered that two of these are false, and produced by the pincers or stamps by which the real rivet was fastened, and by the same operation. The section of the ring is circular. The form of the rivet is a matter of doubt, but it may possibly be pyramidal.

The cuff is made of much smaller rings which contain the usual single rivet, and are attached to the larger rings by twos and threes. This cuff extends for one-and-a-half inch in depth, the last two rows of rings are of brass, one of them is the size of the wrist mail and riveted with iron; the last row is much smaller, not much more than one-sixteenth of an inch internal diameter, and appears to have been punched out of solid metal, and the exterior circumference finished with a file.

This piece is now in Mr. Burges's collection.

## No. 14. Fig. 188.

Standard or Hausse col. of mail, the collar strongly reinforced. Fourteenth or fifteenth century.

*Mr. R. H. Wood.*

This standard of mail, which in fact may be described as a mail gorget, was very fashionable in the latter half of the fifteenth century. It is seen in a good many of the brasses and effigies of that period. There are two somewhat similar in the British Museum, one being from the Roach-Smith collection. In the catalogue of the latter, published by the collector, he describes the reinforced collar of his example as being made with six rings round a centre one, instead of the usual four rings.<sup>1</sup>

Mr. Wood's standard is exactly like the Roach-Smith example as regards shape, the upper edge being curved to the neck, while the lower one is made into four scallops like a half hexagon with concave sides.

The rings have the section of an oval flattened on one side. The rivet is pyramidal, and all the rings are riveted. The reinforcement is effected in the collar for the space of about two inches downwards, the rings having the same inward diameter as the others, but the wire is much thicker and the part which takes the rivet consequently broader.

Round the lower edges of the outer circumference there is a row of brass rings riveted with iron.

There is a buckle on the inside about three inches from the end, about the middle of the collar, and a corresponding rivet which held a strap about one inch from the other end. As the rivets were generally worn on the outside it follows that the buckle would be on the inside over the left shoulder. This standard of mail was purchased some years ago in Vienna.

#### No. 15.

Part of a Mail Chausse.

*Mr. R. H. Wood.*

The form of this piece of mail is more compatible with the theory that it is a cunail rather than a leg, as described. The rings which have a flattened section are all riveted; there is no reinforcement and no brass at the edges. It was purchased in Vienna.

#### No. 16. Fig. 189-190, Case A.

Two Mail Gussets, probably of the sixteenth century, formerly in the Tower collection.

*Mr. W. Burges.*

These are late fifteenth or more probably even sixteenth century work, but they present no special peculiarity beyond the section, which is occasionally almost triangular, and the rivets which are pyramidal.

#### No. 17. Fig. 191.

Piece of Mail said to have been found in the Thames.

*Mr. W. Burges.*

This piece of mail, bought from Mr. Wareham, of Castle Street, came from the museum of a collector.

The section of the rings is now an oval; all the links are riveted with a pyramidal rivet as in the Dublin coat. At the edge there are two rows of brass rings riveted with iron.

<sup>1</sup> I have myself examined this standard but unfortunately was not able to make out the six rings. A friend who assisted at the examination was certain there were

only the usual four rings. The Baron de Cosson has since pronounced for the six rings.

## Oriental Mail.

### No. 18. Fig. 192.

Hauberk of Mail.

*Mr. W. Burges.*

This coat of mail was not exhibited, but is now noticed, as it was bought with the Tartar helmets (Figs. 119, 120). The rings exactly correspond with those composing their camails.

It opens for seven inches below the neck and also behind and before at the bottom. There is a collar of three inches deep without any reinforcement. The slit at the neck is closed by two iron hooks one on either side. The arms extend about eleven inches from the armhole, and the length of the coat is two feet eight inches below the collar.

The section of the rings is a very flattened ellipsis, and the rivet is pyramidal as in the Dublin coat. The weight is 14lb. 12oz.

There are no brass rings and no reinforcements except in the angles of the slits where the outer rings are doubled, thus presenting an instance of the double mail. Were it not for the evidence of the camails of the decidedly Oriental (Tartar) helmets, we might easily mistake this hauberk for European work.

### No. 19. Fig. 193.

Coat of Mail from N. India, illustrative of banded mail in the collar.

*Mr. J. G. Waller.*

This coat which is two feet one inch below the collar opens right down the front and is slit at the bottom behind. The sleeves are about six inches long.

All the rings are riveted and have a heart shape in the interior owing to the extremities of the wire being turned in. The section of the wire is circular, and there is the ordinary round rivet.

The peculiarity of this coat of mail is the collar, which has a strip of leather interwoven in every alternate link. A similar specimen is shown in the case B. (Fig. 155.)

The object of these pieces of leather was to stiffen the collar and make it stand up. Generally in Eastern suits of mail this object is effected by making the collar of ropes quilted between two layers of stuff. Mr. Waller thinks this a solution of the mystery of banded mail. This is very doubtful, but it is not improbable that it may account for what Sir S. Meyrick has called "edge mail."

### No. 20. Fig. 194

Coat of Mail, riveted links "grain d'orge." Persian,  
Seventeenth century.

*Mr. J. Latham.*

This coat opens right up the front, and is slit up for some distance behind. It measures two feet three inches from the bottom of the

collar, which is made of rope between two layers of stuff in the usual Eastern manner. The sleeves project about six inches from the arm hole.

The rings are of an oval section, but the rivet is pyramidal, like the Dublin hauberk.

## No. 21.

Hauberk of Mail.

*Mr. R. H. Wood.*

The nationality of this hauberk is somewhat doubtful, but as the rings are unriveted it has been classed among the Oriental.

It opens right up the front and has a slit behind. The sleeves are very short and the lower edge is vandyked.

The rings are unriveted, and those on the collar are alternately of a round and flat section.

## No. 22. Fig. 195.

Coat of Mail, riveted links.

*Mr. W. Huyshe.*

This is slit at the neck, also at the lower extremity before and behind; it measures two feet and has no collar. The arms reach to the elbow. The rings are riveted with the ordinary circular rivets. Two sorts of rings riveted and continuous.

## No. 23. Fig 196.

Hauberk of Mail, "grain d'ore." Eighteenth century.

*Mr. A. Pfeiffer.*

This has all the characteristics of the ordinary Eastern coats of mail. It opens up the middle and is two feet six inches from the bottom of the collar; it is slit behind at the bottom; the arms project six inches. The collar is formed of ropes stitched between velvet outside and silk inside.

The rings are riveted and continuous; the section of the wire circular; the rivets the usual round wire. The section of the continuous rings is very narrow and deep, being cut out of thick stuff.

## No. 24. Fig. 197.

Hauberk of Mail, with an Arabic inscription stamped on each link.

*Mr. W. Burges.*

This hauberk measures two feet four inches in length. There is no collar. It is slit up from top to bottom in front, behind at the bottom there is a slit about eight inches long. The sleeves are very long, and indeed the upper part would cover the back of the hand; the lower part of the cuff is cut back. The section of the rings is a very thin parallelogram; the round rivet is used, and as these rings are something between one-sixteenth and one-eighth of an inch wide, the ends are simply folded one over another before riveting, and it is probable that the same punch fastened the rivet and did the inscription. All the inscriptions are the same. The writing, in the ordinary Arabic character, on each ring contains the names of Allah, Mohammed, Ali, Fatima, Husein, and Hasan.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I owe this information to the courtesy of Dr. Rieu of the British Museum.

There are no brass rings and no reinforcement.  
Weight, 10lbs. 12oz.

## No. 25.

Hauberk of Mail. The hood of mail (Fig. 118), with circular plate at top belongs to this. *Mr. W. Burges.*

Slit down the neck and below at the back. There is apparently a notch cut out in front at the bottom instead of a slit.

This coat measures two feet four inches below the collar. The latter is about two inches deep. The sleeves project eleven inches. The rings are made of thin round wire, riveted with a circular wire rivet. The reverse of the riveting is flat as if no counter punch had been used.

The collar is made of larger rings riveted and continuous of a flat section. The rivets here appear to be pyramidal. They are the same in the hood which belongs to this hauberk.

## No. 26. Fig. 198.

Coat of Mail of steel, brass, and copper rings, with breast and back plates, vambraces, and circular shield. Persian, modern. *Mr. W. Burges.*

This is a modern coat of mail made of brass, copper, and iron wire. Very thin and jumped; the diameter (interior) of the rings is one-eighth of an inch. The groundwork is iron, and upon it is a diaper of brass lozenges with a copper centre.

It opens right down the middle, the upper part of this opening and the collar are formed of black velvet padded and studded in a pattern with little gilt copper nails.

Over all is a breast plate in four pieces with damascened borders of gold and connected by leather straps. There are also vambraces of similar work with mail backs to the hands.

## No. 27.

Glove or Muffler of Mail. *Mr. A. Hartshorne.*

Small rings; riveted links of circular section; goes all round hand; thumb distinct.

## No. 28.

Pair of Slippers, covered with mail and peaks of brass, from India. Sixteenth century. *Mr. W. J. Bernhard Smith.*

The mail which is partly riveted and partly continuous is simply sewn on a leather shoe; the peaks are brass half-cones, about one-and-a-half inch long, nailed on to a leather foundation which is a continuation of the sole.

## No. 29. Fig. 199. (In Case A, No. 8.)

Piece of Mail with brass ornamental rosettes on the surface. *Mr. W. Burges.*



This is an Eastern piece of mail with ornamental roses of about one inch diameter at every three inches over the surface. The roses are octagonal and repoussé; the rivets are attached to the inside with solder; a piece of leather and an iron washer secure each rosette to the reverse of the mail.

There is some reason to suppose that this practice of ornamenting mail with brass studs obtained in the West during the middle ages—thus the gold florins supplied for the haubergion of Edw. III.<sup>1</sup> might have been employed in this manner, although it is more probable they were supplied for the gilding. When the bronze effigies of Queen Eleanor had to be gilded, gold florins were bought from the merchants of Lucca for that purpose.

No. 30. Fig. 200. (In Case A, No. 9.)

Portion of Indian Mail with half the rings of the  
Θ shape, and a border of circular brass rings. *Mr. W. Buryes.*

The theta links are probably stamped with a double punch. The small circular links which connect them are very delicate, and are riveted with copper circular rivets. The brass rings forming the border have false rivet heads done with a stamp or pliers.

No. 31. (In Case A, No. 10.)

Piece of Mail with very small links, probably of  
Indian origin. *Mr. W. Buryes.*

These links are not more than an eighth of an inch interior diameter and formed of very thin delicate wire; they are all riveted with minute pyramidal rivets and have the ends of the wires, where the rivets pass through, flattened out as usual.

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It will be seen from the perusal of the above catalogues (European and Oriental) that the majority of the western coats of mail have their rings riveted with pyramidal rivets. In the eastern coats we find the round wire rivets more frequently used.

## Jazarine and Splints.

No. 32, Fig. 201.

Hauberk of Chain and Plate with rows of laminae, each having an inscription in Arabic, probably of the second half of the fourteenth century.

*Museum of Artillery, Woolwich.*

This is one of those mixtures of mail and splints so common in the East. It is three feet two inches long, and has rudimentary arms projecting six inches.

<sup>1</sup> See Hewitt's "Ancient Armour and Weapons in Europe," vol. i, 255.

It is slit up the front and back for convenience of riding. Across the breast are a row of laminae covering the abdomen, and a similar arrangement, but to a much larger extent, obtains in the back. It should be observed that these laminae are not fixed over the mail like the plates for the knees, elbows, and legs in the early fourteenth century armour in Europe, but they form part of the hauberk itself and are connected with the mail and with the adjoining rows of splints by means of rings. The plates themselves are engraved with inscriptions in Cufic characters. In the process of cleaning many of the riveted rings have disappeared and been replaced by modern jumped ones. The rings themselves are alternately whole and riveted. The section of the former is round, but that of the latter is flattened. The rivets are round pieces of wire and exhibit on the reverse a circle. In this specimen the riveted rings have the flattened parts turning inwards, thus giving a heart shape to the inside.

The same peculiarity is seen in Mr. Waller's coat of mail.

### No. 33, Fig. 202, 203.

Indian Suit of Mail, with curious rows of laminae at the back ; the laminae alternately of brass and iron.

*Mr. W. Burges.*

This is almost identical with the suit figured in Meyrick's *Skelton*, Pl. xl. We are told there that this armour belongs to the bodyguard of the Moguls ; and, that being handed down as a heirloom in families, may be of any age.

This coat of mail is very long, reaching to the middle of the calf of the leg : the sleeves also cover the wrist. It fastens up in front and there is a very long slit behind. There are large overlapping plates in front which protect the belly, not the chest, and behind are three long rows of small overlapping splints which protect the back. In the present instance the splints are alternately of brass and iron. They are embedded in the usual way into the mail ; in these portions the links are of a medium size and are riveted with circular wire rivets (Fig. 219), the middle row being continuous. But the great mass of the coat is made of very small fine rings with raised punched marks for rivets. It is possible that this coat has undergone large repairs.

### No. 34, Fig. 204.

Saracenic Arm and Elbow Pieces, found in digging a well at the Chateau d'Arguel (Somme) France. This castle was burnt by the French in 1402. *The Baron de Cosson.*

This arm is composed of two parts joined together, viz., the covering for the upper part of the arm and the elbow piece.

The former consists of five longitudinal rows of splints connected by mail, the middle one being the narrowest, and running down the back of the arm. Each piece of the centre row of laminae is decorated with small copper studs. The edges of all the splints, of which forty-two remain, are decorated with raised dots punched up from behind ; these are however omitted on the upper edges where the splints are overlapped by the others. The connecting mail consists of the usual

riveted and continuous rings, the former circular in section and with round rivets.

This splint work is connected with the upper part of the elbow piece by two-and-a-half inches of smaller mail extending all round; this mail is smaller than that which connects the splints, and the ends of the rings are very slightly flattened for the reception of the rivet, and in some cases not at all.

The elbow has a joint at the top and bottom, the pieces being connected with copper rivets, of which one appears to be original.

The Baron de Cosson bought this arm from the Comte de Belleval (author of several works on armour), who gave him a written certificate that it was found at the place above named by his brother-in-law, the Comte de Thillierie.

It is by no means improbable that a Saracenic suit of armour may have been found among an army of the early fifteenth century.

The Baron de Cosson has given this piece to Mr. Burges.

### No. 35.

Fore Arm made of splint or jazarine work. *Mr. W. Hugshe.*

This is constructed in the usual Oriental manner, viz., with rows of splints connected by mail; it covers the whole of the fore arm and back of the hand. The copper sixfoil rivet heads which fastened the leather straps of the buckles still remain. It is a very fine piece of defence, and works admirably.

Now in the collection of Mr Burges.

### No. 36, Fig. 205.

Saracenic Suit of Armour composed of chain and plate armour, with the mark of the Constantinople armoury.  
Fifteenth century.

*Mr. W. Burges.*

Some years ago (40 or 50) a vast quantity of Saracenic armour came over to Europe all stamped with the mark of the Constantinople armoury. There were a few helmets, but a great many breast and back pieces. They consisted, as usual with Asiatic arms, of sundry plates connected by means of mail. The principal plates, viz., those on the breast and back, are circular, and are ornamented with corrugations radiating round a centre. In some of these centres are Arabic inscriptions, but these are very rare, and for the most part the centres are plain. There are also gorget pieces and side pieces. The helmets are very scarce, ending in a long pipe like a reversed funnel. The common opinion with regard to this armour is that it belonged to the janissaries who took Constantinople in 1453.

In the catalogue of the Musée d'Artillerie, at Paris, these breastplates are put down to the seventeenth century. However, if we compare the helmets which belong to them with that numbered II. 173, which contains the name of Bayazid II., son of the conqueror of Constantinople, we shall see how much more simple the former armour is than the latter. Some of the Bayazid helmets were turned out of the Constantinople armoury in very bad condition, and were for sale in London last year. The armour with them consisted principally of splints. In Mey-

rick's Skelton the kettle-lid breastplates, as they are commonly called, are classed among the Persian arms. At the taking of Constantinople we are told by Duclercq<sup>1</sup> that Mahomet's army were of all nations, and armed in the most diverse manner.

The present specimen is very similar to the one illustrated in plate 135 of Skelton's work, and which is described as being lined with green silk and padded with cotton.

Those in the Musée d'Artillerie are edged with green and yellow fringe. The fringe in the specimen under consideration and one of the plates on either side are restorations.

No two of these back and breast plates exactly resemble one another. Sometimes there are various projections beaten out from the back, and in the United Service Museum is a suit where several splints have been inserted between the gorget and breastplate, so that the latter protects the belly instead of the breast. The mail is riveted and continuous; the interior diameter is about three-eighths of an inch; the section of the wire circular, and circular rivets.

### No. 37.

Chanfrein and crinière of mail and plate. Saracenic.

*Mr. W. Burges.*

The crinière consists of three rows of steel plates embedded in mail; at the top and bottom of each plate is a brass rosette three-quarters of an inch in diameter. This rosette, which has eight leaves, is beaten up out of thin brass and is fixed on the plate by a rivet. On each leaf is a little projection beaten up about the size of a pin's head, and similar to the little projections in the Saracenic arm belonging to the Baron de Cosson, No. 34.

On the top of the head is a hexagonal boss of cast copper, with Saracenic ornamentation; it is about one inch high and two-and-a-half diameter, and is fixed to the mail by rivets and a washer.

The chanfrein consists of two plates of steel, one of which is one foot three inches long; this has been broken and shows an ancient mending. These plates are embedded in mail like the crinière, the mail itself is riveted throughout, for the most part with pyramidal rivets, although round rivets occur pretty often. In all probability there have been frequent repairs.

Just under the left ear are three brass rosettes similar to those above described as attached to the plates, but in this instance riveted to the mail and secured by means of a piece of leather and a washer. This is also probably a repair or an insertion, as the rings around are of a different size to the rest.

### No. 38.

Fighting Suit of brass mail and horn plates, with silver clasps, from the Illanun Coast of Borneo. Weight, 23lbs.

*Mr. W. Pretyman.*

This is not unlike antique armour in general appearance. The

<sup>1</sup> See Buchon's Ed. of 1838, vol. x, p. 309.

rings connecting the horn plates are larger than those in the other parts ; they are all made in brass and are jumped, not riveted. Altogether they have a most suspiciously modern look, and almost would indicate an European article made for a foreign market. The copper-silvered ornaments nailed on the horn have no character in their form or engraving.

#### No. 39. (Fig. 223.)

War Jacket of brass-mail and horn-plates. A Polygar's  
suit of armour. *Mr. H. Hippiusley.*

This is very like the last-mentioned, only in this case we have evidence that it was brought to this country some sixty or seventy years ago, and if of European manufacture, it has, at all events, an earlier origin than the one belonging to Mr. Pretymann.

#### No. 40.

Trousers of Mail and plate, spiked knee caps.  
Northern India. Eighteenth century. *Mr. J. Latham.*

This is another example of plates connected together by mail. In this instance the plates are edged with inlaid gold lines and the surface rather coarsely engraved with rabbits. The back parts are all mail, the rings are made of circular wire and riveted with the usual circular rivet.

Those rings which go into the plates are jumped, which may possibly be a modern restoration necessitated by cleaning the pieces of plate, as in the case of the Woolwich hauberk.

It is most probable that these trousers are mere *armes de parade*, as nothing could have been more awkward in actual warfare than the spiked knee-pieces.

#### No. 41.

Arm-piece of Persian work. Seventeenth century.  
*Mr. J. Latham.*

This presents nothing remarkable as regards mail. It is the guard for the fore-arm, and belongs to the helmet exhibited by Mr. Latham.

#### No. 42. Plate xiv.

Modern Japanese Suit, interesting as showing many varieties of mail, and similar to ancient and mediæval examples. The helmet belonging to this suit is shown among the Oriental collection. *Mr. W. Burges.*

This may be described roughly as a suit of splints with some portions of mail, but the splints are made of the thinnest steel, covered with lacquer, not riveted to one another or to a ground of leather or stuff, but most ingeniously connected by means of ties and interlacings of silken braid.

The mail on the other hand is not simple interlacing riveted links, but is formed of sundry rings made of fine wire, and put together like the antique example in the Musée d'Artillerie, Fig. 152, and in it are embedded pieces of repoussé iron, ornamented as delicately as goldsmith's work.

As the complete description of the pieces composing this suit of armour, and the various modes of connecting them together by the braid interlacings, would take up almost a volume, the better way will perhaps be to confine the notices to those parts represented in the plate.

The simplest construction appears in the epaulette, or rather the pieces which hang down from the shoulders. (Fig. 209). They are thin curved pieces of steel, two inches wide and eleven inches long, serrated on the upper edge. Lacquer is applied to the external surface in a raised fluted pattern. In it are sundry holes which serve for the passage of a number of silk tapes, which in a complicated manner connect the splints with one another, but in a very loose manner, giving a great degree of flexibility.

The breast-plate is made in a similar manner, only each splint, instead of being formed of one piece of steel, is made of many, which overlap each other edgewise, the edge which overlaps being ornamented with a fluting of lacquer. These little pieces are tied to each other so as to form a splint, and these splints are again connected as in the epaulettes, but very tightly, so as to make a nearly rigid breast-plate, having however some little elasticity; in external appearance it resembles the epaulette.

The tassets are like the breast-plate. On either thigh under the tassets are two supplementary tassets, constructed quite differently to the others. A series of overlapping splints one foot long, by two-and-a-half inches, are tied on to canvas covered with green silk, but these splints are formed by oblong scales, two-and-a-quarter by one-and-a-quarter inches, overlapping at the sides and tied together through holes. They are formed of steel lacquered in black and gold. (See 214).

The gussets under the arms are made of oblong pieces of steel one-and-a-half by one inch, embedded in fine mail made of rings of wire after the antique arrangement. (See 207). The rings have been dipped in black lacquer, and the plates covered with lacquer and gilded, the whole being sewn on a ground of canvas lined with a brown coloured lining, and edged with black silk braid.

This throws some light on the accounts for the lining the armour of the Dauphin in the "*Compte de l'Argenterie*" of Etienne de la Fontaine.

The back of the neck, the short epaulets immediately connected with the breast-plate and the kneecaps, are made in a manner somewhat similar to the Elizabethan jack (Fig. 208)—small hexagonal pieces of steel about three-quarters of an inch in diameter, have four holes pierced through the middle. They are placed side by side, not overlapping, between two thicknesses of paper; outside is black cloth, inside canvas and red inner linings. The whole affair is kept in its place by means of silk braid, which passes through the four holes in each place. The hexagons are outlined by means of silk threads, which pass from angle to angle through and through. The legs (Figs. 212) are protected in a manner reminding us of the effigy of Sir Guy de Brian at Tewkesbury, longitudinal splints of steel eight and a-half inches long, diminishing from three-quarters of an inch at top to half an inch at the bottom, and made convex for the sake of strength, are connected by five narrow bands of jumped wire mail.

At the back of the calf the splints are shortened and a flat piece of leather takes their place as far as the heel. This was probably to afford room for the expansion of the calf in violent exercise.

The last parts to be mentioned are the sleeves, which are made of wire mail, arranged after the classic fashion, with pieces of the most exquisite iron work embedded in it.

Fig. 213 gives an idea of this sleeve, although a full-sized drawing would be required to do justice to the extreme delicacy of the workmanship.

The mail is sewn on thick canvas with a red linen lining, but the inner part of the arm is composed simply of the canvas and its lining, covered on the exterior with a piece of murray-colored silk danask, edged with brown braid eyelet holes; and a silk cord affords means of fixing the sleeve on the arm.

### Brigandines, Jacks, and Scales.

#### No. 43.

Brigandine composed of small plates of tinned steel covered with canvas and red velvet, to which they are attached by an immense number of tinned nails. About the end of the fifteenth century. (From Meyrick collection.)

*Mr. W. Burges.*

In Skelton's work (Plate xvi) is a representation of this brigandine, with details of the construction.

The plates are fixed to the external covering of velvet and canvas by means of copper rivets with tinned heads; the plates themselves have also been tinned. The garment opens up the front and was fastened by means of a lace. On the left side is a perforation made by a ballet.

Although the plates of iron in this and other examples of brigandines and jacks may seem thin, it should be remembered that by the way in which they were joined together there were always two thicknesses of iron and in some places as many as three, *e.g.*, where the uppermost rivets occur.

In this example the scales point downwards on the breast and upwards on the back.

#### No. 44. Fig. 216.

Portion of a Brigandine showing the outside. Fifteenth century.

*Mr. W. Burges.*

This presents exactly the same construction as we find in the preceding example. It is only a fragment, but as the velvet has been fairly preserved it gives a better idea of its original appearance. The rivets have gilt heads and the splints overlap upwards as usual.

#### No. 45. Fig. 217.

Portion of a Brigandine showing the inside. Fifteenth century.

*Mr. W. Burges.*

It is part of the same garment as the preceding, No. 44. The illustrations are taken from below the waist where the scales point downwards. In the body they point upwards.

## No. 46.

Part of a Brigandine. Fifteenth century *Mr. J. Bell.*

The velvet in this example is green.

## No. 47.

Fragment of Velvet Doublet with rows of steel plates  
on the inside and strips of ring mail between the rows.

*Circa 1500*

*Mr. W. J. Bernhard Smith.*

The velvet in this case is of a reddish purple colour; the heads of the rivets have been gilt.

The space between the perpendicular rows of splints is occupied by mail of jumped rings, three rows broad, and sewn down to the canvas lining of the velvet covering.

The tinned plates are rather smaller than usual.

## No. 48. Fig. 218.

Jack from the Meyrick collection. *Temp. Elizabeth.*

*Mr. W. Burges.*

In plate xxxiv of Skelton's Work is figured an archer wearing a jack, which may probably be the one in question, except that it is described in the letter press as being of a sky-blue colour and having sleeves.

These latter may probably have disappeared during the various migrations of the Meyrick collection to South Kensington and to Gothic Hall near Bond Street, still the one exhibited in New Burlington Street is covered by white canvas and does not present any traces of a sky-blue colour. It was, however, certainly bought out of the collection while in Gothic Hall.

It consists of a series of irregular octagonal pieces of thin iron or rather of squares with their angles cut off, and a hole in the centre. These are so arranged that every part presents three thickness, and are worked on the tile system, the parts overlapping upwards (the only portions kept quite clear and of one thickness being those immediately round the centre holes). These plates of iron, which are very roughly made and most probably were covered with pitch, are placed between two folds of coarse canvas and sewn down by means of coarse string, which passes through the centre holes, forming a pattern of rough hexagons with lines radiating from the centres. The rudimentary sleeves are simply quilted and have no iron. The edges of the garment are formed by a piece of rope covered with canvas.

This jack is sewn up the back with the exception of a slight slit in the very short skirt; in front it is laced from the peasecod point upwards.

The sleeves, which are described in Skelton as being very wide at the shoulders and very narrow at the wrist, and formed in the same manner (as the body), instead of any external cords, were ornamented with little tufts.



## No. 49.

Coat and Sleeves of Jack, from Worden Hall.

*Temp.* Elizabeth.*Miss Ffarington.*

This is similar to the last but has fortunately preserved more of its original appearance, thus the cords are knotted at all their junctions and still preserve some of their little green tassels. There is also a layer of blanket between the outer canvas and the pieces of iron. The right side of the slit down the middle overlaps the other by four inches, and the eyelet holes are double.

The collar is divided into three pieces, and the sleeves are attached by double eyelet holes at the top.

The iron in these sleeves is in long narrow pieces, in vertical rows which overlap one another, being attached, like those in the body, by string running through a centre hole. They have no blanket between the outer layer of canvas and the iron. (Fig. 220.)

Miss Ffarington, when sending this "stiel cotte" for exhibition, most kindly contributed the following note:—

"In the Shuttleworth account books, ranging from 1582 to 1621, published by the Chetham Society and edited by Mr. Harland, we find (p. 44) under May 1588, 'Fourteen hundred of plates of stiel for a stiel cotte viij<sup>s</sup>. For nine yards and a quarter of canvas and for piche resine and hempe to made a stiel cotte vi<sup>s</sup> and viij<sup>d</sup>.' Armourers, as we find in the same accounts, make periodical visits for the purpose of keeping armour of all kinds in good repair.

"Mr. Harland, quoting from Harrison's 'Description of England,' says that shirts of mail or quilted jacks covered with leather, fustian or canvas, covered with thick plates of iron 'that be sewed into the same,' were so common that no town or village had not her convenient furniture.

"Meyrick in his first vol. figures an archer in one (*cir.* 1588) and calls them Bowmen's armour.

"They had ceased to be used before the Civil War, but when the Parliamentary sequestrators seized the goods at Worden, September 2nd, 1643, there were 'ten coats of male with pieces at the stare head;' also a great and two small chests. Mrs. Ffarington (her husband being in the wars on the King's side) petitioned the Lancashire Parliamentary Colonels to allow such articles as were considered heirlooms to remain in the house. These gentleman were connections and acquaintances, but they refused unless she could raise £350 to redeem these and other things. This she could not do, and the next inventory taken in February mentions the great chest only as remaining at the stair head. In another half century it seems to have been forgotten that these were only common soldiers' armour, for one of the three of these coats now at Worden has done duty at an heraldic funeral, as if it had belonged to a gentleman, and was removed from Ffarington Chapel in Leyland Church with the helmet now sent and other undertaker's trophies in consequence of some alterations in the year 1816."

## No. 50. Fig. 221-222.

Jacket and Gorget of Scale Armour, probably Polish.  
Seventeenth century.

*Mr. W. Burges.*

This is a sleeveless jacket of leather opening up both sides and fastened by means of strong silk tapes, which are riveted in the leather. The scales, which are one and one-eighth inch wide, and one and three-quarters long, are affixed to the leather by two rivets each; in their upper edge they do not overlap each other like tiles, but are in overlapping rows, each scale covering the side of the next. They have their lower edges rounded, and in the centre of each a small projecting moulded lozenge of gilt copper is riveted.

The whole is lined with red leather, and the edges ornamented by a band, half an inch wide, of silver lace. Its weight is 19lb. 4oz.

The gorget is composed of scales one-and-a-quarter inch long, beaten up into a convex form, as in Fig. 221. They overlap generally like tiles in a regular manner, and are fastened at the upper edge by a single rivet to a strong piece of buff leather. The whole is attached to a narrow plate gorget which opens in two parts, with a hinge and almayne rivet. The interior lining has disappeared. The weight of the gorget is 4lb. 4oz., making with the jacket 23lb. 8oz.

## Case A.

Frame, containing various fragments of chain mail.

*Mr. W. Burges.*

*European Mail.*

1. The Meyrick piece with large cramp rivets.  
(See No. 2, Fig. 179).
2. A smaller piece of ditto.  
(See No. 3).
3. The Parham (doubtful) mail and its restoration.  
(See No. 4, Fig 180).
4. Two gussets of mail from the Tower.  
(See No. 16, Fig 189-190).
5. A piece of mail; small rings, quarter-of-an-inch diameter thin wire and two pyramidal rivets, probably European.
6. Small piece of Brigandine covered with very fine crimson velvet, gilded nails.

*Oriental.*

7. Piece of mixed armour of jazarant and mail, probably part of a hauberk.

The rings are partly riveted and partly continuous; the rivets are circular wire. The peculiarity consists in the three rows of rings connecting the jazarant rows of splints; the centre ones, which are continuous, are also double. Another example, to a certain degree, of double mail.

8. Mail with brass rosettes affixed to it.  
(See No. 29, Fig. 199.)
9. Piece of mail with theta links.  
(See No. 30, Fig. 200).
10. Piece of mail with very small links.  
See No. 31).

11. Two pieces like No. 10, but with larger links.
12. Piece of mail with very small links, jumped not riveted. There is a lozenge pattern all over, composed of brass rings. It has probably been part of a modern Indian hauberk.

One of the most curious specimens in this case is a chain of five double bronze links, which was obtained some years ago from Mr. Wareham of Castle street. (Fig. 153). They have been cast in one mould, and have never had their edges properly cleaned off. They evidently formed part of an antique piece of mail, and correspond with the larger of the three specimens in the Ashmolean Museum; these latter were found near Caserta in Magna Grecia, and were purchased in 1872 by Mr. Chester for the Museum. At first one is naturally doubtful how so complicated a casting could be made, but Mr. Barkentin, by means of the *cire perdue* process, cast a row of eight joined links without much difficulty. It would of course have been more difficult to cast them double.

### Case B.

Case, with casts of representation of banded mail, from effigies, and various models to show the possible construction of this defence. *Mr. W. Burges.*

This case contained the versions of banded mail as suggested by various writers, and casts from portions of the four effigies which present this particular description of mail. Suffice it to say all the reproductions are eminently unpractical except those executed on Mr. Lewis' system of covering the rings with leather.

This case also contained a series of examples of interweaving strips of leather with mail by Mr. C. E. M. Holmes; also a collar from an Indian hauberk, where a strip of leather goes through every alternate row of links, as in Mr. Waller's example, the whole being covered with cotton wool and enclosed between two pieces of cotton stuff with a printed pattern.

W. BURGESS.

## POSTSCRIPT.

A long interval of time has elapsed between the close of the Exhibition of Helmets and Mail and the publication of the present Catalogue, and during that interval death has been busy amongst those to whom the Exhibition owed its success. Mr. J. W. Bernhard Smith, long a valued member of the Institute, and Mr. John Latham, a zealous contributor to the Exhibition, were the first to be called away. And then he to whom was due the first idea of the Exhibition, my very dear "collaborateur," William Burges, was taken to his rest in the fulness of his vigour and genius.

His work in this book was his last, and one in which he took the utmost interest.

Only a few days before his last illness he had finally revised and corrected the proofs, and the Catalogue was almost the last subject on which he spoke to me, three days before his death. Apart from its merits, Mr. Burges's portion of this work will therefore be valued by all who had the privilege of his friendship, and knew the genial qualities of his heart, the power, and, what is more rare in this age, the great originality of his mind. If there is anything of value in the mode in which I have treated that portion of the work which fell to my lot, it is to my charming, but, alas! too short, intercourse with him that it is due. He instilled into me the necessity of investigating independently and for myself every point connected with the study in which we were fellow-labourers, and above all his practical training in his art led him rightly to give pre-eminent importance to a close study of the *construction* of every piece of armour which came under his notice.

We had intended that this book should be but the beginning of a more complete investigation of the subject which we loved in common, but that fellowship of labour in which we delighted, and to the continuance of which we looked forward with keen pleasure, was almost at its outset brought to an end by Him who disposes all things.

CHARLES ALEXANDER DE COSSON.

Pyrerof, Chertsey, November, 1881.

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